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THE

METHODIST

QUARTERLY REVIEW.

1842.

EDITED BY GEORGE PECK, D. D.

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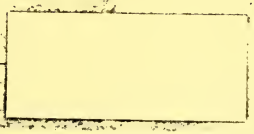

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CONTENTS.

CONTENTS OF JANUARY NUMBER.

Art.		Page
I.	Robinson's Biblical Researches	5
II.	Anthon's Classical Dictionary	26
III.	Writings of Washington	38
IV.	Life of Bishop Emory	62
V.	Universalism as it is	81
VI.	Plea for the Intemperate	91
VII.	Biblical Knowledge	97
VIII.	Jackson's Life of Rev. Charles Wesley	112
IX.	Theory of Temptation	142
X.	Critical Notices	162

1. Hibbard on Baptism; 2. Milman's History of Christianity; 3. A Treatise on the Church; 4. Remains of Rev. J. W. Downing; 5. The Early English Church; 6. Fulfillment of Scripture Prophecy; 7. Conversations on the South Sea Missions; 8. The Traveler; 9. Memoirs of John Frederick Oberlin; *Tales for the People*—10. Dining Out; 11. Somerville Hall; 12. The Ladies' Repository; 13. The Classic; 14. The Boston Quarterly Review.

CONTENTS OF APRIL NUMBER.

I.	Cousin's Philosophy	165
II.	The Hope of Israel	192
III.	Congress of Nations	220
IV.	Life of John Wiclif	234
V.	Cultivation of Vocal Music	245
VI.	Delineation of Roman Catholicism	253
VII.	The Oxford Controversy	272
VIII.	Barnes' Introductory Essay to Butler's Analogy	303
IX.	Critical Notices	310

1. Bishop Hedding's Discourse on the Administration of Discipline; 2. Bishop Morris's Sermons; 3. Taylor's Golden Grove; 4. Romaine's Life, Walk, and Triumph of Faith; 5. Live while you Live; 6. Decapolis; or, the individual Obligation of Christians to save Souls from Death; 7. Natural History of Selborne; 8. Beauties, Harmonies, and Sublimities of Nature; 9. Lives of the Ancient Philosophers; 10. Essays on Property and Labor; 11. Expedition to the Polar Sea; 12. Parlor Melodies; 13. Scandinavia, ancient and modern; 14. Ruins of Ancient Cities; 15. History of the Expedition to Russia; 16. History of Michigan; 17. A System of Latin Prosody and Metre; 18. Travels in Europe and the East; 19. The Glory and Shame of England; 20. The Mother's Assistant and Young Ladies' Friend; 21. The Enquirer; 22. Baptist Memorial and Monthly Chronicle; 23. Psychology; 24. An Epitome of the History of Philosophy.

CONTENTS OF JULY NUMBER.

ART.		Page
I.	Life of John Knox	325
II.	The Coming of Christ	352
III.	Henry's History of Philosophy	378
IV.	Philosophy of History	383
V.	Theory of Temptation	421
VI.	Keble's Christian Year	458
VII.	Critical Notices	469

1. Jackson's Life of Rev. Charles Wesley; 2. Memoir of the late Miss Lucy Richards; 3. Life of Wilbur Fisk, D. D.; 4. Summerfield's Sermons; 5. Italy and the Italian Islands; 6. Means and Ends, or Self-Training; 7. Captains Lewis and Clarke's Expedition; 8. Uncle Sam's Recommendation of Phrenology; 9. The Kingdom of Christ delineated; 10. An Exposition of the Creed; 11. An Exposition of the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England; 12. Thirty-four Letters to a Son in the Ministry; 13. The Great Awakening; 14. Sermons on Important Subjects; 15. Millennium of the Apocalypse; 16. Theopneusty; 17. Lectures on Universalism; 18. Tellstrom; 19. Missionary Daughter; 20. Contributions to Academic Literature; 21. The Mute Christian; 22. Nordheimer's Hebrew and Chaldee Concordance; 23. The Great Commission; 24. Mormonism and the Mormons; 25. Hazen's Grammar; 26. Sanders' School Books; 27. The Domestic Circle; 28. Devotional Melodies; 29. Scenes in the Wilderness.

CONTENTS OF OCTOBER NUMBER.

I.	Literature of the Bible	485
II.	Exposition of Heb. vi, 4–6	521
III.	Education in the Methodist Church	530
IV.	Literature of the Arabs	540
V.	Lewis and Clarke's Travels	556
VI.	Life of Dr. Fisk	579
VII.	The Great Awakening	594
VIII.	Rev. Dr. Beasley's Communication	615
IX.	Critical Notices	638

1. Illustrations of Biblical Literature; 2. Elements of Chimistry; 3. An Essay on Apostolical Succession; 4. Punishment by Death; 5. Works of Bishop Butler; 6. History of the Reformation of the Church of England; 7. Bible and the Closet; 8. Claims of "Episcopal Bishops" examined; 9. Life and Writings of Ebenezer Porter Mason; 10. Principalities and Powers in Heavenly Places; 11. Heroines of Sacred History; 12. Sacred Songs for Family and Social Worship; 13. Mineral Springs of Western Virginia.

THE

METHODIST QUARTERLY REVIEW.

JANUARY, 1842.

EDITED BY GEORGE PECK, D. D.

ART. I.—*Biblical Researches in Palestine, Mount Sinai, and Arabia Petræa. A Journal of Travels in the Year* 1838, *by* E. ROBINSON and E. SMITH, *undertaken in reference to Biblical Geography. Drawn up from the original Diaries, with Historical Illustrations.* By EDWARD ROBINSON, D. D., Professor of Biblical Literature in the Union Theological Seminary, New-York, author of a Greek Lexicon of the New Testament, &c. With Maps and Plans in five sheets. Boston: Crocker & Brewster. New-York: J. Leavitt. Three vols., 8vo., pp. 571, 679, 721.

No portion of the earth has been the scene of so many varying changes and stirring events as Palestine. From no spot have gone forth influences which have had such a deep and lasting effect on the human race. As the land of the patriarchs and prophets, as the dwelling place of Heaven's own people, as the spot where God walked and talked with man, the very mention of Palestine awakens feelings of the deepest interest in the Christian's heart. Wherever the Bible is read there will arise a desire to know more intimately all the features of the land in which such great events have occurred. Hence, as Christianity has spread throughout the world, crowds of pilgrims have flocked to the Holy Land, burning with intense desire to gaze upon the fields,

> O'er whose acres walk'd those blessed feet,
> Which *eighteen* hundred years ago were nail'd
> For our advantage to the bitter cross.—*Henry IV.*

And yet, after the land has been visited by pilgrims, in numbers so great that their names would fill volumes, why is it that we have hitherto had such imperfect and unsatisfactory accounts of its most interesting and important features? In the days of superstition, when a pilgrimage to Jerusalem and other holy places was accounted meritorious, we cannot presume that the traveler should question the truth of the great mass of absurd tradition which was

so early imposed upon the land. But in later times travelers have been divided into different classes. Some, it is true, have seemed unwilling to disturb those old legends which the lapse of fifteen centuries almost marks as historic truth. On the other hand there have been those who, doubting or utterly disbelieving even the Scripture narrative, have gone to the spot determined to reject all tradition and all evidence, and find, if possible, in the nature of the scenes proof of the falsity of the sacred records. Happily the efforts of this class have all proved unavailing, and even the labors of Volney have been used to confirm the truth of prophecy. There has been still another class, who have entered upon their work in the spirit of honest investigation, but so many obstacles have been thrown in their way, the country has been so unsettled, and traveling has been hitherto so dangerous, that they have left their objects but partially accomplished, and their researches only half completed. Enough, however, had been done to show that the views generally entertained with regard to many places prominent in Scripture history were false, and founded only on the stories of credulous travelers, or on the absurd legends of still more credulous monks. Christian scholars had learned enough to know that they had been too long dependent for their knowledge of the Holy Land upon men who were wholly incompetent from the circumstances of the case to accurately investigate the most interesting features of Biblical geography. But the work we have placed at the head of this article has supplied a standard of authority to which the scholar can refer for satisfactory information with regard to the interesting localities of Palestine.

Dr. Robinson had long contemplated this journey, and it was undertaken from a consciousness of the imperfections of our knowledge of the subject, and for the purpose of settling by personal examination disputed topographical points. In the course of his studies and labors he had seen where the deficiency existed, and the particular features which needed more clear and satisfactory investigation. In addition to Dr. Robinson's own qualifications for this work, the circumstance of his having the Rev. E. Smith for his traveling companion gave him many advantages. Mr. Smith is an accurate and critical Arabic scholar, and in his missionary labors has made use of the language for several years. In this way they were able to obtain much information from the common people, of which preceding travelers, whose only medium of communication was an illiterate interpreter, were generally deprived. Much of the ground over which they passed had been visited before by Mr. Smith, consequently they were better pre-

pared to investigate the different points of interest which were presented to their view. With such preparations and advantages, favored by a period of unusual quiet in Arabia and Syria, where the strong arm of the Egyptian pacha kept in subjection the roving tribes of the Bedawîn, Dr. Robinson performed his long-anticipated tour.

He left his native land in the summer of 1837, and on his way passing through Germany, he received from several distinguished Biblical scholars many valuable suggestions with respect to the researches he was about to enter upon. He arrived at Athens in the month of December, and remained there several days, visiting its most remarkable localities. Although it was no part of his general plan of observation to investigate the sites of places in or around Athens, yet we cannot forbear referring to his visit to the Areopagus, where Paul preached. Acts xvii, 16. This is a narrow ridge of limestone rock, and on its top are still to be seen the seats of the judges and of the parties. In the valley, on the west of the ridge, was the ancient market, and, on the south-east side, the later or new market. It is impossible to tell in which of these Paul "disputed daily," but from either it is but a short distance to Mars Hill, up which he was conducted. Our author goes on to observe,—

"Standing on this elevated platform, surrounded by the learned and the wise of Athens, Paul had directly before him the far-famed Acropolis with its wonders of Grecian art; and beneath him, on his left, the majestic Theseium, the earliest and still most perfect of Athenian structures; while all around other temples and altars filled the whole city. Yet here, amid all these objects of which the Athenians were so proud, Paul hesitated not to exclaim, 'God who made the world, and all things that are therein, he being Lord of heaven and earth, dwelleth not in temples made with hands.' On the Acropolis too were the three celebrated statues of Minerva; one of olive wood, another of gold and ivory in the Parthenon, the master piece of Phidias, and the colossal statue in the open air, the point of whose spear was seen over the Parthenon by those sailing along the gulf. To these Paul probably referred and pointed when he went on to affirm that 'the Godhead is not like unto gold, or silver, or stone, graven by art and man's devices.' Indeed, it is impossible to conceive of any thing more adapted to the circumstances of time and place than the whole of this masterly address; but the full force, and energy, and boldness of the apostle's language can be duly felt only when one has stood upon the spot. The course of the argument too is masterly, so entirely adapted to the acute and susceptible minds of an Athenian audience."—Vol. i, pp. 12, 13.

Leaving Athens, Dr. Robinson embarked for Egypt. During his stay in the country he had an opportunity of observing the

workings of the severe and energetic government of Muhammed Aly. He was at this time at the height of his power. He had raised armies and built fleets by a system of brutal conscription, and with a short-sighted policy which was exhausting and almost depopulating the country. His sole object appears to be not the benefit of the nation at large, but only his own personal aggrandizement. Formerly the people possessed the lands, but by a single decree the pacha has declared himself sole owner of the soil, and, consequently, the people are only his tenants, or rather his serfs. Thus is this ill-fated land still the "house of bondage," and the dwelling place of slaves.

An interesting point to be investigated while in Egypt was the probable situation of the land of Goshen. There has been considerable diversity of opinion among Biblical scholars on this subject. But most modern commentators and travelers coincide in the opinion that it was that part of Egypt east of the Delta, lying on what is called the Pelusiac branch of the Nile. That this was its position seems evident from the fact that the Israelites practiced irrigation, and that the productions of this district, and the food of the present inhabitants, correspond to the enumeration of articles for which the Israelites longed in the desert. Goshen was said to be the best of the land, and such it has been considered down to the present time. In an Arabic document of the fourteenth century, translated by De Sacy, in which there is a valuation of all the provinces of Egypt, that of the Shŭrkîyeh, corresponding to Goshen, is estimated highest with one exception. During Dr. Robinson's stay in Cairo he ascertained from repeated inquiries that this province now bears the highest valuation, and yields the largest revenue. Here, then, was the place where for four hundred years the Israelites sojourned, and this is to be assumed as the starting point from which they commenced their journey to the promised land. From all parts of Goshen they assembled at Rameses as their rendezvous, and were probably here awaiting permission to depart when the last dread plague fell upon the Egyptians. Rameses, now generally considered as the capital of Goshen, was situated about thirty or thirty-five miles from the gulf of Suez. Departing from this place, the first day's march brought the Israelites to Succoth, which, as its name implies, was only a temporary encampment. On the second day they reached Etham, which lay on the edge of the eastern desert. Thus far they appear to have been upon the usual route to Palestine. But now they "turned" and marched down the western side of the gulf. As this movement was out of their direct course, Pharaoh might well suppose that

they had lost their way and had become entangled in the land. Consequently, he pursued them with all his forces, hoping to overtake and compel them to return. The other stations mentioned before their arrival at the sea probably lay on the great plain back of Suez.

In respect to the passage of the Israelites through the Red Sea, there has been some controversy as to the part of the sea where it took place. The discussion of the question has been embarrassed by not attending to the circumstances as they are narrated by the sacred historian. Exodus xiv. The following are the main points to be noticed: the Israelites were hemmed in on all sides, in front the sea, and in their rear the hostile Egyptians. The Lord commanded Moses to stretch out his rod over the sea; "and the Lord caused the sea to go back by a strong east wind all that night." The miracle is represented as mediate, not a direct suspension of the laws of nature, but a miraculous adaptation of those laws so as to produce the desired effect. It was accomplished by natural means supernaturally applied. In the somewhat indefinite phrascology of the Hebrew an east wind may mean any wind from the eastern quarter; and would apply to the north-east wind, which is prevalent in this region. Now it is obvious that a north-east wind would drive out the water from the small arm of the sea which runs up by Suez, leaving the shallower parts dry, while, at the same time, the northern arm, which was anciently deeper and broader, would remain covered with water. In this way it was that "the waters were a wall unto them on their right hand and on their left." Again, we are to consider the time when the passage took place. It cannot be assumed, in accordance with the other circumstances, that the Israelites set off before midnight, and yet before the morning watch, or two o'clock, they had completed the passage. Now it is evident that such a multitude could not have passed over in so short a time had the passage been made in a wider part of the sea.* All the circumstances tend to limit the place of the passage to the neighborhood of Suez, and it took place either through the arm of the gulf above, or across the shoals adjacent on the south and south-west. But, from the many changes which have occurred in the lapse of ages, it is of course impossible to ascertain the precise spot, nor is it necessary; either of the above suppositions will coincide with the narrative of Moses, and in either case the deliverance of Israel was as miraculous, and the power of God as manifest.

Our travelers in their journey from Suez to Mount Sinai had

* The breadth of the gulf opposite Wady Tawarik, which has been assumed as the ford, is, according to Niebuhr's measurement, twelve geographical miles, equal to a whole day's journey.

opportunity to examine the probable route of the Israelites through this part of their course to the promised land. The fountain bearing the name of Hawârah, which lies on the direct route, was first distinctly mentioned by Burckhardt, who regarded it as the bitter fountain of Marah, which the Israelites reached after three days' march without water in the desert of Shur. This view is doubtless correct, as there is no probability that they passed on any other route. He also suggests that they may have rendered this water palatable by mingling with it the juice of the berries of a shrub called ghŭrkŭd, which grows around the fountain. But there can be no truth in this supposition, for the time when the Israelites were there was not the season for these berries. By whatever process they sweetened the water, they probably made use of the same at the other bitter fountains on the route; for although they made complaints of the want of water, yet we hear none of its being bitter.

Dr. Robinson and his companions took the upper road to Sinai in order to visit the mysterious monuments of Sŭrâbît el-Khâdim. These are found mostly within the compass of a small inclosure, and consist of about fifteen upright stones like tombstones and several fallen ones, all covered with Egyptian hieroglyphics. There are also the remains of a small temple, and at the eastern end of the inclosure is a subterranean chamber, excavated in the solid rock, resembling an Egyptian sepulchre. This spot was first visited by Niebuhr in 1761, and since that time many travelers have stopped here on their way to Sinai. The question arises, For what object were these temples and memorial stones reared in the midst of solitude and silence? But this point is wrapped in a darkness which modern science has not yet been able to unveil. An ingenious hypothesis has been suggested by Lord Prudhoe, viz., that this was a sacred place of pilgrimage to the ancient Egyptians, just as the mountain near Mecca is to the Muhammedans at the present day; and that each of the Egyptian kings made a pilgrimage hither and erected a column bearing his name. A plausible ground for this hypothesis is found in the fact, that when Moses demanded permission for the Israelites to go three days' journey in the desert to sacrifice unto the Lord, it appears to have excited no surprise among the Egyptians, as though it was something to which they themselves were accustomed.

The researches of Dr. Robinson around Sinai are peculiarly interesting. The topography of this region has been but little known, and the identity of Scriptural sites has all been founded upon monkish tradition. It has fixed the spot from whence the

law was given, and although some former travelers have dissented from it, yet they have offered nothing satisfactory in its stead. But Dr. Robinson in approaching Sinai by an unusual route came upon a plain sufficiently large for the assembling of the people to receive the law. All the circumstances agree with the Scriptural narrative, and no other place in the region, which is adapted for this purpose, has been discovered. This plain, then, was the spot where the congregation of Israel were gathered together, and the mountain impending over it, the present Horeb, was the scene of the awful phenomena in which the law was given. Former travelers have touched upon these points so confusedly that it has been the general opinion of scholars that no open space existed among these mountains. Hence, our travelers were greatly astonished when they discovered the plain we have just alluded to. Dr. Robinson remarks,—

"We too were surprised as well as gratified to find here, in these dark granite cliffs, this fine plain spread out before the mountain; and I know not when I have felt a thrill of stronger emotion than when in first crossing the plain; the dark precipices of Horeb rising in solemn grandeur before us, we became aware of the entire adaptedness of the scene to the purpose for which it was chosen by the great Hebrew legislator. Moses, doubtless, during the forty years in which he kept the flocks of Jethro, had often wandered over these mountains, and was well acquainted with their valleys and deep recesses, like the Arabs of the present day. At any rate, he knew and had visited the spot to which he was to conduct his people—this *adytum* in the midst of the great circular granite region, with only a single feasible entrance; a secret holy place shut out from the world amid lone and desolate mountains."—Vol. i, p. 176.

Our travelers afterward ascended the mountain which overhangs this plain. The ascent is laborious; but to quote again the language of our author:—

"The extreme difficulty and even danger of the ascent was well rewarded by the prospect that now opened before us. The whole plain er-Rāhah lay spread out beneath our feet with the adjacent Wadys and mountains. Our conviction was strengthened that here or on some one of the adjacent cliffs was the spot where the Lord 'descended in fire' and proclaimed the law. Here lay the plain where the whole congregation might be assembled; here was the mount that could be approached and touched if not forbidden; and here the mountain brow, where alone the lightnings and thick clouds would be visible, and the thunders and the voice of the trumpet be heard, when the Lord 'came down in the sight of all the people upon Mount Sinai.' We gave ourselves up to the impressions of the awful scene; and read with a feeling that will never be forgotten the sublime account of the transaction,

and the commandments, there promulgated in the original words as recorded by the great Hebrew legislator."—*Ibid.*, pp. 157, 158.

They also ascended Jebel Mûsa, which for more than fifteen centuries has been considered as the spot whence the law was given to the assembled people; but with how little truth we have already seen. Dr. Robinson thus describes his feelings on reaching the summit:—

"My first and predominant feeling was that of disappointment. Although from our examination of the plain er-Râhah, and its correspondence to the Scriptural narrative, we had arrived at the general conviction that the people of Israel must have been collected on it to receive the law, yet we had cherished a lingering hope or feeling that there might be after all some foundation for the long series of monkish tradition which, at least for fifteen centuries, has pointed out the summit on which we now stood as the spot where the ten commandments were so awfully proclaimed. But Scriptural narrative and monkish tradition are very different things; and while the former has a distinctness and definiteness, which through all our journeyings rendered the Bible our best guide-book, we found the latter not less usually and almost regularly to be but a baseless fabric. In the present instance there is not the slightest reason to suppose that Moses had any thing to do with the summit which now bears his name. It is three miles distant from the plain where the Israelites must have stood; and is hidden from it by the intervening peaks of modern Horeb. No part of the plain is visible from the summit, nor are the bottoms of the adjacent valleys; nor is any spot to be seen around it where the people could have been assembled."—*Ibid.*, p. 154.

On the route which Dr. Robinson took from Sinai to Akabah, he passed a fountain bearing the Arabic name el-Hŭdhera. Burckhardt has suggested that this is the Hazeroth of Scripture, the third station of the Israelites after leaving Sinai. The identity of the Arabic with the Hebrew name is very apparent, each containing the corresponding radical letters; and the distance from Sinai accords well enough with the hypothesis. This point is of more importance than would at first appear. For if this fountain be the ancient Hazeroth, it at once settles the question as to the route of the Israelites from Sinai to Kadesh. It shows that they followed the usual route to the sea, and along the coast to Akabah, thence probably through the great valley of the Arabah to Kadesh. Indeed, having once arrived at this fountain they could not have easily taken any other course.

Leaving Akabah, Dr. Robinson and his companions took the usual Haj route, but after continuing on through a portion of the country, turned off in order that they might enter Palestine by the way of Hebron. The tract of country over which they traveled

has been, up to the present time, a complete *terra incognita* to geographers. This portion of their journey was of deep interest; for the region, as its name et-Tîh, *wandering*, implies, is generally supposed to have been the scene of the wanderings of the Israelites of old. But it is by no means probable that they approached Palestine by the route over this desert, as it would have brought them to Beersheba instead of Kadesh. This part of Scripture history has been shrouded in darkness, and we can only surmise that the Israelites wandered over this great desert in the interval between their first and second visit to Kadesh. Through this region anciently passed a Roman road leading from Akabah to Jerusalem. Our travelers on this road discovered and visited the ruins of several ancient cities, as Ebodah, now bearing the name of Abdeh, also Eleusa, called by the Arabs Khûlasah. They entered the borders of Palestine at a place still called Bîr es-Seba, the ancient Beersheba. This place is often mentioned in the Old Testament; here the patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, dwelt. Here Abraham dug a well, which even now exists; and from hence he went forth with Isaac to offer him as a sacrifice on Mount Moriah. Here Samuel made his sons judges, and from this place Elijah wandered out into the neighboring desert. This village, hallowed by so many sacred recollections, now lies all in ruins, and over the swelling hills, where the flocks of the patriarchs once roamed by thousands, are now seen only a few camels and goats. From Beer-sheba our travelers passed on to Hebron, a most interesting point in their journey. This town, which is still inhabited, is one of the most ancient mentioned in Scripture, having been built, as the sacred writer informs us, seven years before Zoan, in Egypt. Here, too, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob lived and walked with God, and here they were all buried. Here, for seven years, was the royal residence of David, and here he was anointed king over all Israel.

Our travelers, journeying from Hebron, reached Jerusalem just at the closing of the gates on the evening before Easter Sunday. Dr. Robinson thus describes his emotions on drawing near the Holy City:—

"The feelings of a Christian traveler on approaching Jerusalem can be better conceived than described. Mine were strongly excited. Before us, as we drew near, lay Zion, the mount of Olives, the vales of Hinnom and Jehoshaphat, and other objects of the deepest interest; while crowning the summit of the same ancient hills was spread out the city where God of old dwelt, and where the Saviour of the world had lived, and taught, and died. From the earliest childhood I had read of and studied the localities of this sacred spot: now I beheld

them with my own eyes; and they all seemed familiar to me, as if the realization of a former dream. I seemed to be again among the cherished scenes of childhood, long unvisited, indeed, but distinctly recollected; and it was almost a painful interruption when my companion (who had been here before) began to point out and name the various objects in view."—Vol. i, p. 326.

Dr. Robinson spent some time in Jerusalem engaged in examining its various points of interest, its topographical and historical relations, and every thing connected with it that could have a bearing upon the illustration of the Scriptures. In attempting to trace out and assign the site of events referred to in the sacred records, travelers have labored under great disadvantages. Most of them, during their stay at Jerusalem, have resided at the Latin convent, and relied for information upon the ignorant monks. Unable to communicate with the native population, they have merely repeated the absurd legends which superstition has fastened upon the land. The slight ground upon which most of these traditions have been built can be readily seen by referring to the history of the country, and by considering that for more than fifteen centuries Jerusalem has been the abode of mistaken piety and credulous superstition. During the second and third centuries, if the Christian church was permitted to exist here at all, it was only so on account of its insignificance. But in the fourth century, when Christianity became triumphant, Helena, the mother of Constantine, visited Jerusalem, and attempted to determine upon and beautify the sites of the crufixion and resurrection of our Saviour. It then became common for the multitude of priests and monks, who afterward dwelt in the Holy City, to assign the site of every event, however trivial or legendary, which could be brought in connection with the Scriptures, or with pious tradition. In this way there has been grafted upon Jerusalem and the Holy Land a mass of tradition, foreign in its source, and doubtful in its character. Hence, Dr. Robinson comes to the general conclusion, that "all the ecclesiastical tradition respecting the ancient places in and around Jerusalem, and throughout Palestine, *is of no value*, except so far as it is supported by circumstances known to us from the Scriptures, or from other cotemporaneous testimony." For, one of the earliest traditions on record, existing even before the visit of Helena, which points out the place of Christ's ascension on the mount of Olives, is obviously false, for it stands in direct contradiction to the account of the evangelist, who states that Jesus led out his disciples "as far as Bethany," and thence ascended into heaven. Of course we must

put more confidence in the Scriptural narrative than in any tradition, however ancient.

But there is in Palestine another kind of tradition with which the foreign monks have nothing to do, and of which they appear to be entirely ignorant. It is "the preservation of the ancient names of places among the common people." Of this former travelers have made no use, on account of their ignorance of the Arabic, and their consequent inability to hold any intercourse with the native population, except by means of illiterate interpreters. In view of these circumstances, Dr. Robinson states that he early adopted two general principles by which to govern himself in all his investigations. The *first* was to avoid, as far as possible, all contact with the monks, to examine for himself with the Scriptures in his hands, and to apply for information only to the Arab population. The *second* was to leave the beaten track, and to direct his journeys and researches into those portions of the land which had been least visited. It was by carrying out these principles that he was able to make new discoveries on the ground which had been trodden by thousands of pilgrims, tourists, and scientific travelers. Proceeding in this way, he soon found out that there was "much land to be possessed," and that with requisite care and diligence he would be able to establish the sites of many places, important in Scripture geography. More than three hundred pages of the volumes before us are devoted to the points of interest connected with Jerusalem. It is, of course, impossible for us to enter at large into these historical and topographical details; we will, however, notice some of the most interesting researches and discoveries.

The modern city of Jerusalem occupies a portion of the site of the ancient; but in appearance how different from that city of David which was "the joy of the whole earth!" It is almost literally true that "from the daughter of Zion all her beauty is departed." The circumference of the present city, according to the measurements of Dr. Robinson, is less than two and a half English miles; while Josephus states, that in his day it was nearly four and a half. Thus we see that a large portion of the ancient city must have been without the present walls. It seems to have been hardly a matter of question among travelers, but that the area of the great mosk of Omar occupies in part, or in whole, the site of the ancient temple: and yet how far there exist traces which may serve to show a connection between the ancient and modern precincts, and establish their identity, is a point which, as yet, has never been fully discussed. But the discoveries and researches of Dr. Robinson have sufficiently proved their identity. The walls which surround the inclosure

of the mosk appear to be of different ages. A very important portion of the western wall is unquestionably of great antiquity, and Dr. Robinson thinks it can be referred back to the days of Solomon or his successors, who, according to Josephus, here built up walls "immovable for all time." On the south-west corner of the area of the great mosk, Dr. Robinson discovered the remains of an immense arch, which must have belonged to the bridge over the valley of the Tyropoeon, which led from this part of the temple to the Xystus on Mount Zion. The existence of the remains of this arch seems to remove all doubt as to the identity of this portion of the inclosure of the mosk with that of the ancient temple. A difficulty, however, arises in reconciling the length and breadth of this area with the accounts which have come down to us from antiquity. Josephus and the Talmud unite in saying that the temple area was a square, but from Dr. Robinson's measurements the length is five hundred and seventy-three feet more than the breadth. This discrepancy is so great that it can be accounted for only by supposing that the present inclosure has been enlarged on the north, probably by including within its walls the area of the ancient fortress of Antonia.

One of the most important points of the researches around Jerusalem was the discovery of the exact situation of the tower of Hippicus. Its importance in a topographical respect arises from the fact, that Josephus takes it as the starting point in his description of the city walls. On the north-west part of Zion, a little south of the Yâfa gate, lies the citadel of modern Jerusalem. The lower part of the north-eastern tower of this citadel, to the height of forty feet, bears strong marks of antiquity. Its external appearance, and its situation with respect to Zion and the ancient temple, led Dr. Robinson to conclude that this was the tower of Hippicus, erected by Herod, and which Josephus informs us Titus left standing when he destroyed the city.

There has been, for some time, a discussion as to the identity of the site of the church of the holy sepulchre, with the place of our Lord's crucifixion and burial. Of the different travelers who have visited and examined the spot, some have rejected, while others have supported the common tradition. A true estimate of this long-agitated question must depend upon two circumstances. As there can be no doubt but that Golgotha and the sepulchre lay outside of the ancient city walls, it must first be shown that the present site may also anciently have been without the walls. Or should this in itself appear impossible, it must then be shown that there were in the fourth century, the time when the present site

was fixed upon, historical or traditional grounds for this, strong enough to counterbalance such an apparent impossibility. Now Dr. Robinson's investigations show that the second wall of the city would have embraced this spot. And both he and his companion were forced to the conclusion that the hypothesis which makes the second wall run so as to exclude the alleged site of the holy sepulchre, is on topographical grounds untenable. The next point is whether there were in the fourth century any such strong historical or traditional grounds for fixing upon this site as would tend to counterbalance these topographical difficulties and lead to a different conclusion. Chateaubriand has attempted to sustain this position, and his argument at first view is very plausible; but Dr. Robinson examines it at length, and we are irresistibly led to the conclusion that it has no foundation in historic truth. Thus we may consider it as decisively settled, that the church of the holy sepulchre is not built upon the spot where our Lord was crucified and buried. But if it be asked, Where are the true sites of Golgotha and the sepulchre? the answer is, that all search for them will probably be in vain. All we know from Scripture respecting them is, that they were nigh to each other, out of the gate but near the city, and in a frequented spot. This would favor the presumption, that these sites were upon some great road leading from one of the gates; such a spot is to be found only on the west or north of the city, either on the road leading to Joppa or Damascus.

From Jerusalem Dr. Robinson made frequent excursions into the surrounding country, examining the most prominent points of interest. On one of these occasions he visited Bethel, called by the native population Beitîn. The monks do not appear to have been aware of its existence, at least for centuries, and have assigned it a location much further toward the north. Bethel is frequently mentioned in the Old Testament. Abraham first pitched his tent in Palestine, on the high ground, eastward, which is still one of the finest tracts for pasturage in the whole land. Here Jacob, on his way to Haran, slept, and in his dream saw the angels of the Lord ascending and descending; hither he afterward returned, and built an altar unto God. Samuel came to this place once a year to judge the people. In later times, after the apostasy of Israel, Jeroboam set up here one of the golden calves for the people to worship. The present ruins show that it was a town of some importance, even as late down as the middle ages; and it is a matter of surprise that there is no allusion to the place as existing in the histories of the crusades. It is only within three or four

years that its name and site have been discovered among the common people by the Protestant missionaries of Jerusalem. Dr. Robinson mentions as one of the results of this excursion, which was verified by subsequent researches, that while many of the Hebrew names have doubtless perished, there exists at the present day a class of names which, although not occurring in the Scriptures, are probably of Hebrew origin.

On returning to Jerusalem, Dr. Robinson and his companion immediately made preparations for a journey to Ain Jidy, on the coast of the Dead Sea. On their way they stopped to examine the village of Bethlehem, and we cannot forbear quoting our author's reflections on the spot:—

"Bethlehem is celebrated in the Old Testament as the birthplace and city of David; and in the New as that of David's greater Son, the Christ the Saviour of the world. What a mighty influence for good has gone from this little spot upon the human race, both for time and for eternity! It is impossible to approach the spot without a feeling of deep emotion springing out of these high and holy associations. The legends and puerilities of monastic tradition may safely be disregarded; it is enough to know that this is Bethlehem, where Jesus the Redeemer was born. Generation after generation has indeed since that time passed away, and their places now know them no more. For eighteen hundred seasons the earth has now renewed her carpet of verdure, and seen it again decay. Yet the skies and the fields, the rocks and the hills, and the valleys around, remain unchanged; and are still the same as when the glory of the Lord shone about the shepherds, and the song of a multitude of the heavenly host resounded among the hills, proclaiming, 'Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace and good will toward men.'"—Vol. ii, p. 163.

Dr. Robinson passed the site of the fortress and city of Herodium, built by Herod the Great, also the ruins of Zif, (Ziph of the Old Testament,) and the extensive ruins of Kurmul, the Carmel of the mountains of Judea, where Saul set up the trophy of his victory over Amalek, and where Nabal was shearing his sheep when David sent him a message recounting his services and asking for a present. Ain Jidy our travelers were able to identify with the En-gedi of the Scriptures. Of this there can be no doubt, as the present Arabic name corresponds to the ancient Hebrew one, and they each signify "Fountain of the Kid." En-gedi is mentioned by Josephus, and in the days of Jerome it was called a large village. There is no mention of it by any of the historians of the crusades, and in later times the monks placed its site seven miles from the Dead Sea. The account which Dr. Robinson gives of the place is the first which has been offered to the public for many centuries.

We recur with peculiar pleasure to the observations and researches of our author upon the character of the phenomena of the Dead Sea. We have received so many fabulous accounts of this sea, so many wonderful stories have been told of the marvelous quality of its waters by travelers who have evidently made but slight efforts to examine its peculiar phenomena, that, on this subject, most Biblical scholars have despaired of obtaining correct information. The sea itself has never been surveyed; no one has ever been able to sail around it. Costigan,* an Irish traveler, undertook it, but perished in the attempt. Also Messrs. Moore and Beke transported a boat from Yafa, and commenced a survey, but were obliged to leave it unfinished. Dr. Robinson visited the sea twice, and took his views and measurements from two different points. His first observations were made while he was at Ain Jidy, the others during his visit to the southern end of the sea, in his excursion from Hebron to Wady Mûsa. We will give some interesting particulars of the researches made during both of these visits. His estimates of the size of the sea, although they can only be considered as approximations to the truth, are, that the breadth at Ain Jidy is about nine geographical miles, and the length about thirty-nine. The length, however, varies two or three miles in different seasons of the year, according as the water extends up on the flats toward the south. The bed of the sea is a portion of the Ghôr or great valley, and its breadth at Ain Jidy is much the same as at Wady Mûsa. It lies in a deep caldron, surrounded by lofty cliffs of limestone, those on the eastern side being two thousand or two thousand and five hundred feet above the water, and those on the western fifteen hundred. Nothing but sterility and death-like solitude are to be found upon its shores, except in those parts watered by streams and fountains of fresh water. Dr. Robinson remarks, that the stories so long current of the pestiferous nature of the waters of the Dead Sea are mere fables. He was five days in its vicinity, yet he perceived at no time either noisome smell or noxious vapor arising from its bosom. There must, of course, be an immense evaporation from the sea itself in consequence of its low position, and from its being exposed seven or eight months every year to the unclouded beams of a burning sun. But the character of this evaporation is probably not different from that of any other lake in similar circumstances.

The mountain ridges which surround the sea are of limestone,

* Mr. Stephens saw the servant of Costigan, and obtained from him materials for that draft of the sea which he gives in his "Incidents of Travel." However, it resembles the sea only from its being longer than it is wide.

except the remarkable ridge of Usdum,* which is a *solid mass of rock salt.* The existence of this immense mass of fossil salt sufficiently accounts for the excessive saltness of the sea. This remarkable mountain does not appear to be directly mentioned either by the sacred writers or Josephus. The earliest direct notice of it is by Fulcher, who visited it A. D. 1100. He describes the mountain accurately, and conceives it to be the source of the saltness of the sea. Since his time neither the mountain nor the region around it has been explored until the present century. One of the most singular features of the Dead Sea is, the depression of its level below that of the Mediterranean. This depression has been variously estimated. Messrs. Moore and Beke, who were the first to notice it, found it, by means of the boiling point of water, to be five hundred English feet. Schubert, by barometrical measurements, estimates it at nearly six hundred Paris feet, and Berton makes it amount to more than thirteen hundred. But there is so much uncertainty connected with these partial measurements, that the question can never be decided with exactness until the intervening country shall have been surveyed, and the relative level of the two seas trignometrically ascertained.

The conformation of the Dead Sea is intimately connected with the destruction of the "cities of the plain." It has generally been supposed that the sea did not exist prior to that catastrophe: and since the researches of Burckhardt it has been a favorite hypothesis that the Jordan before that event flowed through the whole length of the Wady el-Arabah, and emptied into the gulf of Akabah. But this could not have been the case, from the fact, that the whole valley of the Jordan and the level of the Dead Sea are so much depressed below the gulf, also the waters of the Arabah and of the high western desert far south of Akabah all flow northward into the Dead Sea. These circumstances tend to prove that a lake existed in this valley, into which the Jordan and other streams poured their waters, long before the destruction of Sodom; and, that the general configuration of this region is coeval with the present condition of the surface of the earth, and not the result of any local catastrophe. Still it is probable that the Dead Sea now covers a greater extent of surface than it anciently did. The cities destroyed must have been situated south of the sea as it then existed, for Lot fled to Zoar, which was near to Sodom, and travelers have placed the site of Zoar at the foot of the mountains, by the southern end of the present sea. In the fertile plain which Lot chose for

* The form *Usdum*, Dr. Robinson considers to be a traditional reminiscence of the name *Sodom*.

himself, where Sodom was situated, there were "slime pits," that is, wells of bitumen, or asphaltum: for the Hebrew word (חֵמָר) is the same as that used in describing the building of the walls of Babylon, which were cemented with pitch. These pits are no longer to be seen, and the probable conjecture is, that they disappeared in the destruction of the "cities of the plain." The southern part of the sea is of a peculiar form, and it is only in this part that masses of asphaltum are now found. In view of all these circumstances, it is very evident that what was anciently a fertile plain is now in part occupied by the southern bay of the sea, and that by some convulsion of nature connected with the miraculous destruction of the cities, either the plain was sunk, or the bottom of the sea was raised, so as to cause the water to spread over a greater extent of surface. In either case, the wells of bitumen would be covered by the sea, and the substance being hardened by contact with the water, would occasionally rise and float on the surface.

The country is subject to earthquakes, and also exhibits traces of volcanic action. Either of these causes might be supposed to have raised the bottom of the ancient lake and caused its present appearance. But as the account of the destruction of the cities, given by the sacred writer, implies the agency of fire, we may reasonably suppose that both of these causes were at work. "For volcanic action and earthquakes go hand in hand; and the accompanying electric discharges usually cause lightnings to play and thunders to roll. In this way we have all the phenomena which the most literal interpretation of the sacred records can demand." It may furthermore be conjectured, that before the catastrophe the bitumen had spread over the plain,* and even extended under the soil in the vicinity of the cities. The kindling of this mass, either by volcanic action or by lightning from heaven, would cause a conflagration sufficient to destroy both the cities and the surface of the plain, and then the sea rushing in would give it its present appearance. The barrenness of that portion of the plain not covered with water is probably caused by the great quantity of fossil salt, which is often an attendant of volcanic action.

After returning from their first visit to the Dead Sea, Dr. Robinson and his companions made an excursion to the south of Judea, to Gaza and Hebron; and thence to Wady Músa. Our travelers approached the valley from the east. It is at first shut in by sandstone cliffs forty or fifty feet high, and here is the commencement of

* This is by no means improbable, and it corresponds to the phenomena connected with the celebrated Pitch Lake in the island of Trinidad.

this wonderful Necropolis. Proceeding further on, the valley contracts, and the cliffs become higher, presenting on each side a street of tombs. In some parts the cliffs rise from a hundred and fifty to two hundred and fifty feet in height. Dr. Robinson states that he gave particular attention to this point, because travelers have generally so greatly exaggerated them.* The character of this wonderful spot, and the impression it makes upon the beholder, are utterly indescribable. All is on a scale of savage, yet grand and magnificent sublimity. Just where the Sîk terminates in the western precipice, the beautiful façade of the Khŭzneh burst upon his view in all the freshness and beauty of its first chiseling. Nothing of architectural effect in Rome or Thebes, or even Athens, can compare with the first impression of this. And yet it will not bear criticism as to its architecture, for it is not all in a pure style, and if seen in another land, without the accompaniments with which it is here surrounded, it would perhaps excite but little admiration. But its position, its wonderful state of preservation, the scenery around, and the associations connected with this wonderful region, all tend to heighten the effect and deepen the impression which it makes on the mind. Dr. Robinson thus narrates his own feelings on viewing this splendid edifice:—

"I was perfectly fascinated with this splendid work of ancient art in this wild spot, and the idea of it was uppermost in my mind during the day and all the night. In the morning I returned, and beheld it again with increased admiration. There it stands, as it hath stood for ages, in beauty and loneliness; the generations which admired and rejoiced over it of old have passed away; the wild Arab, as he wanders by, regards it with stupid indifference or scorn, and none are left but strangers, from far distant lands, to do it reverence. Its roseate tints, as I bade it farewell, were lighted up and gilded by the mellow beams of the morning sun; and I turned away from it, at length, with an impression which will be effaced only at death."—Vol. ii, p. 519.

The name el-Khŭzneh, which the Arabs give this edifice, signifies the treasure. They suppose that this treasure is contained in the urn crowning the summit of its ornamental front more than a hundred feet above the ground. This bears the marks of many musket balls, which they have fired at it in hopes of breaking it, and thus securing the imaginary treasure. Dr. Robinson is of the opinion that this structure was a temple, and not a sepulchre, as has generally been supposed. After passing along the valley, the cliffs on both sides being pierced with innumerable tombs, presenting a

* Mr. Legh estimates their height to be from two to five hundred feet; Irby and Mangles, from four to seven hundred; our countryman, Mr. Stephens, says from five hundred to one thousand.

great variety of appearance, on the left, the traveler arrives at a theatre, hewn out of the rock, with thirty-three rows of seats rising one above another in the side of the cliff, sufficient to contain nearly four thousand persons. Further down, on the rising ground, our travelers discovered a large tract of ruins covering an area of not less than two miles in circumference, affording room enough for forty or fifty thousand inhabitants. It is a little remarkable, considering the extent of these ruins, that they should have been passed over so slightly by former travelers; and it can only be accounted for by supposing that all their attention was occupied with the surpassing interest of the surrounding sepulchres. The rock, in which all these monuments are sculptured, is a soft sandstone, and it presents not a dull, reddish appearance, but an endless variety of bright and living hues, from the deepest crimson to the softest pink, and sometimes verging into orange and yellow. These varying shades impart to the surface of the rock a succession of brilliant and changing tints, which add greatly to the imposing effect of the sculptured monuments.

A question which occupied much of the attention of our travelers, while on the spot, was, "How far these excavations are to be regarded as sepulchres? and, whether any of them were probably intended as abodes for the living?" It has been generally considered that a great portion of the ancient city was composed of such dwellings, hewn "in the clefts of the rocks." But the probability is, that most of these excavations were intended for tombs. Afterward they may have been used for dwellings, just as the tombs of Thebes and those in the village of Siloam are employed at the present day. Some of the larger and more splendid of the edifices were doubtless intended for temples of the gods.

On returning to Jerusalem they found it shut up on account of the plague, and all intercourse with the country forbidden. After remaining encamped without the walls for a few days, Dr. Robinson took his final leave of the Holy City. He thus describes his emotions on this occasion:—

"If my feelings were strongly excited on first entering the Holy City, they were now hardly less so on leaving it for the last time. As we had formerly approached repeating continually the salutation of the psalmist, 'Peace be within thy walls, and prosperity within thy palaces,' so now we could not but add, 'For our brethren and companions' sake we will now say, Peace be within thee!' Her palaces are indeed long since leveled to the ground, and the haughty muslim now for ages treads her glory in the dust. Yet as we waited and looked again from this high ground upon the city and the surrounding objects, I could not but exclaim, 'Beautiful for situation, the joy of the

whole earth is Mount Zion, on the sides of the north, the city of the great King.' One long, last look, and then turning away, I bade those sacred hills farewell for ever."—Vol. iii, p. 75.

Journeying from Jerusalem to Mount Tabor, our travelers visited Mount Gerizim, where the ancient Samaritans worshiped. At the base of the mountain, in a deep valley, lies the city of Nabulus, ancient Shechem. Here still exists a small community of Samaritans, a feeble remnant of that ancient people, who, amid the changes of centuries and all the adverse influences of foreign domination, still remain on the soil of their fathers. Their community numbers only about two hundred and fifty souls. They keep Saturday as their sabbath with great strictness, allowing no labor or trading, not even lighting a fire or cooking, but resting from their employments the whole day. Four times a year they go up to Mount Gerizim to worship. These seasons are the feast of the passover, the day of pentecost, the feast of the tabernacles, and the great day of atonement. The priest of this little community showed our travelers the celebrated manuscript copy of their Pentateuch, which they say is more than three thousand four hundred and sixty years old; referring it to Abishua, the son of Phinehas. It is very much worn and tattered by use, and patched in some places with shreds of parchment, but the writing appears to be in the modern hand, and the vellum itself is not very ancient. The priest also had the first volume of the London Polyglot, and he acknowledged the correctness of the Samaritan Pentateuch contained in it. The possession of the Pentateuch by them appears to have been known at an early period by scholars: but J. Scaliger, in the sixteenth century, was the first to point out the importance of obtaining copies of it. The first brought to Europe were procured by Della Valle, the traveler. One was on parchment, having the Hebrew text in Samaritan character; the other, on paper, was the Samaritan version. Both of these are in the Paris Polyglot, also with some corrections in the London. An interesting correspondence was carried on for some time between the different Samaritan communities and such scholars as Scaliger, Ludolph, and De Sacy. These letters have been collected and published by De Sacy. From the earliest of them, it appears that two centuries ago they had small communities at Cairo, Gaza, and Damascus, as well as Nabulus. But it appears that now the one at Nabulus is the last remnant of this remarkable people who, for more than two thousand years, have remained upon this, the holy spot of their religion. But though they have so long survived the

convulsions which have rent this unhappy land, they now seem to be slowly wasting away.

From Nabulus, Dr. Robinson and his companion kept on their way to Mount Tabor, passing through many places of interest, as Sebûstieh, ancient Samaria, which Herod rebuilt and called Sebaste, in honor of Augustus; and Nazareth, where the Saviour of the world once dwelt. They also visited Tiberias, once the seat of a celebrated school, which, for several centuries, was the central point of Jewish learning. Rabbi Judah Hakkodesh, while at the head of this school, collected that great mass of Jewish traditional law, called the Mishnah. In the third century the Gemara, a supplement and commentary to the Mishnah, was here compiled. That great critical collection, the Masora, intended to mark and preserve the purity of the Hebrew text of the Old Testament, is also supposed to have arisen from this same school. We have not space to note any further the researches of our travelers; we cannot follow them in their journeyings through Galilee to the sources of the Jordan, and the villages wherein "Jesus did many mighty works;" nor along the sea-coast of Tyre and Sidon.

With the journals which they had kept during the whole of their travels Dr. Robinson repaired to Berlin, and enjoying the benefit of the Royal Library, as well as the valuable private collections of Ritter, Hengstenberg, and Neander, he prepared these volumes for the press. An interesting feature of these "Researches" is, the accurate historical details which they afford of the Holy Land from the commencement of the Christian era down to the present time. Thus these volumes are not mere sketches of travels, but an elaborate work, abounding in minute and interesting details of every thing which can illustrate Biblical geography.

The discoveries of Dr. Robinson have wrought an entire change "in the geography of the greater part of Palestine and the countries adjacent on the south." The maps which accompany his "Researches" add greatly to the value of the work. They are drawn by a skillful cartographist, from observations and measurements which Dr. Robinson made on the spot. All former maps of these regions have been very defective, both on account of the imperfect data afforded by preceding travelers, and from the want of care in their construction. In those before us the sites of places of prominent interest are definitely fixed, and, at the same time, these maps are not crowded with the names of places of minor importance and of uncertain locality. They present a general and correct view of the most important localities and dis-

tinct features of the land, and will furnish a standard of reference in all questions of Biblical geography.

Our author has accomplished much for the Christian scholar: his researches have cleared up many dark points, and brought to light treasures which have been concealed for centuries. Yet much remains to be done. Dr. Robinson, having no idea of the brilliant discoveries which his unwearied diligence has accomplished, was not prepared with suitable instruments to carry out and verify his observations. But it is to be hoped that the day is not far distant when we shall be presented with an accurate and scientific survey of the whole of Palestine. Then we shall not need to rely upon the reports of occasional travelers, but shall have an undoubted standard of authority to which we can refer. We rejoice at what has been accomplished by private undertaking, for these volumes will stand as a monument of the untiring zeal and sound scholarship of our countryman.

New-York, August 17, 1841.

ART. II.—*A Classical Dictionary, containing an Account of the Principal Proper Names mentioned in Ancient Authors, and intended to elucidate all the Important Points connected with the Geography, History, Biography, Mythology, and Fine Arts of the Greeks and Romans; together with an Account of Coins, Weights, and Measures, with Tabular Values of the same.* By CHARLES ANTHON, LL.D. One vol., 8vo., pp. 1420. New-York: Harper & Brothers. 1841.

IN fulfilling a promise given in a former number, we now proceed to notice, in a manner better corresponding to its bulk and merits, this last and greatest of Dr. Anthon's learned labors. But, in doing this, we have to confess a higher object in view, and that is, to make it the groundwork of an argument among the most vital, we deem, for the intellectual and spiritual interests of our country —the right apprehension of classical learning in its bearings upon national character, and more especially upon the interests of the church.

But we must first do justice to our more immediate subject— the Dictionary itself. On this point, however, we speak rather from a sense of duty than to instruct the public, who, it seems, have not waited for our critical judgment, but have put their own stamp of approval upon it, by calling already for a *second* edition,

almost before the pages of the *first* were dry. We content ourselves, therefore, with saying, that we hold the public right in their decision, and that we know of no similar work in the market which, for accuracy and variety of learned information, can be compared with it. The public at large, and instructors in particular, owe to Dr. Anthon a debt not easily over-estimated, nor, indeed, likely to be rightly paid, except by those who take the trouble, not only to compare his narratives with what they supersede, but to try also the labor of extracting the gold without the dross from the stories of heathen gods and goddesses. The task of separating the dross from the pure gold is seldom estimated at its true worth, since it leaves behind no marks of the labor bestowed. Like rough ground leveled, nothing remains to tell the traveler of the perseverance or skill of the workman, and yet both may have been greater than that exhibited to the eye by many a showy structure. So is it with the Christian scholar who prepares for Christian use the materials of a Classical Dictionary; and we honor proportionally the scholar who, for conscience' sake, takes upon himself such an amount of unseen, and therefore, in a worldly sense, unrequited labor. For illustration of this merit, let us compare Anthon's Classical Dictionary with Lempriere's, which it supersedes, in an article which very naturally suggests itself as a test question. On turning to the article "Venus" in Lempriere, we find it to be as disproportionally full in detail as it is offensively and needlessly indelicate. It occupies a space in the Dictionary greater, for instance, than the very important article "Athens," twice as great as "Egypt," five times as great as "Italy," and ten times as great as "Attica," as well as being such in its details as no pure mind can read without disgust, and no youthful one, certainly, without contamination. The same article, "Venus," in Anthon, stands thus in comparative amount: occupying less than one-third of the space given to "Athens," one-fourth of that to "Italy," one-eighth of that to "Rome," and one thirty-fourth of that appropriated to the newly-opened fountain of classical antiquity, "Egypt;" while, at the same time, all requisite knowledge is given, and that in language free from taint; neither conveying nor awakening impure thought. The mere substitution, for instance, of "nude," the more appropriate term of art, for "naked," as used by Lempriere, in speaking of the statue of the Gnidian Venus, will show how much may be done by a pure mind and good taste in defecating of their licentiousness such topics of classical instruction. Could this not be done, we should hold it a doubtful balance between the value and the risk of all knowledge of heathen mythology. But that it can

be done, and that without the sacrifice of any needful knowledge, Dr. Anthon has here proved, and for this we hold him entitled to high praise. The licentiousness of especially this portion of classical learning has long been its opprobrium. He, therefore, does good service to ancient scholarship who removes that stumbling-block out of the path of the Christian student. He, indeed, makes classical knowledge to be more true as well as more pure. That ancient mythology consists in a familiar knowledge of its impure fables may now be held an exploded dogma; it belongs to an age of classical criticism gone by; to scholars who still repeat as authentic history the prodigies of Herodotus and Livy. To the philosophic student heathen mythology has another aspect, and offers to him another handle, one that defiles not him who touches it. The fable is not the thing fabled. Mythology was a veil, stained and impure indeed, but still one that covered up much hidden truth; and the main object of the scholar is now recognized as being in the wisdom, and not in the folly, of these ancient "myths;" in a clear apprehension of their historic bearing, and not in the grossness of their individual details. It is a maxim of Christian as well as heathen philosophy, that "*Nulla falsa doctrina est, quæ aliquid veri non permisceat,*"—No prevalent error is without its truth. Even in the foulest depths of ancient mythology there lie pearls of price; and he alone dives rightly into that dark stream who brings up the jewel, and not handfuls of putrefying mud. Disfigured truths of early revelation are there; symbolic representations of the spiritual wants of man; eternal verities struggling to imbody themselves amid surrounding darkness; and, above all, the vain gropings of self-condemned natural conscience, seeking to lay hold on somewhat for its support out of the man himself; these all lie at the bottom of heathen fable, and, once recognized in it, enable the well-meaning mind both to view and narrate its mythic tales without impurity. We do not say that the heathen thus regarded them. We know, on the contrary, that the great mass did not, but that with them licentiousness was of their very essence, and that for this "God gave them up to a reprobate mind," "to their own hearts' imagination;" but still we do say, that the rightly-instructed Christian may and should view them in another and a purer light, and thus at once elevate the study of heathen error, and keep himself pure from its defilement. Now this all-needful corrective of ancient licentiousness is, we think, afforded in the present volume of Dr. Anthon, and we have dwelt the longer upon this, its high merit, as being, besides, the threshold of our greater argument, to which we now proceed, in favor

of the extension of classical studies generally in our country, and more especially among the ministry.

Nor would we confine our recommendation here. To such as seek the actual acquisition of the classical languages we commend the previous works of Dr. Anthon, now for some years before the public, and whose merit is established by adequate experience. His "First Latin" and "First Greek Lessons," prepared expressly for beginners, "with appropriate Exercises," will be found well suited for those just entering on a classical course, while his "Greek Grammar," "Reader," and "Prosody," his "Cesar," "Sallust," "Cicero," "Horace," and "Latin Prosody," will afford ample materials for the advancing progress of the scholar.

Of what value, may some say, are classical studies to the practical man—to the nation generally? The Greeks and Romans are men gone by, it is said, and to us and our duties are as if they had never been. Their languages are dead as well as themselves, and on *their* arts, and sciences, and forms of government, we have made such advances that their records can teach us nothing. To what end, therefore, shall the best years of youth be wasted in laboring at acquisitions which, whether retained or lost, are alike valueless for the business of life? But all this is prejudging the question. It is presuming that the knowledge of the classics has no relation to that improved state of the mind which is necessary in practical life. This is the very gist of the question at issue. The basis upon which a superstructure rests is usually concealed. *True* education, unlikè to *false*, is at all times a *result*. What we see is the fruit, not the seed that was sown: that is covered up. Thus is it especially with classical studies; that they are not themselves directly applicable in the ordinary business of life is not conclusive against them. The true question is as to their results—the product, not the raw material—and to ascertain them, we must look to experience. Now how is it upon this point either with nations or individuals? What national literature is there, deserving the name, that has not been founded upon Greek and Roman models? What fame belongs to those countries that have neglected them? Have they not been to modern Europe the very fountain head of taste and refinement, while they who have not drunk of those Castalian streams have remained in barbarism? And to our country, above others, is not this lesson needful, from the obvious tendency of all things around us to measure themselves only by the utilitarian question, "*Cui bono?*" "Dollars and cents" are with us the unit of value, and whatever study cannot be thus estimated is but too frequently shoved out of the account. Now this we all know to

be the besetting sin of our country; it is the reproach from abroad that rests upon us; it is the snare at home that entangles us, and it is a position as false as it is dangerous. National prosperity and national character repose on deeper foundations than gold or silver. Next to religion, they rest on education—education on those studies mainly which go to elevate, to refine, to dignify, and to soften the mind of man. Nations are made up of individuals who have souls; and by the traits of honor, and worth, and intellect, and all nobleness, which these individuals show forth, nations are estimated; and alone, by posterity, remembered. Such should be the feeling resting in the breast of every American citizen who feels for the glory of his country; and within the circle of his influence should he seek to patronize and advance these studies of classical antiquity, which Christian Europe has long united in designating as the studies of humanity—"*humaniores literæ*,"

"*Quas didicisse*
Emollit mores nec sinit esse feros."

Nor is the influence of classical studies over the individual mind less marked or less desirable than over the nation. It was a saying of Johnson's, that no man rose in society without feeling some inferiority in his ignorance of them. Whatever, then, be their actual benefit, this opinion doubles it; for whatever men think to be powerful *is* powerful. Opinion, as well as knowledge, is power, and that, too, of the highest kind—of all forms of power the least resistible. But it is more than opinion; and of all forms of intellectual cultivation, that of classical studies is acknowledgedly the most influential. Let him, we say, who doubts this, but watch the changes of learned academic discipline over some ripe but untutored mind. It is such as to change, within the short period of a college course, almost the identity of the man. Rude talent, under its influence, passes into polished strength, in thought as well as in language; and timorous distrust, or ignorant arrogance of mind, into the measured self-possession of the scholar, neither *over* nor *under* valuing either itself or others; while narrow prejudices and bigotry, yielding to liberal studies and to wider views of mankind, grow into a sure knowledge of the past, a prudent foresight of the future, and an enlarged comprehension of the present. Such metamorphoses have we often seen, and on such conviction of their source are we now willing to go heart and hand for whatever will tend to spread a taste for such learning throughout the land, and, when early education has passed without it, for what will afford to the adult student the next best substitute, a

thorough, well-digested Classical Dictionary, such as we find here prepared on scholarlike and Christian principles. But we proceed to argue our higher question, the more especial importance of classical studies in connection with the duties of the Christian teacher.

Were there no other benefit resulting from classical studies than the *training* to which they subject the youthful mind, they would, for this alone, be all-important to professional men. We speak the concurrent voice of centuries when we say, that there is scarcely any intellectual discipline equal to that which is afforded by the study of the Greek and Latin languages. Like the initiatory training of the *Athletæ* of old, it is the best preparation for the actual race and struggle of life; so that in all the contests to which professional men are called, the scholar will ever be found to have the superiority over him whose mind has not been enriched with classic lore; and that not merely in weight, but in vigor—in the power to grapple, whether with his subject or his adversary.

The first view we shall take of this subject is as a national question. The safety of our country unquestionably lies mainly in the wholesome influence of the Christian ministry. It is the only abiding control left us with which to temper the unregulated democratic principle so rife among us; the only source of law, in short, which the human mind cannot shake off. Disguise it as we may, all other law is made light of when standing in the way of prevailing, present interests; that alone which speaks in the name of God is the sheet anchor of our safety, to keep us to our moorings, or which can bring us back if at any time we drift from them. Beyond all other nations of the earth, this is *our* position. Other people have something above them to reverence in their political institutions—a hereditary sovereign, or an aristocracy of birth, or a primogeniture of wealth, or, what is deeper and better, the sense of loyalty or chivalric devotion—and these discipline the minds of the mass into a willing obedience. But the American has none of these; he tramples upon them all, either as chains unworthy of the freeman, or as toys unbecoming the dignity of the citizen. The result is, that he walks without guidance, because without reverence; and stands, consequently, in that most dangerous of all moral attitudes for poor sinful nature—that of a man who bows to no superior, acknowledges no will higher than his own, and who recognizes neither power nor wisdom above himself. Alas! for such self-satisfied independence! In the language of the poet—

> "Unless above himself he can
> Exalt himself, how mean a thing is man!"

Under these trying circumstances of a self-will ungoverned from without, stands, we say, the American citizen; and to the subduing influence of religion alone can we look as the principle by which he will regulate himself wisely: nothing else with us can guard liberty from running into licentiousness. Whatever be any American's personal sense of religion, as a citizen he cannot but recognize Christianity as the only ruling conservative power in our country, and, therefore, estimate worthily whatever tends to deepen and strengthen its influence over the popular mind. Now this, we argue, will be best done by elevating the education of its teachers, and especially by familiarity with those studies which men unite in terming "liberal"—the study of ancient languages, and the models of good taste which they furnish. Such knowledge will, we think, ever be found among the surest sources of popular influence, and, when united with piety, among the most elevated and abiding. That which Christendom has persevered in reverencing for at least a thousand years, the Christian world, it is most probable, will go on to reverence, and hold, as it has ever held, a learned ministry superior to an unlearned one. Let men reason as they will about the justice of such an opinion, they still cannot alter the fact that men do thus judge, and Christian teachers must therefore choose in this matter between their opinion and their usefulness—their opinion, which may rest upon mere fancy—their means of usefulness, which cannot but be their duty.

But to pass from this lower ground of national expediency, and to look upon the question of classical learning in the light of duty. Let us see how it here presents itself to the Christian preacher. It must be in one or other of the three following lights:—He may condemn all such studies as hostile to Christian faith, and reject them accordingly; or he may hold them as matters wholly indifferent, and, therefore, valueless; or, again, as subservient and ministering studies that come in but to render homage to religious truth, and to enlarge the powers of him who teaches it, and therefore as desirable in their due place and degree. Now to which of these three choices (and no other can be imagined) shall the conscientious Christian teacher incline? The first, which makes classical studies hostile to Christian piety, will hardly now, we think, be maintained. Such opinion, though often broached, has never yet stood the revision of calm investigation. This notion, itself the child of ignorance, has been nurtured by blind enthusiasm, flourished in periods of fanaticism, but died so soon as the mind has returned to its rational strength. Or if facts were needed for its overthrow, how easy to adduce the greatest names of Christen-

dom to exemplify the safe and happy union of the deepest humility combined with the deepest learning, and the highest spiritual attainments with the most thorough insight into this world's learning; while, on the other hand, it is matter of every day experience that ignorance of the classics is no security against spiritual pride or personal self-conceit, or any other errors that beset the path of poor human nature. This first judgment, therefore, of hostility, we may assuredly set aside. From whatever cause spring the errors and deficiencies of the Christian preachers of our day, they are not surely to be laid to the account of any surplus of classical learning.

But to look at the second supposable judgment, that such studies are altogether foreign to divinity, and, therefore, wholly indifferent to the Christian teacher. But how, we reply, can this be? How can studies be foreign to him which involve the very languages in which the Holy Scriptures were originally written, and without the knowledge of which they never could have been translated, without which the gospel could never have been preached to the poor unlearned, nor the Bible made the book of the nations? And if classical learning be wholly foreign now to the duties of the Christian ministry, so has it always been; and then Luther was out of the path of his duty when he acquired and used that knowledge that enabled him to translate the Scriptures, that the people might read therein and turn from the lying vanities of Rome. But without these translated Scriptures where was the Lutheran Reformation? How, too, was it in England? Was not classical learning there, too, the battering-ram that beat down the strong-holds of Rome, and gave to her starving sons pure doctrine, and put the gospel into each man's hand, that he might study it for himself? What else, too, in every subsequent age, but sound classical learning, under the guidance of the Spirit, has proved the sure bulwark of a pure faith, whether against old Romish errors or new Socinian heresies? To cast away now from our hand this weapon that God hath thus signally blessed, were therefore a suicidal act. It were to strip the Christian church of defenses with which God hath intrenched it, and, so far as man's folly might do, to throw open again the vineyard of the Lord to the "boar of the forest and the wild beast out of the desert." Let not this responsibility rest upon us, American Christians, of bringing back upon Christendom its past ages of ignorance and error. That ignorance and error God hath dissipated, and in no small measure through a blessing on classical learning wielded by Christian hands; and in continuing so to wield it, with prayer for grace upon

it, lies, we may humbly, though confidently say, one of the church's strongest securities against the return of every error, however gross, with which ignorance once enveloped the Christian world. This second judgment, therefore, that classical learning is *foreign* to the Christian teacher, we may regard as disproved. But if this be so, what other opinion remains but to regard it as among the ministering studies that do homage to the cause of Christ, and, therefore, as an attainment useful, desirable, and valuable to the ministry; and to be limited only by the means of its acquisition? Now this we deem the only rational, the only Christian light in which classical studies in their bearing on ministerial education are to be regarded. "The priest's lips should keep knowledge," and to that high term no limit may be authoritatively assigned, save what God's providence sets to each individual in the means of acquisition, and in what Christian experience teaches us of the comparative influence of studies in fitting the teacher for his task. It is a great consideration, how and in what manner God works out the ends of his grace by human instruments, and one that imposes on Christian ministers deep responsibility, that they neither overrate nor neglect their share in the task. What God may do extraordinarily we question not; "out of the mouths of babes and sucklings he may ordain strength," as he often has done; "he may cause his ministers (to use the words of another) to carry treasure and have no share in it; be the bearer of the letter, and know not what is in it;" may even feed his people as he did Elijah, by a raven; but ordinarily he works not so, but uses means proportioned reasonably to the ends he seeks, and therefore it is that he demands from those who are to become the interpreters of his will, the consecration to his service of all their powers, intellectual as well as moral—the knowledge which human industry can acquire as well as that higher knowledge which comes but of God's teaching. That God stands not in need of man's knowledge was once rightly answered by the "retort, that still less does he stand in need of man's ignorance," and the reply was a valid one. "The gold and the silver are mine, saith the Lord," not that he wants earthly treasure, but that he demands the hearts of its owners. So, too, is it with human learning; he calls for its consecration as a gift, that it be laid on the altar, and there blessed to the winning of many unto righteousness. What knowledge the venerated Wesley deemed needful for the minister may be judged of from the list of studies appended to the plan of his school at Kingswood. It were, in truth, a formidable catalogue for the most high-toned in learning of our

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colleges: "the English, French, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew languages," with "history, geography, chronology, rhetoric, logic, ethics, geometry, algebra, natural philosophy, and metaphysics." The classics retained by him were to be carefully expurgated; there had been a time when he was for interdicting them altogether, as improper to be used in the education of Christian youth; but this error, according to one of his biographers, he long outlived. Nor were these classical studies only in name. Mr. Wesley put his own shoulder to the wheel. "Through God's help," said he, "I went on—wrote an English, a Latin, a Greek, a Hebrew, and a French grammar, and printed *Prælectiones Pueriles*, with many other books for the use of the school." Let the depreciation of learning which has sometimes been heard never be countenanced by *Wesleyans*. The question is not, as such reasoners make it, one of comparison with higher and more spiritual studies, but simply of utility as an instrument in the hands of piety, and whether it do not tend to place the Christian teacher on vantage ground, whether as regards his duties as a pastor, or his influence as a defender of the faith. This is the true question, and here there can be, we think, but one answer. We do not say classical learning is indispensable to the preacher, but we do say it is greatly advantageous, and has, besides, no tendency to quench the spirit of piety; and in proof of this we would appeal to the experience of every age and of every pure branch of the Christian church. At the period of the Reformation, as already alluded to, its leaders were all ripe scholars—giants, many of them, in classical learning, such as few have since been. In the Church of England, for instance, its most distinguished martyrs were also its scholars, and learning went hand in hand with piety. How is it, too, with the fame of Wesley, Fletcher, Coke, Clarke, Benson, and Watson, in the British connection, or of Fisk and Emory of the Methodist Episcopal Church in this country? Was it found in their case that classical learning impeded ministerial usefulness or diminished aught of personal piety? Or, rather, was it not, on the contrary, one of their chief and peculiar weapons of power, that they were enabled to meet the scoffer on his own ground of profane learning, and, Paul like, convict infidels out of their own poets and philosophers? We deem that it was, and we counsel those who would tread in their footsteps of Christian character, to follow them also in their studies of Christian influence. The following was Mr. Wesley's scheme of study, adopted by him in his twenty-fourth year, after completing his university course, and "resolving not to vary from it for some years at least:"—"Mondays and Tuesdays

allotted to the classics; Wednesdays, to logic and ethics; Thursdays, to Hebrew and Arabic; Fridays, to metaphysics and natural philosophy; Saturdays, to oratory and poetry, but chiefly to composition in those arts; and the sabbath to divinity." However rightly unlearned men may meditate, it is another thing to put their thoughts in words, to arrange them logically, to clothe them with beauty, and to express them with force and propriety; these are generally the fruits of a liberal education, and therefore among those arrows of the strong man with which he is to be rightly armed for battle. Learning makes what Bacon terms "the full man." He who depends altogether on his own stores of thought cannot but be soon exhausted. We are, therefore, to make use of those whom God hath set as lights in the several generations of the world, that, as Taylor says, "a hand may help a hand, and a father may teach a brother, and we all be taught of God."

The exigences of the present day call peculiarly for a studious and learned ministry. We live in an inquiring, or, rather, a captious age, though, in a worldly sense, an enlightened one, and the ministry must keep ahead of the laity in knowledge, if they would not have their spiritual gifts despised. A learned laity will not follow an unlearned clergy, for they will not respect them. The foundations of reverence are laid by the laws of nature, and man cannot resettle them. We bow to superior wisdom, and to that alone; and, united to piety and virtue, it constitutes the true sceptre of the Christian ministry. There is, therefore, no sound knowledge useless, and none which goes to lay open the secrets of human thought, or unfold the mysteries of human character, or to trace the history of man, heathen or Christian, but has its bearing and influence on the ministerial character. This source of power, even but as a matter of opinion, may not conscientiously be despised, by one who follows in St. Paul's footsteps, for he made himself "all things to all men, that thereby he might win some." But it is a truth that the preacher who is familiar with Plato, and Aristotle, and Demosthenes, is likely to be, in fact, as well as in reputation, a deeper thinker, a more conclusive reasoner, and a more right forward, energetic speaker, than he otherwise would have been. What benefit Mr. Wesley derived from familiarity with them, we know from his own acknowledgment. Speaking of his duties in the university as Greek lecturer and moderator of the classes, he says, "I could not avoid acquiring thereby some degree of expertness in arguing, and especially in discerning and pointing out well-covered and plausible fallacies. I have since

found abundant reason to praise God for giving me this honest art. By this, when men have hedged me in by what they called demonstrations, I have been many times able to dash them in pieces; in spite of all its covers, to touch the very point where the fallacy lay, and it flew open in a moment." To be truly "masters in Israel," mighty in thought, word, and knowledge, has been the lot of but comparatively few who have not had this training; and if we open up our treasures of Christian knowledge in pious and devotional writers, we fear not to assert that the most cherished among them will be found to be those as eminent in their day for sound learning as for personal piety. "Not unto us, O Lord, not unto us," will be found a more abiding sentiment, we think, with learned than with ignorant zeal; and "the knowledge that puffeth up" will often turn out, on examination, to be vain conceit. True learning is always humble, for its first lesson is to teach man the extent of his ignorance, a view of himself which but widens as he ascends. In the valley he may measure himself with what he sees around him, but not with the wide circuit of a mountain view. So is it with the scholar, and such is the security that true learning ever gives for true humility. Let then, we say, the Christian minister abjure ignorance. It is no part of his vocation. It is no argument of his fitness for it. Natural weakness is no warrant for supernatural grace, nor an unfurnished head for a purified heart. If God would not, under the law, have the physically lame and blind to serve at his altar, under what gospel plea shall those mentally such now intrude themselves upon a higher service? If God saw fit, even by miracle, to remove from the first preachers of the gospel the impediment of ignorance, what argument is clearer than that their successors are now bound to seek it by his blessing on their studies? Surely, then, a minister may as well sin by his ignorance as by his negligence, and this he does if he know not that which he might have known, and through want of which he is unable to answer the doubts of the inquiring, or correct the errors of the wandering, or put to silence the cavilings of the adversary. The watchman of Israel who then blows an uncertain or a feeble blast carries the trumpet but in vain, and at his hand will be required the blood of those whom he armed not rightly for the battle. Mr. Wesley strongly impressed upon his preachers this moral responsibility. In reproving one who had neglected study, he thus points out the consequences of his fault: "Hence," says he, "your talent in preaching does not increase; it is just the same as it was seven years ago. It is lively, but not deep. There is little variety; there is no compass of thought. Reading only can supply

this, with daily meditation and daily prayer. You wrong yourself greatly."

But we must have done. It is a high argument, and one that deserves a fuller consideration, on the score both of duty and expediency, than is consistent with its incidental introduction here. Nor is it yet an argument out of place, for, of all the benefits that may flow from the wide diffusion of Anthon's Classical Dictionary, we know of none greater or more desirable than that it should awaken a taste for such studies among those devoted to the Christian ministry, encourage the cultivation of them among its candidates, and supply (so far as can be supplied) the want of them in those who are already in the field. Under this sense of the blessing that may flow from its wide diffusion as a work of reference, we cordially commend it to the Christian public.

New-York, August, 1841.

ART. III.—*The Writings of George Washington: being his Correspondence, Addresses, Messages, and other Papers, official and private, selected and published from the Original Manuscripts; with a Life of the Author, Notes, and Illustrations.* By JARED SPARKS. 12 vols., 8vo. Boston.

THESE volumes have been for some time before the public, but they constitute so valuable an addition to the materials of our history that a notice, even at this late day, will hardly be regarded as out of place. The character and services of our great countryman have long been the theme of admiration for the civilized world, and of pride and exultation to America. The publication of his works will make him still better understood, and rear a monument to his fame and glory which will transmit his image to posterity with far more correctness than chiseled marble; and continue to endure when columns of stone and statues of brass shall have crumbled back to their dusty elements.

It is well known that Washington was a man of the most exact system, and that he preserved with scrupulous care a copy of every letter and document, public or private, which he had occasion to pen. That portion which relates to the revolution he always kept with him in camp for reference, and when his labors as commander-in-chief were about to cease he caused it to be copied out in a fair hand in large folios, the number of which, even in this compact form, swelled to no less than *forty-four*

volumes: and all his manuscripts, including his correspondence, addresses, reports, messages, &c., during the campaigns of the French war, the revolution, the different periods of his retirement, his administration of the government, &c., constitute *eighty* large folio volumes.

These writings, whether regarded as materials for illustrating the life, character, and services of the great man from whom they have emanated, or for a faithful delineation of those important events with which he was so long connected, and which comprise the most interesting period of our history, are of immense importance and value. The position of General Washington as commander-in-chief of the army made him the centre of our revolution. He was the heart through which its life's blood pulsated. His letters, consequently, present an entire view of the movements of the army, the difficulties of the times, the condition and resources of the country, the spirit of the people, the affairs of the different colonies and states, the proceedings of the continental congress, the positions assumed toward us by foreign governments, and, indeed, of almost every important circumstance connected with that period of our history.

The work before us is a selection from this vast mass of materials: and it is evident, at a glance, that it must have cost many years of application and research. So extended a correspondence must necessarily contain much that is of no interest to the great public; letters addressed to different individuals on the same subject are also liable to frequent repetitions which require skillful excision; allusions are made to events and circumstances which, in order to be understood, must be explained in notes; and, not unfrequently, the elucidation of the text calls for the publication of documents and letters which can be obtained only by a journey to the capitol, or, perhaps, to Holland, France, or Great Britain. The task of the editor could not, therefore, be well performed without the most diligent research and an intimate acquaintance with the whole field of American history.

Fortunately the duty of preparing this great work for the press devolved on one who was every way qualified for the high and important trust, and who spared neither time nor labor in making it complete. Mr. Sparks did not content himself with the very ample materials placed in his hands by the family of the deceased: he traveled over the United States and Europe, and examined the historical collections, both public and private, of all those countries which had particular connections with America during the eventful period of Washington's career, and brought together from these

various stores the additional documents necessary to the completion of his task.

By this patient course of study and the examination of libraries and records; by researches in the archives of the original colonies, the general government, and the distant states of Europe; by a careful preparation of charts, maps, and other means of illustration; by copious and well-digested notes, and a great collection of materials in the form of an appendix to each volume, Mr. Sparks has not only demonstrated his own fitness for the difficult trust reposed in him, but has succeeded in giving to the world twelve volumes of authentic history, the value of which cannot be estimated, but which, as we recede from the field of incidents which they chronicle, must continue to advance in public estimation while greatness has admirers and virtue has votaries.

Every ray of new light which has been shed on the character of Washington has given it additional lustre; and no repetition will ever make it a wearisome subject to him who admires virtue or loves the free institutions of America. In the annals of human greatness he stands alone. The world has decided that there never was but one Washington. And yet his greatness arises not from those lofty intellectual endowments which constitute the chief glory of others. He was neither a Napoleon in war; nor a Bacon in philosophy; nor a Henry in eloquence. His greatness was the greatness of moral purity, and resulted from that singleness of purpose with which he devoted the naturally vigorous powers of his mind to the glory of his country and the good of mankind.

Washington was exactly suited to the important place which he was called to fill in the great events transpiring in the new world. The revolution in which he acted so conspicuous a part was not undertaken in the spirit of reform. The colonies professed to the last their attachment to the mother country, and claimed to be satisfied with the forms of that government under which they lived, and took up arms only to resist what they deemed unlawful encroachments of power. "We sincerely approve," says the first Virginia convention, "of a constitutional connection with Great Britain, and wish most ardently a return of that intercourse and affection that formerly united both countries." The congress of 1775 also declare that "we mean not to dissolve the union which has so long and so happily subsisted between us, and which we sincerely wish to see restored." It was not then on account of any dissatisfaction with the form of the English constitution that the colonies took up arms: but to resist an unlawful exercise of power under that constitution. When, however, it became necessary in the course of

events to dissolve their connection with the crown, the name of Washington was not associated with that conservative influence which would have retained the king, lords, and parliament of the mother country, and perpetuated the feudal aristocracy of Europe on the soil of the new world.

On the other hand, the revolution, although not undertaken in the spirit of reform, proved to be a most important link in the great chain of human progress, and the basis of a reformation a thousand times more important than the mere severance of the colonies from Great Britain. But Washington entered not fully into the spirit of this reform. Its great leader was Mr. Jefferson. Washington was, therefore, neither a conservative nor a reformer. He stood between the old and the new era, keeping exactly up to the line of public opinion, and holding the balance even between all the contending influences which were at work about him and staying their extremes. He never, however, acted a weak or undecided part; but prompt, energetic, strong, and standing aloof from all parties and all ultra measures, he swayed an influence which no other man in this country has ever commanded.

The American revolution was, doubtless, the most important event in the history of the world since the triumph of the parliament under the reign of Charles the First. One event, however, always makes room for another, and the steps by which the people have gradually been enlarged from the vassalage of the feudal ages, although they cannot be traced in this brief article, are distinctly marked in the world's history. The fondness of Henry VIII. for beauty and divorces led him to break with the Church of Rome and place himself at the head of a separate establishment. The efforts of Luther had prepared the way for this usurpation, and it was, therefore, easily accomplished; but the impulse which the selfish king had thus given to the public mind by releasing it from the powerful superstitions which had so long held it in chains, carried the people forward beyond his wishes. They broke from the old establishment, but they stopped not at the new. Catholics not only became Protestants, but Protestants became Puritans.

Having thus burst the thraldom of superstition, and commenced the exercise of their freedom in the pursuits of an unauthorized religion, the royal authority poured out upon the new sects all the vials of its wrath. Persecuted and despised by those in power, they naturally placed themselves in opposition to the government; like the children of Israel, they increased under their burdens; obtained the majority in parliament; asserted their rights more boldly;

thwarted the tyrannical measures of the first Charles; and finally brought his head to the block. While these events were resulting in the enlargement of civil liberty at home, a portion of these Puritans, who had fled from the fierceness of their persecutions to the distant wilds of America, laid the foundations of that great empire of liberty which has since spread its banners to the sun through the richest portion of this vast continent.

The colonies thus planted were long of too little importance to attract much notice from the distant sovereign, and grew up to their majority in the atmosphere of their enlarged liberty, and when, at length, it was discovered that they were advancing rapidly to wealth and greatness, and were soon to constitute the brightest jewel in the British crown, their freedom had obtained too firm a basis to be easily shaken. But at length there arose a king who "knew not Joseph;" and neither British charters, sealed with the king's signet, nor the plainest principles of justice could screen them from the grasp of royal power.

At such a crisis Washington was not the man to hesitate. He was a member of the Virginia House of Burgesses when the question of taxation was suggested in parliament, and acted with the friends of America from the first. Notwithstanding his great moderation he was never the advocate of half-way measures. His convictions were strong; his conduct was decided. "If," he says, in a letter to Bryan Fairfax, "I were in any doubt as to the right of parliament to tax us without our consent, I should most heartily coincide with you that to petition, and petition only, is the proper method to apply for relief; but I have no such doubt. I think the parliament have no more right to put their hands into my pocket without my consent than I have to put my hands into yours."

With these strong convictions that the colonies were in the right, and with a mind incapable of acting otherwise than in accordance with its own deliberate decisions, he entered the contest. His position, as a gentleman of wealth and intelligence, together with his services in the late war with France, necessarily made him prominent, and his strong masculine understanding soon gave a weight to his name second to none. Even in the first congress his character was so fully developed as to draw from the celebrated Patrick Henry an expression of opinion that for "solid information and sound judgment Colonel Washington was unquestionably the greatest man" in that distinguished body. Nor was this opinion by any means singular. At the commencement of the following congress in 1775, such was the estimation in which he was held that he was not only on all the important committees for defense,

but was also placed at the head of each, and when, in the course of its deliberations, it resolved to raise an army and appoint a commander-in-chief, he was immediately designated for this last important office. Mr. John Adams, of Massachusetts, was the first publicly to suggest his name, and when it was thus announced he retired with characteristic modesty from his seat. The motion for his appointment was, however, brought forward by Mr. Thomas Johnson, of Maryland, and when the vote was taken it was found to be unanimous.

When, on the following day, the result was announced to him by the speaker, he signified his acceptance in a brief speech, full of diffidence and unpretending good sense, in which he manifested a thorough knowledge of the responsibilities which he was about to assume. He at once declined the pay of five hundred dollars a month which had been voted to him by the congress, declaring that as no pecuniary considerations could have tempted him to accept so arduous an employment at the expense of his domestic ease and happiness, so he did not desire to make any profit from his office. "I will," said he, "keep an exact account of my expenses: these I doubt not congress will discharge, and that is all I desire."

In a letter to his wife, written immediately after his appointment, he says, "I have used every endeavor in my power to avoid this appointment, not only from my unwillingness to part from you and the family, but from a consciousness of its being a trust too great for my capacity. But as it has been a kind of destiny that has thrown me upon this service, I shall hope that my undertaking it is designed to answer some good purpose; and I shall rely, therefore, confidently on the Providence which has heretofore preserved and been bountiful to me." A few days afterward he wrote again in the same strain: "As I am within a few minutes of leaving this city, I could not think of departing from it without dropping you a line, especially as I do not know whether it will be in my power to write again until I get to the camp at Boston. I go fully trusting in that Providence which has been more bountiful to me than I deserve."

It was in this spirit that Washington undertook the great business of the revolution. He had been prepared for it by a long course of discipline and services, and was already accustomed to the burdens and responsibilities of public life. In his youth, he had traversed, as a surveyor, the wild tracts, woodlands, and mountains in the uninhabited portion of Virginia, and had been exposed to hardships and dangers which few men at his age are called to encounter. When he had scarcely reached his majority he was

commissioned by Governor Dinwiddie to make a journey through the wilderness to the borders of Lake Erie in order to get an insight into the designs of the French, then about to commence hostilities; a service which occupied him eleven weeks, during which time he encamped in the woods, making his way on horseback and on foot, with sometimes only a single attendant, and surmounting hardships and difficulties which would have discouraged any but the most resolute and determined mind. At the age of twenty-two he was, by the death of Colonel Fry, placed at the head of the Virginia troops and conducted the first campaign against the French, in which his good conduct won him great applause. He subsequently volunteered to accompany General Braddock as aid-de-camp in his disastrous campaign, and, contrary to his wishes, gathered laurels from the defeat and ruin of others. In the battle of the Monongahela he behaved with the greatest coolness and courage. Every other mounted officer had been disabled, and the duty of distributing the general's orders consequently devolved on him alone. He rode in every direction; animated the drooping spirits of the soldiers by his example; exposed his person in the hottest of the fight; and was a conspicuous mark for the sharp-shooters of his savage foe. But in the midst of all these dangers he was graciously preserved for that more important theatre of action on which he afterward entered. "By the all-powerful dispensations of Providence," he writes to his brother, "I have been protected beyond all human probability or expectation; for I had four bullets through my coat, and two horses shot under me; yet I escaped unhurt, although death was leveling my companions on every side of me."

The coolness and intrepidity which Washington manifested on this occasion, and the skill with which he conducted the retreat after the fall of General Braddock, attracted toward him the particular attention of the people of Virginia, and secured to him that high military reputation without which he could not have been elevated to the command of the American armies. There were, however, other considerations which weighed with congress. Virginia was powerful in wealth and population, strong in patriotism and intellect, and had taken an early and bold stand in resisting the encroachments of British power. It was sound policy, therefore, to select the commander-in-chief from that colony, and hence every interest fortunately concurred in the appointment of this great and good man.

But although elevated to a high and honorable office by the unanimous suffrage of the American congress, yet was his position

far from being enviable. It is, perhaps, impossible for us at this day to appreciate the difficulties which surrounded him during the whole period of the revolution. We have now a population of seventeen millions of souls, all ardent in patriotism, and attached by custom, as well as choice, to a government of their own creation, and as thoroughly organized as any on earth. The military department is systematized; arms, ammunition, and every other species of supplies can be furnished in any quantity at home; and, in case of war, we have a credit which could not fail to supply the treasury with abundant means. In all these respects our circumstances are very different from what they were sixty-five years ago. At that time we may be said to have been almost without a government. The mandates of congress were little more than recommendations to the states, which they obeyed or not at pleasure. Our military stores were mostly brought from abroad; our army was made up of quotas from the different states, enlisted for short periods, and frequently disbanding on the eve of a most important movement; our exchequer was empty; our credit gone; and our population, which then amounted to no more than one-sixth its present number, was divided by the civil war into two parties, one of which rendered every possible assistance to the enemy, and, in some parts, proved even a greater annoyance than the presence of the foreign invader.

We are too apt to look back on the revolution as a unanimous movement of the people, and to regard all who were engaged in those trying scenes as the friends of liberty and America. This, however, was far from the fact. Marshall informs us that in 1775, immediately after the battle of Lexington, a company of Connecticut troops were required in New-York to sustain the whigs against their tory adversaries. In the same year New-York is known to have furnished large and important supplies to the British army. At the arrival of General Howe in 1776, large crowds of devoted royalists assembled on the shore to receive him, renewed their oaths of fidelity to the crown, and many took up arms and joined his standard. In New-Jersey great numbers of troops were enlisted on the part of the king, and it is thought that in both New-Jersey and New-York the number that joined the royal standard was quite equal to that which enlisted in the army of the republic. In the two Carolinas royal regiments were raised in 1776 and 1779, consisting of more than two thousand troops. Even the person of Washington was far from being secure against tory zeal, and, in one instance at least, a conspiracy was formed to deliver him up to the English, in which some of his own guard participated. Indeed,

so great was the disaffection of the people at one time that it threatened the most serious consequences, and caused even Washington to speak somewhat doubtingly of the result. While flying through the Jerseys, deserted by his own troops, who were marching off by regiments, and closely pursued by his powerful and victorious foe, he writes to his brother thus:—"We are in a very disaffected part of the province, and, between you and me, I think our affairs are in a very bad condition: not so much from the apprehension of General Howe's army as from the defection of New-York, the Jerseys, and Pennsylvania. In short, the conduct of the Jerseys has been most infamous. Instead of turning out to defend their country, and affording aid to our army, they are making their submission as fast as they can. If they had given us any support we might have made a stand at Hackensack, and after that at Brunswick; but the few militia that were in arms disbanded themselves, and left the poor remains of our army to make the best we could of it." "In a word, my dear sir, if every nerve is not strained to recruit the new army with all possible expedition, I think the game is pretty nearly up, owing, in a great measure, to the insidious arts of the enemy and disaffection of the colonies before mentioned, but principally to the ruinous policy of short enlistments, and placing too great a dependence on the militia."

The dependence placed on the militia of the several states, and the system of short enlistments, which had been adopted by congress, arose from the extreme jealousy which the people entertained of a standing army. They were not more disposed to submit their necks to the yoke of a military despotism than they were to that of the British king. We must be permitted to respect the feeling which thus led them to guard their dearest interests, but we cannot, at the same time, fail to regret a caution which, it is now apparent, was ill-judged, and which was the cause of some of the most serious embarrassments that Washington was called to encounter. He opposed it with all his strength, and finally so far overcame the scruples of congress as to induce them to adopt, in part, his views. "Can any thing," he writes to the president of that body, "be more destructive to the recruiting service than giving ten dollars bounty for six weeks service of the militia who come in, you cannot tell how; go, you cannot tell when; and act, you cannot tell where; consume your provisions, exhaust your stores, and leave you at last at a critical moment?"

To add to the embarrassments occasioned by this legalized desertion, the condition of the soldiers was often most afflicting. Few armies have ever been called to suffer what the army of our

revolution passed through in achieving the independence of America. "I believe, or at least hope," says Washington in a letter to Bryan Fairfax before the great drama was opened, "that we have virtue enough left among us to deny ourselves every thing but the bare necessaries of life." It was a noble, a sublime faith, and deserved the rich rewards with which it was destined to be crowned. The result proved that it was a faith which had not been misplaced: amidst all their sufferings, the majority of the people continued firm to the last. Not only did they often want the common necessaries of life, but even the means of subsistence and the ordinary clothing necessary to preserve them against the cold and storms of a northern winter. During the winter of 1777–8, while the army was at Valley Forge, in Pennsylvania, its sufferings were past description. Large numbers were not only destitute of shoes but also of blankets, and instead of reposing themselves on comfortable beds, were obliged to sit up all night by camp fires to keep from freezing. "We have," says Washington in one of his letters, "by a field return this day made no less than two thousand eight hundred and ninety-eight men, now in camp, unfit for duty, because they are barefoot and otherwise naked." "The soap, vinegar, and other articles allowed by congress, we see none of, nor have we seen them, I believe, since the battle of Brandywine. The first, indeed, we have now little occasion for; few men having more than one shirt, many only the moity of one, and some none at all." "For some days there has been little less than a famine in camp. A part of the army have been a week without any kind of flesh, and the rest three or four days. The soldiers are naked and starving."

What aggravated the distress of the commander-in-chief was the fact, that he could not make his true situation known, and that in the midst of his weakness he was obliged to appear strong lest he should invite the advances of his enemy. He was, therefore, exposed to censure for his inactivity without being able to vindicate himself, and even blamed for going into winter quarters, although his force was inadequate to any effective service, and the weather exceedingly severe. In speaking of the remonstrance of the Pennsylvania legislature against his retiring to Valley Forge, he thus feelingly alludes to his situation:—"I can assure those gentlemen that it is a much easier and less distressing thing to draw remonstrances in a comfortable room by a good fireside, than to occupy a cold, bleak hill, and sleep under frost and snow without clothes or blankets. However, although they seem to have little feeling for the naked and distressed soldiers, I feel superabundantly

for them, and from my soul I pity those miseries which it is neither in my power to relieve or prevent."

In the midst of his difficulties his only relief was to address himself to congress: but that body was able to afford him but little succor. Its own powers were too feeble to command respect. Its mandates were disregarded; its requisitions on the states were seldom fully answered. With a bankrupt treasury, a ruined commerce, a depreciated currency, and resources that were everywhere exhausted, the most that it could do was to issue new supplications to the states, and clothe the commander-in-chief with new powers. In this way the war dragged on. Congress was firm; Washington faltered not in the midst of all his trials. He rose with the occasion which called forth his exertions, and was never so great as when surrounded by ruin. His letters throughout breathe the same determined spirit, and are mostly marked with an unshaken confidence in the result. "I do not believe," he says, "that Providence has done so much for nothing." Again, "The great Governor of the universe has led us too long and too far on the road to happiness and glory to forsake us in the midst of it." When asked what he would do if Philadelphia should be taken, he replied:—"We will retreat beyond the Susquehanna river; and thence, if necessary, to the Alleghany mountains." The American army was many times subdued, but the spirit of such a man could not be conquered. When his army was dwindled to a handful, and Lord Cornwallis was about sailing for England with the tidings of its dispersion, he suddenly turned on his pursuers. crossed the Delaware in the face of a keen wintry wind, accompanied with snow and sleet, and while large cakes of ice were floating fearfully down the current; and, by a master stroke of daring and generalship, won a decided victory, which retrieved his sinking fortunes and restored the confidence of his countrymen.

Much has been said of the merits of Washington as a military commander, and some have assigned him the very highest, and others only a moderately advanced position among the heroes of the world. We are persuaded that in neither of these extremes is his true position to be found. Washington possessed a strong, masculine understanding; a steady, unwavering courage; and the greatest firmness of purpose. But his genius was inferior to that of Napoleon, Hannibal, Cesar, or Cromwell. His mind acted slowly, and although his judgment, when once formed, was sound beyond that of his most distinguished compeers, yet it was not the intuitive sense of a commanding genius, and always derived aid from a consultation with others. His battles were, therefore,

planned with skill and ability, but an unexpected event—a movement of the enemy which had not been foreseen—an accident which interfered with his original plan, was very apt to derange his whole operations and decide the fate of the day against him. Such unlooked-for occurrences occasioned his losses at Long Island, at Brandywine, at Germantown. But his prudence and skillful arrangements saved him in all these cases from total defeat. It was not thus however with the great captains whom we have named. The towering genius of Napoleon, for instance, enabled him to meet, at the fortunate moment, any untoward obstacle or to grasp any unexpected advantage. Brougham justly observes, that it was his glory never to let an error pass unprofited by himself, nor to give his adversary an advantage which he could not ravish from him with ample interest before it was turned to any fatal account. He possessed an intuitive perception of his enemy's position, strength, and motions, and an accurate knowledge of all that battalions could perform. His generals yielded to his decisions as to a master mind, never doubting, even for a moment, his superior skill, and regarding his knowledge as little short of inspiration.

It would be in vain to claim for Washington a genius so transcendent. But if he was inferior to Napoleon in this, the highest endowment of the mere warrior, he was far superior to him in wisdom. Macauley quaintly observes, that "the French emperor is among conquerors what Voltaire is among writers, a miraculous child. His splendid genius was frequently clouded by fits of humor as absurdly perverse as those of the pet of the nursery, who quarrels with his food and dashes his playthings to pieces." Washington, on the other hand, was what the same writer says of Cromwell, "emphatically a man." He was never elated by success; never intoxicated by victory. He had a manly strength of understanding; a steadiness of mind which allowed neither flattery nor passion to move him from the fixed purpose of his soul. He had nothing in common with that class of great men whose conduct attracts attention in lower posts, but who exhibit their incapacity as soon as they are called to take the lead: but his truly great mind, neither seeking honors nor shunning responsibilities, reposed in placid dignity in the loftiest stations, expanding without effort to fill the vaster sphere of his duties.

As a mere warrior, then, his place was in the second rank. But as the champion of liberty; as the defender of the rights of man; as a hero, whose sword was drawn only for the good of his fellows, he knew no equal. His natural endowments, too, were great. His courage, whether in council or in battle, was of the

most perfect kind. It may be said, indeed, that he knew no fear. "What I admire in Christopher Columbus," says Turgot, "is, not his having discovered the new world, but his having gone to search for it on the faith of an opinion." Washington acted on the "faith of an opinion." Whatever he believed to be for the good of the state; for the advancement of the condition of his fellows; in short, whatever he conceived to be right, he pursued without regard to personal consequences. He had, besides, a hardy, athletic frame, an iron constitution, and a mind well adapted to the details of camp movements. If he could not, like Napoleon, remember the exact position of each company, each battalion, each gun, his papers were kept with that precision, and his business conducted with that order, which gave him an advantage almost as commanding. He, also, often displayed the highest qualities of a great military captain. There are few achievements in the annals of military warfare more brilliant than the passage of the Delaware, and the surprise of the enemy at Trenton, or the attack at Princeton a few hours afterward. They were both conceived in the highest spirit of military enterprise, exhibiting a mind of no ordinary capacity, and rendered doubly brilliant both by the depressing circumstances of the republican army and the happy influence which they exercised on the fortunes of America. His closing victory at Yorktown was in the more ordinary routine of military operations, but was a glorious termination to his warlike career.

We are not quite sure that we have done our great countryman justice in this comparison. It certainly should not be forgotten that he was at the head of a small, ill-provided army, operating over an immense space, and that his highest ambition was not to distinguish himself as a warrior. It is not, therefore, possible to pronounce with certainty what he might have been under other circumstances. From the time that he accepted the post of commander-in-chief he had in view one great object, the emancipation of his country; and from the first he felt that the stake was of too much importance to be put in jeopardy by any great attention to his own reputation. The leading principle of his revolutionary career was *success*—the success of his country, not of himself. In planning his battles he was, therefore, always particular not to risk the state—not to put himself in a position which might enable the enemy, by one bold and fortunate stroke, to put an end to American liberty. He acted, therefore, under a constant restraint, a restraint salutary to his country, but, doubtless, prejudicial to himself. "I know," he says, in a letter to Joseph Reed, "the unhappy predicament I stand in: I know that much is expected

of me: I know that without men, without arms, without ammunition, without any thing fit for the accommodation of a soldier, little is to be done: and, what is mortifying, I know that I cannot stand justified to the world without exposing my own weakness and injuring the cause, *which I am determined not to do.*" "My own situation is so irksome to me at times that, if I did not consult the public good more than my own tranquility, I should, long ere this, have put every thing on the cast of a die."

There is an incident, resting on the authority of Colonel Pickering, and connected with what is commonly called Conway's cabal, which finely illustrates this self-sacrificing principle in the character of Washington. From the close of the disastrous campaign of 1776 there were in various circles whispers unfavorable to the military reputation of the commander-in-chief, which, after the battle of Germantown, began to assume a more open front. It afterward appeared that they were circulated by the agency of General Conway and a few others, with the apparent object of destroying Washington, and of elevating General Gates on the ruins of his reputation and fortunes. It is said that he was already aware of these designs, although he took no pains to counteract them. While his enemies were thus plotting his destruction, and laying their plans to secure the elevation of Gates, who might now be regarded, in some sense, as his rival, rumors floated from the north that the whole of Burgoyne's army had surrendered themselves prisoners of war. Should this prove true it might naturally be supposed that the friends of the victorious general would push their schemes to a successful issue, and that the star of Washington, dimmed by the transcendent lustre of his rival, might sink to rise no more. For some time this vague report was unconfirmed, but at length a horseman, covered with dust and mud, rode up to Washington's quarters. Colonel Pickering was with him at the time, and was sent out to receive the dispatches. The commander-in-chief hastily broke the seal of the package and glanced over the contents. It was the official announcement of the first great victory won by the arms of the young republic over its powerful foe. Burgoyne had indeed fallen. As Washington continued to read his hand trembled—the color forsook his cheek—the paper fell to the floor—his lips moved—the silent tear found its way down his care-worn cheek, and, with his hands clasped, and his eyes raised to heaven, he remained for some time in an attitude of thanksgiving for so mighty a deliverance. "I then saw," said Colonel Pickering, "how much superior, in the mind of this great man, was the love of his country to all selfish feelings."

The independence of America having been at length achieved, Washington retired to his estate at Mount Vernon loaded with honors, and carrying with him the affections of a grateful people. He had left his favorite residence early in the year 1775 to attend the meeting of the second congress at Philadelphia, since which time he had visited it casually but once on his way to Yorktown in 1781; and yet it was the home of his delight—the scene for which his heart ardently panted in the midst of his cares, and toward which he anxiously looked as the place at which he was to repose his weary frame after his long and toilsome journey. At length, however, he found his long-coveted retirement. "The scene," he writes, "is at last closed. I feel myself eased of a load of public care, and hope to spend the remainder of my days in cultivating the affections of good men and in the practice of the domestic virtues." In a letter to Lafayette he recurs to the subject in still more touching language: "On the twenty-third of December," he says, "I presented congress my commission, and having made them my last bow, entered these doors on the eve of Christmas an older man by near nine years than when I left them." "I have not only retired from all public employments, but I am retiring within myself, and shall be able to view the solitary walk and tread the paths of private life with heartfelt satisfaction. Envious of none, I am determined to be pleased with all; and this, my dear friend, being the *order of my march*, I will move gently down the stream of life until I sleep with my fathers."

The affection between this excellent young nobleman and the grave and thoughtful Washington is a subject on which we always delight to dwell. The youth, fired with a lofty enthusiasm in the cause of America, had forsaken his princely estate, the wife of his bosom, the exalted station to which he was born, and in the gloomiest period of the war, when our army was supposed to be flying before a triumphant foe, and our government had not even the scanty means to provide him with a passage across the ocean, fitted out a vessel at his own expense, and, before he had reached his twentieth year, offered himself as a volunteer in the American army, and, having been invested by congress with the commission of a major-general, was quartered in the family of the commander-in-chief. Washington soon contracted for him an ardent and sincere attachment, to which the bosom of the young nobleman responded with filial tenderness. The gay and chivalrous Frenchman was always singularly agreeable to the grave and care-worn general, and their intimacy ripened into a steady affection, which was sundered only by death. It is a pleasing incident of the

revolution to which the genius of Edward Everett has paid a just and beautiful tribute, that "by the side of Washington, from his broad plantations; of Greene, from his forge; of Stark, from his almost pathless forests and granite hills; of Putnam, from his humble farm," there should be a place at the war-council for a young nobleman from the gay court of Versailles. But strange as was the compound, it was cemented by the cause, and republican America cherishes the name of her Lafayette, and places it in the galaxy of her noblest sons by the side of Washington, Franklin, Adams, Hamilton, Jefferson, Madison, Jay, Henry, Mason, Greene, Knox, Morris, Pinckney, Clinton, and Rutledge.

Toward the end of 1784 Lafayette, having returned to America at the pressing instance of Washington and his revolutionary companions, visited Mount Vernon and renewed his personal intercourse with his paternal friend. The meeting was one of great tenderness, and the separation seems to have made a deep impression on the mind of Washington, who accompanied his young friend on his way as far as Annapolis, when they parted to meet no more in this world. On reaching his home, Washington wrote to him in a manner which showed the strength of those ties by which the two warriors were bound together. "In the moment of our separation," he says, "upon the road as I traveled, and every hour since, I have felt all that love, respect, and attachment for you, with which length of years, close connection, and your great merits have inspired me. I often asked myself, as our carriages separated, whether that was the last sight I should ever have of you: and though I wished to say no, my fears answered yes. I called to mind the days of my youth and found they had long since fled to return no more; that I was now descending the hill which I had been fifty-two years in climbing; and that, though I was blessed with a good constitution, I was of a short-lived family, and might soon expect to be entombed in the mansion of my fathers. These thoughts darkened the shades, gave a gloom to the picture, and clouded the prospect of seeing you again. But I will not repine; I have had my day."

This is not only the language of affection, but also of retirement; of one whose heart, divested of public cares, delights to revive the images of the past and dwell on its cherished friendships. Washington sincerely loved his quiet and elegant retreat, as well as the pursuits of a country life. "The life of a husbandman," he says, "of all others, is the most delightful. It is honorable, it is amusing, and, with judicious management, it is profitable." But the shades of Mount Vernon were rendered still more dear to him

since the close of his arduous public duties, both because they afforded him the repose toward which he had so long looked with a wishful eye, and because the attraction of his great name filled the noble halls of his country mansion with the great, the wise, and the good; the sharers of his renown; the companions of his toil.

But the revolution was, as yet, but half accomplished. The glaring defects of the confederation, which had been sufficiently embarrassing during our protracted struggle with Great Britain, now that the strong motive for union, presented by the common danger, was removed, became still more obvious, and the country, from one extreme to the other, was greatly suffering for the want of a more efficient form of government. Washington, although devoted to his retirement, was not so occupied by his farms as to lose sight of his country. He had long been sensible of the great defects in the articles of confederation, and had, from his retreat, watched, with the eye of a father, the workings of that system which was to govern this great family of republics; and he saw, with the deepest concern, that a remedy must soon be provided or the blood of the revolution had been spilled in vain. His letters disclose the ardent feelings of his patriotic heart, and breathe forth his sorrow and mortification at so unwelcome a discovery. "It was but the other day," he writes, "that we were shedding our blood to obtain the constitutions under which we live, and now we are unsheathing the sword to overturn them." In another letter he observes, "I think often of our situation and view it with concern." And again, "From the high ground we stood upon, to be so fallen, so lost, is really mortifying." In a letter to Mr. Jay he advocates a more liberal grant of powers to congress, and adds: "Requisitions are now little better than a jest and a by-word throughout the land. If you tell the legislatures they have violated the treaty of peace, and invaded the prerogatives of the confederacy, they will laugh you in the face. What, then, is to be done? Things cannot go on in the same train for ever. It is much to be feared, as you observe, that the better kind of people, being disgusted with these circumstances, will have their minds prepared for any revolution whatever. We are apt to run from one extreme to another. To anticipate, and prevent disastrous contingences, would be the part of wisdom and patriotism. What astonishing changes a few years are capable of producing! I am told that even respectable characters speak of a monarchical form of government without horror. From thinking proceeds speaking; thence to acting is often but a single step. What a triumph for our enemies to verify their pre-

dictions! What a triumph for the advocates of despotism, to find that we are incapable of governing ourselves! and that systems founded on the basis of equal liberty are merely ideal and fallacious! Would to God that wise measures may be taken in time to avert the consequences we have too much reason to apprehend!"

Fortunately for the great experiment of self-government, the "wise measures," so ardently looked to by the FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY, were taken in time to save the republic. The convention, which was called at Philadelphia in 1787, framed that glorious constitution under which we have, for more than fifty years, gone on triumphantly in the path of human progress *prospering and to prosper*, and proving that "systems, founded on the basis of equal liberty," are neither *ideal* nor *fallacious*. On the adoption of this constitution, the people unanimously called Washington from his loved retirement to preside in the chair of state and set in motion the wheels of the new government. Loth to abandon the quiet and peaceful pursuits which he had chosen, and especially to forsake his delightful abode on the banks of the Potomac, but still more loth to disobey the call of his country, he yielded to the popular will, and repaired to New-York to mingle again in the stormy scenes of public life. In his private journal his feelings on this occasion are thus chronicled: "About ten o'clock, I bade adieu to Mount Vernon, to private life, and to domestic felicity, and with a mind oppressed with more anxious and painful sensations than I have words to express, set out for New-York with the best disposition to render service to my country, in obedience to its call, but with less hope of answering its expectations."

It was with good reason that Washington was anxious about the task on which he was entering. The throes which accompanied the birth of the constitution had deeply agitated the people, and already the germs of those two great parties which afterward divided the country had begun to make their appearance. The conflict of the revolution, and the looseness, not to say anarchy, which prevailed under the old confederation, had developed two distinct tendencies—one toward aristocracy, and the other toward democracy. These two tendencies were strongly manifested in the convention which framed the constitution, and that instrument was the result of a compromise between them. "I consent to this constitution," said Dr. Franklin, "because I expect no better, and because I am not sure it is not the best. The opinions I have had of its errors I sacrifice to the public good." "There are some things in the new form," writes Washington, "which never did,

and, I am persuaded, never will obtain my cordial approbation; but I did then conceive, and do now most firmly believe that, in the aggregate, it is the best constitution that can be obtained at this epoch; and that this or a dissolution awaits our choice." "No man in the United States, I suppose," says Jefferson, "approved of every tittle of the constitution, and no one, I believe, approved more of it than I did."

But although the constitution was thus, in the main, satisfactory; and was finally adopted by eleven out of the thirteen states, yet the opinions which had prevailed in the convention were not forgotten, and the people were prepared to look with suspicion on the manner in which it should be construed by the administration. The debates on its adoption in the local conventions proved, besides, exceedingly stormy, and two distinct parties were formed, one in favor and one against the constitution; the former being called the federal party, and the latter the anti-federal. In this agitated state of society, Washington, without ambition; strong in the affections of the people; and with a single eye to the good of his country, commenced the difficult task of organizing the new government. Mr. Jefferson, who had been a conspicuous leader in the revolution, who had succeeded Dr. Franklin as minister at the court of Versailles, and whose splendid talents and great experience in public affairs eminently qualified him for the station, was placed at the head of the department of state; Mr. Hamilton, who had been an officer in the army, and was also possessed of great abilities, integrity, and patriotism, was placed at the head of the treasury; and General Knox, who had been in the war department under the confederation, was continued in his office.

When the constitution was adopted Mr. Jefferson was in France, and took no part in the discussions either for or against it. Colonel Hamilton, on the other hand, had been a member of the convention, and was known to have advocated a larger grant of powers to the general government. On coming into the treasury department he made his celebrated report on the subject of the finances, in which he recommended the funding system, the assumption of the state debts, and the establishment of a national bank. The opinions which he had advocated in the convention were immediately associated with these measures, and those who were jealous of the central government thought they saw in his financial plans a strong tendency to increase its powers, and to mold it after the British model. The debates were consequently long and stormy, and men began to aggregate, as if by elective attraction, into distinct parties. Those who sustained the measures of the trea-

sury, and were thus understood to favor a strong federal government, were called federalists, and those who were for reserving the largest possible share of power to the people and the states, and for withholding it from the general government, were called democrats. Mr. Hamilton was soon the acknowledged head of the former, and Mr. Jefferson of the latter.

Washington was greatly perplexed. He had never made political science his study, and as the debates advanced, and arguments poured upon him from the national forum against the proposed measures, his embarrassments increased, and for a time he was undecided. He had, however, great confidence both in the wisdom and virtue of Hamilton, and, on the whole, his judgment inclined him to favor the new financial schemes. His deliberation was calm and uninfluenced by party excitement; and his mind, settled at length, resumed its wonted firmness. The recommendations of Hamilton passed both houses by small majorities and received the immediate sanction of the president. The wisdom of these measures is, to this day, a matter of difference between politicians: but whatever may have been their *ultimate* tendency, there can scarcely be a doubt that their *immediate* effect was salutary. At any rate there was a vast improvement on the loose and shackling proceedings under the confederation. Confidence revived; agriculture and commerce were stimulated; activity reappeared in business; the public credit was restored; and the country rose rapidly from its depressed condition. The result was, at the time, fortunate for the success of Washington's administration, and, after making a tour through the country, he observes, "Every day's experience of the government seems to confirm its establishment and render it more popular." "Our affairs," says Jefferson, "are proceeding in a train of unparalleled prosperity. This arises from the real improvements of our government; from the unbounded confidence reposed in it by the people; their zeal to support it; and their conviction that a solid union is the best rock of their safety."

Washington was re-elected. Both Hamilton and Jefferson, though heading opposite parties, joined in pressing solicitations for him to remain at the head of the government. He yielded once more to the public voice, but it was with an increased reluctance, and only because he was, on every hand, assured that his commanding influence was now even more necessary than ever to keep steady the ark of government. The political horizon bore a threatening aspect on every side, and the elements were in strange commotion. Besides the plunder of our commerce by Algiers; a

vexatious Indian war; dissensions in the cabinet; and the discontents occasioned by a tax on domestic spirits, there was an ominous cloud gathering across the Atlantic—a tremendous revolution had taken place in France. From the first, Washington seems to have had apprehensions of this new-born republic. "If it ends," he wrote in 1789, "as our last accounts predict, that nation will be the most powerful and happy in Europe; but I fear, though it has gone triumphantly through the first paroxysm, it is not the last it has to encounter before matters are finally settled." His fears proved to be but too well founded.

Washington had scarcely entered on his second term when intelligence arrived that the French republic had declared war against England. He was at Mount Vernon, at a distance from his cabinet, when he heard the news, but he did not fail to see that this event must necessarily produce a serious influence on our foreign relations, and that great care and circumspection would be required to prevent the United States from being embroiled with the contending powers. He, therefore, immediately wrote to Mr. Jefferson, avowing his determination to preserve a strict neutrality, and, on returning to the seat of government, which was now removed to Philadelphia, summoned a meeting of the cabinet, and laid the subject before them. They were unanimous in favor of a strict neutrality, and the president immediately issued his proclamation "forbidding the citizens of the United States to take part in any hostilities on the seas either with or against the belligerent powers," and "enjoining them to refrain from all acts and proceedings inconsistent with the duties of a friendly nation toward those at war."

This measure, both in regard to its character and consequences, was one of the most important of Washington's administration. It was the only course which could have saved us from being drawn into the vortex of European wars, and its wisdom is now generally acknowledged. But although it was well received at first, yet as new intelligence arrived and spread like wild-fire through the country, an irresistible sympathy was kindled in favor of the French republic, and the democratic party availing themselves of this sudden advantage, used it with tremendous force against the administration. Jefferson had retired from the cabinet, and the president could no longer use his mighty influence to still the murmurings of the people. Hamilton was attacked on every side, and even the long services and lofty character of the president did not shield him from the shafts of party strife. In this state of the public mind came the French minister, Genet, with all the ardor

of a new convert, to add fuel to the flame, and, before his mad career was fairly checked, a new firebrand was thrown into the combustibles in the shape of Jay's Treaty.

The predilections of Hamilton for the British constitution were now remembered, and it was said that the administration favored the old enemy of America in preference to republican France. The levees of the president; his formality and state; his custom of opening congress by a set speech, after the manner of the British king, were all brought into view and assigned as evidences of his attachment to Great Britain, and as reasons why he extended no sympathy to our former ally and friend. In the midst of this storm of popular wrath Washington swerved neither to the right hand nor to the left. The high moral qualities which he had so often exhibited in his brilliant career, shone forth in all their sublimity, and his unparalleled greatness was never exhibited to so much advantage. He enforced with a firm hand the neutrality which he had proclaimed; he placed an immediate check on the high-handed assumptions of Genet; he confirmed the treaty with England; and marched an army into Pennsylvania to enforce obedience to the laws.

We have said elsewhere that Washington entered not into the spirit of that reformation which he did so much to advance, and of which Jefferson was the soul. His ideas of government were liberal, but they were strict. Both his habits of life and his modes of thinking inclined him to a government of law emanating from the centre, and not from the circumference. But his motives were as pure as the dew of heaven; his only object the good of his country; and to this he hesitated not to offer up his own spotless reputation. "In eight years of a turbulent and tempestuous administration," says Mr. Adams, "Washington had settled upon firm foundations the practical execution of the constitution of the United States. In the midst of the most appalling obstacles, through the bitterest internal dissensions, and the most formidable combinations of foreign antipathies and cabals, he had subdued all opposition to the constitution itself; had averted all dangers of European war; had redeemed the captive children of his country from Algiers; had reduced by chastisement, and conciliated by kindness the most hostile of the Indian tribes; had restored the credit of the nation and redeemed their reputation of fidelity to the performance of their obligations; had provided for the total extinguishment of the public debt; had settled the Union upon the firm foundation of principle; and had drawn around his head, for the admiration and emulation of after times, a brighter blaze of glory

than had ever encircled the brow of hero or statesman, patriot or sage."

Such was the career of Washington. Brilliant as were his achievements in the field, his never-dying fame rests on a foundation firmer, deeper, more abiding than that of a mere military conqueror. It is, indeed, something that he sustained the weight of an almost desperate war—that he led on the armies of his country to final victory—that, by his valor and discretion, assisted and sustained by that bright galaxy of statesmen upon whose memory we so much delight to dwell, he secured the independence of these United States. But how do these achievements, great as they are, sink into insignificance before his lofty virtues; his exact justice; his unwavering firmness; his deep devotion to the cause of human rights; his sublime dependence on Him who "stretched the north over the empty space, and hung the world upon nothing."

In another part of our article we have called attention to the astonishing genius of Napoleon. He rushes before the imagination like a meteor blazing through the night. He spurns opposition—he laughs at difficulties—he grasps, as it were, the energies of the world, and moves them to his purposes. Armies rise at his bidding—kings tremble before him—his arm is stretched out in power over half the world. At one time we behold him rushing before his wavering columns through a shower of Austrian grape, and, by one masterly display of heroism, deciding the fate of a great battle—at another, entering France a solitary prisoner from Elba, and without armies, or generals, or exchequers, "overwhelming a dynasty by the power of his name." But, alas! how our admiration falters when we reflect that these great qualities were prostituted to the purposes of a mean and selfish ambition! To build himself a name—to found an empire—to aggrandize a family, he subverted the liberty of nations and deluged the world in blood.

It was not thus with Washington. The transcendent lustre of his career is tarnished by no spot that can dim its brightness. If he was great in battle, he was still greater in the cabinet, and greatest of all in the quiet retirement of private life. No suspicions rest on his memory—no cruelty marked his career—no success seduced him from the path of duty. His truly great mind arose above all selfish considerations. He drew his sword in defense of human rights, and, when the object was achieved, returned it to its scabbard. He accepted power to establish the liberties of his country, and when the constitution was settled on a firm basis, retired "with the veneration of all parties—of all nations—of all mankind." Not coveting power, but holding it only in trust, when,

with an army at his back, and strong in the affections of the people, he was solicited to found a kingdom and take the crown, he spurned with contempt the glittering bauble, and, with characteristic modesty, buried the offensive secret in his own bosom.

Just, firm, noble—sheathed in an armor of principle, which was alike proof against the seductions of interest and the threats of power, he stood forth in the majesty of his own virtue like a rock in the midst of the ocean; and when the storm raged and the lightnings of heaven flashed in anger about his head, he caught them upon his uplifted sword and conducted them harmless to the earth. His patriotism was no transient feeling—now bursting forth like the flame of a volcano, and now sinking back into night; but steady as the light of the star that twinkles through the firmament, he maintained to his latest breath his firm position—guiding the steps of that nation which his own sword had made free—"holding the balance even between contending parties—promoting peace—establishing justice—maintaining law—and, at his death, bequeathing to his heirs the sword which he had worn, with the solemn charge, 'never to take it from the scabbard but in self-defense, or in defense of their country, or their country's freedom.'"

Such was this great man, who, by the unanimous consent of mankind, has been styled the FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY. In vain shall we look back through the vista of departed ages for one whose career has left in its track so much glory and so much happiness. We love his memory, not because he dazzled us by the coruscations of his genius, but because he was the friend of man—because he founded a nation of freemen—because nations yet unborn will rise up to call him blessed.

ART. IV.—*The Life of the Rev. John Emory, D. D., one of the Bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church.* By his Eldest Son. With an Appendix. 8vo. New-York: G. Lane. 1841.

THOUGH it may be true that "every life has enough in it to be worth preserving from oblivion," it is very certain that the world looks for something in a biography more than the common course of human life. A man's life must have been marked in some way to entitle it to be written after his death, and printed in a book. Accordingly, when we hear of a new Life, we ask, naturally enough, what the man was, thought, or did, that we should be called upon to interest ourselves in the history of his parents, his growth, and his decay. Who, then, was John Emory? What did he accomplish that his life should be added to the countless biographies that have been written? It shall be our purpose in this article to answer these questions; not wholly indeed, for that would require us to write the life, not a review thereof; but sufficiently, we trust, to show that the book ought to have been written, and that it ought to be read, now that it is put forth.

The book before us was prepared by the Rev. Robert Emory, of the Baltimore Conference, eldest son of the late Bishop Emory. Our reading has convinced us, that, as a general thing, near relatives are unfit to write biographies. If they indulge their natural feelings, they must write under the influence of a partiality sufficiently strong to hoodwink an ordinary judgment. The child sees, or ought to see, only the bright side of the parent's character; but there may be a dark side, and the functions of biography are imperfectly performed if its views are one-sided. It is true that a very strong judgment may act against the tide of natural feeling, and enable the son to form tolerably correct opinions in regard to the character and conduct of a parent, but even then, there are difficulties, next to insurmountable, in the way of his writing a good biography. From the nature of the case he will be acutely sensitive to criticism both upon the subject and the manner in which it is treated. He must be aware that jealousy will dog his footsteps, that encomiums, however well deserved, will be esteemed exaggerations; and that wherever *he* blames, others, especially if their prejudices or their interests are at all involved, will believe that affection has lightened the dark hues of the picture, and that in every censure there is more than meets the eye. He will, therefore, be in danger of running into the extremes of avoiding merited censure and of withholding just praise. Under these circumstances, it is almost

impossible for him to write with freedom and power. He walks in fetters.

These objections all passed through the mind of the author before he commenced writing, and for a long time seemed conclusive. But at length the alternative was presented of sacrificing his own delicacy, or depriving the church of any memorial of one who so well deserved to be embalmed in her holiest recollections. Such a question could not long remain undecided. The sense of personal delicacy gave way before the call of duty, and the author at last undertook a task which, if possible, he would have gladly avoided. We have good reason to rejoice in this result. The issue of his labors is before us, in one of the most interesting biographies we have ever read. The following extract from the preface shows that he went to work with a full understanding of the difficulties arising from his peculiar position :—

"To those who were intimately acquainted with the subject of this memoir, the author is apprehensive that he will appear sometimes to have sacrificed the reputation of the father to the delicacy of the son. If others shall rise from its perusal with the belief that it is an eulogy exaggerated by the partiality of the writer, let them consider that this itself would be no small tribute to Bishop Emory's character, if, in the contemplation of it, the fidelity of the biographer had yielded to the overpowering influence of filial affection. But it is believed that no such charge can justly be preferred. The author has certainly not sought to find faults in the subject of his memoir merely to show his own impartiality as a historian; but, at the same time, he has given as faithful a narrative as an intimate acquaintance with the deceased, access to all his papers, and communication with his friends, enabled him to prepare."

The author has succeeded, to a very remarkable extent, in presenting his subject fairly. And yet we think he has been somewhat cramped by his position, and that whatever deficiency of ease and freedom may be noticed in the book, can be traced to this cause. The plan, and indeed the entire execution of the biography, are highly creditable. The skill of a biographer is nowhere more clearly shown than in bringing strong points into relief, and making features of minor interest subordinate to them; and herein our author has been eminently successful. The division into chapters is very well conceived, and the lucid arrangement of details fills up the comprehensive outline admirably. For his clear division, together with the running titles, and the copious index at the end of the volume, which not only facilitate the reading of the book, but afford every convenience for reference, the author deserves our thanks; and we wish most heartily that other book-writers would

imitate him in this respect. To be sure these things cannot be done without labor, but the man who is unwilling to labor for perfection, ought not to write at all. Professional readers as we are, we need all these helps, in this day when "of the making of books there is no end," and we are tired and vexed almost every day for the want of them. In the book before us all these things are as they should be. Every chapter contains a well-marked period in the bishop's life, or discusses some separate point of interest. The style is perspicuous and unaffected; the author uses good nervous English, plain and forcible. He does not deal in periphrasis or ambiguity—always direct, he is always understood; indeed, it is clear that he understands himself, and *means* to be intelligible to his readers, not to mystify them. The principal defect of his style is its want of ease and grace; and though we may give it the praise of neatness, we cannot call it elegant. Still, it possesses the more substantial elements of purity and precision—no small recommendation in these days of Carlyleism and Dialism, when all sorts of tricks are played with mother tongue, and he is the finest writer who can bring into the language the strangest twists and most fantastic inversions. After these remarks upon the execution of the work, we proceed now to notice the questions proposed in the beginning, and shall make use of our author as we proceed.

John Emory was born April 11th, 1789. After an excellent academical education, he was occupied from his sixteenth year to his nineteenth in the study of law, during which period he was converted, and became a local preacher. Notwithstanding the strenuous opposition of his father, he entered the itinerant ministry of the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1810, and continued in the discharge of its regular duties until 1823, having also been a member of the General Conferences of 1816 and 1820, by the last of which he was sent to England on a delicate and important mission. In 1824 he was called to the Methodist Book Concern, where he spent eight laborious years. In 1832 he was elected a bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church, the duties of which high office he filled until the twentieth of December, 1835, when his career was closed by an accidental death. Such was the life of John Emory—at least the shell of it—and that is enough to show that he was no ordinary man. But what we want is something more than this; not merely to get hold of the string on which the pearls of his life were strung, but to seize upon the gems themselves; not merely to know by what names he was called, and by what honors distinguished among men—as bishop and the like—but what were the characters of his moral and spiritual life; what

were his native forces, how they operated upon the world, and how, in turn, the world operated upon them. We shall thus know what he *was*, and then we can learn something by seeing how he developed this inward life in outward action by finding out what he *did*. From the book before us we can do these things—not, indeed, perfectly, or as far as we might wish; that, no biography could afford to us; but better, perhaps, than if this life of a man, constitutionally prudent and reserved, whose thoughts were not to be fathomed by every passing stranger, had been written by any other than his own son; especially, since, as we have already said, the son's reverence for the father, great and deserved though it may be, is no blind idolatry.

Let us look at the first great act of his life. His father, evidently a good man, but stern and unyielding, designed him for the bar, and had him educated accordingly. He entered upon the practice of the law at an unusually early age, with the fairest prospects of success. But the young man's mind had received another bent—new impulses were given to him from above, and he felt that he must obey them. He resolved to abandon his profession and devote himself entirely to the work of the ministry. "It was on the ninth of October, 1809," he writes, "that I made a covenant on my knees, wrote and signed it, to give up the law, after much reading, prayer, and meditation, and on the tenth I did so, though my father was very unwilling." This act, and the spirit that animated it, will afford a clew to his entire character. It was not so great a thing in itself, this mere giving up of good worldly prospects to become a preacher of Christ; if that were all, we might say that he had done no more than many others; nay, that he had done less. It is not so great a sacrifice, after all, for a man of any elevation of soul, to throw aside trifles for realities; a man altogether worldly and selfish might not understand such an act; but for a noble spirit, the far greater sacrifice would be to crush its heavenward tendencies, and suffer them to be trampled in the dust, by ambition or avarice, in the great highway of life. But the significance of the act lies in this, that the conflict, in the bosom of this youth of twenty, was not merely between worldliness and self-devotion, but between the high claims of a duty whose voice of authority he had implicitly obeyed from his childhood, and which had grown with his growth until it was interwoven with every fibre of his being, and the higher claims of a destiny newly unfolded to him and foreign from the early plans and training of his life. He revered his father as a wise and good man; nay, he loved him with an affection that had not been weakened by severity or alienated

by unkindness, for he owed every thing to his father's love; he had been used to look up to him for advice, and to render the ready obedience of a dutiful son; and now, in the great turning-point of his career, he was called upon to disobey! That little lawyer's office in Centreville was the scene, night after night, for months, of a mighty struggle. Often have we contemplated it thus: It is his duty to preach. He feels the fire within him, and he cannot extinguish it—the flame of love to God and man. And yet it has not free course; sometimes he even thinks it is dying away, and he longs to give it vent in its natural channels. The world lies before him in its wickedness. Men are rushing toward the precipice of destruction, and he knows that God has made his arm strong to pluck them from the awful brink. He sees moral evil, in its varied forms of malignant power, battling with the right and the true; a warrior's spirit is in him, and he longs to stand in the thickest of the fray. The life of a man is before him, and he longs to fill it with good deeds. His vision embraces even other and further scenes. He recollects not only how nobly great souls have spent themselves in life, but how nobly, too, they have triumphed in death, and he looks forward to the hour, when, after his work is done, he too shall achieve that final victory. He is ready to go! But he looks even beyond the grave, and there gleams before his spirit-vision the crown of eternal life, all radiant with gems—immortal souls saved through his instrumentality—stars that are to shine for ever in his coronet of glory. He *must* go, though all the world oppose him. But let the world speak. It tells him of his talents, and the brilliant prospects before him—wealth, distinction, a high name among men. It tells him of the poverty, the obscurity, nay, it even dares to say, the shame that must come upon him if he change his course. More forcibly, it tells him that he has mistaken his way, and that he can be more useful as a weighty citizen or honest statesman than as a wandering preacher. Is this all? These petty sophisms cannot deceive him; his eye is too keen for that. Not that he is unambitious; but that he is all too ambitious to limit his undertakings to so narrow and temporary a sphere. If this be all, then, the struggle is over. But, ah! the real conflict has yet to come. His very virtues are in arms against him. His filial love is pointed, an enemy's weapon, against his own bosom. His long habit of obedience binds him with chains of iron. His father's judgment he has always trusted, and can he pronounce it incorrect now? Certainly it is not altogether unreasonable; his health is so feeble that he has to relax his studies, and he needs the comforts of home, rather than the toils of a circuit. Can we

wonder that he was sorely tried? Could we have blamed him for a different choice? Blame him we might not, but he would assuredly have blamed himself. Had John Emory yielded to his father, his integrity and honor would have been fearfully shaken; thereafter he could not have trusted himself. But his integrity and honor remained unshaken then, as they did in all after time, forming the very basis of his manly character. The decision was made according to the dictates of his conscience, and even then, virtue was not without its heavenly witness and reward. "The moment," says he, "I entered into this covenant upon my knees, I felt my mind relieved, and the peace and love of God to flow through my soul, though I had before lost almost all the comforts of religion. And ever since I have enjoyed closer and more constant communion with God than before."

We have spoken of this one act of Emory's life at length, because, as we have said, it throws light upon his entire character. His *integrity* we have seen triumphant here, and we believe no man ever doubted it afterward. It was written upon every lineament of his strongly marked countenance; it spoke in every word that fell from his lips; and it was manifest in every action of his life. Known and read of all men as it was, it is almost superfluous to commemorate the honesty of John Emory. Ambition could not tempt it; difficulties could not shake it; gold could not bribe it. He adopted his opinions cautiously, because he would receive none without the fullest assurance of their truth; and when they were adopted, he maintained them manfully, because he believed them to be true. It mattered not to him who was his opponent. Except that his modesty and tenderness of feeling were wounded by the trial, his opposition to Bishop M'Kendree was as vigorous as it would have been, if, on the same subject, he had been contending with a junior preacher like himself. No disputant could be more thoroughly upright in the conduct of a debate than he; sound and legitimate reasoning he would employ against any man, sophistry he never deigned to use at all. He never committed the fatal error of maintaining a good cause by bad arguments. His was not that flexible conscience which bends with circumstances. And though he was prudent, as we shall see, almost to a proverb, we do not believe that an instance could be found, in his whole life, of his sacrificing the true to the expedient. In the early stages of the presiding elder question he incurred the imputation of radicalism by his bold advocacy of what he believed to be a necessary change; and in its later days, he was liable, in the eyes of some, to the charge of inconsistency, because he opposed the excesses of per-

sons with whom he had before been partially connected. In both cases he knew the risk he was running; in both he made up his mind as to what was right, and unflinchingly pursued it.

2. We notice next the *strength of will* which Mr. Emory exhibited in obeying the call of duty in opposition to his father's wishes. We have seen that the parent was unbending: he found the son worthy of the sire in this same iron trait, which he manifested, not merely in the decision, but in adhering to it through two whole years of gloom, in which his father refused to hear him preach, or even to receive letters from him. What a weight to rest upon the young itinerant, in addition to the cares inseparable from his new position! "It would, doubtless," says the author, "be an instructive and affecting lesson to peruse the private diary which he kept at this period." It would, indeed, have proved a precious relic; but even without it, we can appreciate the firmness of his conduct in this early day of trial, and his subsequent history showed a full development of this powerful element of character. Nor could it ever be mistaken for obstinacy, that "stubbornness of temper which can assign no reasons but mere will for a constancy which acts in the nature of dead weight rather than of strength, resembling less the reaction of a spring than the gravitation of a stone." Knowing the purity of his own intentions, confiding in his own judgment, and perceiving his superiority to most of the men around him, he was rarely to be found in that miserable state of suspense which seems to form the common atmosphere of men of muddy brains and feeble wills. It was surprising to see how such men would fall back and clear the way for his coming. It was known that he was a wise and thoughtful man, but if it had not been known also, that his will was not to be baffled, he never could have attained the power over men which he possessed. The great secret of heroism lies, indeed, in this strength of will. A man may be as honest as the day and as clear-headed as Lord Bacon, but if his will be imbecile, he will be thrust aside in the day of trial by men of far humbler pretensions. One Mirabeau, in a French revolution, is worth a score of Neckars. We are no idolators of mere energy of mind, and yet we are too well assured of the immense power it confers on its possessor not to honor it, when we find it combined with inflexible integrity and directed to noble objects. In Bishop Emory it was exhibited not only in that promptness of action which we call decision of character, but also in that well-sustained steadfastness which is perhaps more rare, consistency. No one doubted that when the time came for action he would be prepared; no one expected to find the deed of one day nullified by that of the next.

3. Many strong men keep us in constant fear lest they should make some false step. When in possession of power they are watched by a thousand anxious eyes. With unimpeachable honesty and Roman firmness, they are so destitute of prudence that their power is wasted in the endless strifes which they excite by the wayside, instead of being treasured up for great emergencies. Not so Bishop Emory. He disobeyed his father, it is true, but not without foresight on his own part, and wise counsel from his friends to fortify his decision. Afterward he was proverbially a prudent man. Dr. Bangs says, "that he was always desirous to have his errors corrected before they should be exposed to the multitude for indiscriminate condemnation." This combination of discretion and firmness is so strongly marked, that we should be tempted to illustrate it at length from the biography before us, did our limits allow. It must suffice for us to point to his success in his very first station, where his remarkable prudence fully justified the reply of Bishop Asbury to some who doubted his qualifications for the post, "Never mind, he has an old head on young shoulders;" to his conduct in his delicate mission to England; to his defense of the institutions of the church: to his management of the Book Concern; and, lastly, to his performance of episcopal functions. We have traced him through the whole of this career, and found him often placed in circumstances of perplexity and even of peril, but never once have we found his firmness shaken or his discretion at fault. We are aware that this is high praise, and that some have tried to impugn his conduct, in certain instances, as indiscreet, to say the least; but we are firmly convinced that in no case, even the most difficult, could he have done less than he did without sacrificing that steadfastness of purpose which he would have died sooner than relinquish. He could not have been more discreet, even in appearance, without being less firm. But there have not been wanting those who considered his very caution a fault; and we have heard him charged with a morbidly scrupulous care for his own reputation. A newly published book was once under discussion in the presence of one of our living bishops, and several errors, evidently the result of carelessness, being pointed out, the bishop remarked, "Brother Emory would have worked his finger nails off before such inaccuracies could appear in a publication of his." The remark was no exaggeration. No man could be more conscientious as an author than John Emory. So great was his anxiety that all his compositions should be finished, that we have known him, after correcting and recorrecting until his manuscript had become the plague of the compositors, to make free with the

proofs to an alarming extent, and sometimes to throw down whole paragraphs and pages after they had been set up. Shall we call this a fault, and thus sanction that lazy confidence which enables some writers to utter their crude thoughts in careless language to the disgrace of the church and the injury of good letters? By no means. Rather let us praise the sternness of principle which governed the man even in such matters, and the prudence which caused him so anxiously to strive for correctness in all things. The *limæ labor* is not so common that we can afford to stigmatize it as a weakness.

4. Such were some of the prominent traits of Bishop Emory's character. Less known, of course, were the strength and tenderness of his affections. How touchingly beautiful are the letters written to his mother, at the time of trial to which we have referred! How carefully he avoids any allusion to his father's course, and how tenderly he speaks of him afterward! The opinion seems to have gained ground, in some quarters, that he was cold and repulsive; and some, observing the stern severity of his manner in the performance of public duty, have judged that his heart was formed in the mold of austerity. Those thought differently who knew him well. The volume before us shows him to have possessed a depth and gentleness of feeling which, we must confess, surprises even ourselves. In the account, given in his own language, of his wife's death, every word is fraught with feeling; and never was there a nobler expression of human love than is found in the closing passage of a letter to his mother-in-law on that mournful occasion: "I think, sometimes, that I could brave death to see her only." The letters to his family and near friends, especially in times of sickness, trial, or death, literally breathe the spirit of love.

But there was some ground for the opinion that he was not remarkably affable; certainly he was not as *accessible* as he might have been without any detraction from his dignity. This remark, however, can only apply to his business intercourse with others. When he gave himself to the enjoyments of the social circle he was delightfully easy; there, and there only, did his heart find its full play. His friendships, too, were sincere and steadfast, and they could not be otherwise in a nature of so much depth and constancy as his. His biographer tells us that "his heart was too warm and generous not to seek some kindred spirits with whom to hold sweet converse; though even with these, his most unreserved intercourse never descended to any thing unbecoming the Christian or the minister." We think it may be said, in addition to this, that he was not communicative even to his best friends. He was

not accustomed to indulge the entire heart in the gushing flow of sympathy; his soul did not utter itself, as some men's do, in all their fullness; nor did he "delight in the detail of feeling, in the outward and visible signs of the sacrament within—to count, as it were, the pulses of the life of love." His affections were always, and perhaps too much, under the control of his judgment.

5. To attempt a regular analysis of Bishop Emory's mind, is a task to which we dare not address ourselves. No man can trace his history and read his writings without perceiving that *accuracy* was one of his highest aims. This resulted not only from the character of his mind, but from his mental habits, formed early in life. He could never be satisfied with partial views of any subject. "In boyhood," says his biographer, "whether the subject of inquiry was the pronunciation of a word, or a question of science or religion, he could not be content with conjecture, when certainty might be attained."—P. 298. And, in after life, he studied thoroughly whatever he undertook to examine at all, and in setting forth the result of his labors, he surrounded his subject with an atmosphere of light. He had the clearness of Guizot, though without his eloquence. Indeed, the most prominent feature of his mind, it seems to us, was its method. When he spoke, you saw that every sentence was thought out, and present to his mind as a whole, before he uttered a syllable. In writing, too, he always took care to see the end from the beginning. Good logic was natural to him; a sophism grated on his mind very much as discord annoys a musical ear. A difficult question fell to pieces before his power of analysis just as a compound substance is decomposed by chimical agents. Nor was his method mere arrangement, that empty counterfeit which cheats some men into the belief that they have well-ordered minds, as if to build up a science were the same thing as to make a dictionary. It consisted, first, in the natural clearness of his understanding, and, secondly, in his habitual reference of the species to the genus—the subordination of the parts to the whole—the contemplation of the relations of things as well as of the things themselves. His associations were principally made under the law of cause and effect; the principle involved in any phenomenon, and not the mere attendant circumstances of time and place, took root in his mind, so that his memory was eminently philosophical. Add to this his methodical industry, and you have the secret of his extensive knowledge, his readiness in debate, his admirable self-possession as a presiding officer, and even the versatility which enabled him to excel in all that he undertook. He understood most thoroughly the value of the old maxim, *every thing in its*

place, a maxim for which genius itself can find no substitute. Coleridge says truly, that "where this charm is wanting, every other merit either loses its name, or becomes an additional ground of accusation and regret. The man of methodical industry organizes the hours and gives them a soul; and that, the very essence of which is to fleet away, and evermore to *have been*, he takes up into his own permanence, and communicates to it the imperishableness of a spiritual nature. Of the good and faithful servant, whose energies are thus methodized, it is less truly affirmed, that he lives in time, than that time lives in him." Bishop Emory was, to a remarkable degree, this good and faithful servant.

We do not hesitate, therefore, to say that he was a man of great talent. But he was not a man of genius. Every subject had to be brought within the scope of his understanding, and when there, he was perfectly master of it; but in the outer region of the imagination he was comparatively a stranger. No poetry has been found among his remains, and for a very good reason; he did not possess "the vision and the faculty divine." It was not for him to clothe his thoughts in

> "The light that never was on sea or land,
> The consecration, and the poet's dream;"

for the light that was in him, and which he poured forth in a flood of radiance upon every subject properly within his sphere, was the light of the understanding, and not of the imagination. That he would have been a greater man if more richly endowed with this highest of human gifts, we cannot doubt. His preaching would have been more attractive, his writings more fervent and glowing, and his whole character more ardent. The powers that he possessed qualified him admirably, however, to discharge the duties that devolved upon him, and he worked better, perhaps, with his diversified talents, than a man of genius could have done in the same circumstances. What we have said of him, thus far, amounts to this: that he was eminently a practical man. Without knowing the extent of his studies in modern philosophy, we can easily imagine the contempt in which he would have held transcendentalism. German metaphysics must have been all cloud-land to him. He would have placed Kant and Schelling upon the same shelf with Jacob Behmen and Baron Swedenborg. Even Cousin could have found no favor with him. To some this will seem high praise; to others, just the reverse; but, at all events, we believe it to be true.

Dr. Emory was a deeply pious man, in the highest sense of the word. Religion, with him, was not merely a matter of principle

and habit, but had its root deep in his heart, and gave worth and dignity to his entire being. He was not much given to talk about his personal religion; the stream was too deep for that; but his communion with God was, we doubt not, uniform and abundant. Equally removed from formality and enthusiasm, his piety purified his affections, elevated his intellect, and controlled his life.

Such were some of the elements of John Emory's character. To say that we have gained a complete view thereof, would be absurd; even those who were admitted to his closest intimacy, his biographer not excepted, could only obtain glimpses. From his writings, from the book before us, and from our own knowledge, we have tried to present a sketch of his character; any further attempt would have been presumption. We turn now to our second question, and in answering it, shall endeavor to set forth his prominent services to the Methodist Episcopal Church; to show the effect which one master spirit produced (to use his biographer's language in the preface) "upon the institutions, the economy, and the action of an entire denomination."

The constitution of the Methodist Episcopal Church sprung from the brain of no system-builder. The bishops said truly, in their notes to the Discipline, that "the whole plan of Methodism was introduced, step by step, by the interference and openings of divine Providence." In obedience to this principle, the presiding elders' office was fully instituted by the General Conference of 1792, which vested the power of appointing them solely in the bishops. Doubts arose at an early period in regard to the propriety of this last provision, and finally, there arose a large party in favor of making the office elective. Mr. Emory fell into the ranks of that party, and exerted himself actively in behalf of the proposed change. It can be productive of no beneficial result at this time to revive the controversy upon this subject, or to rescue from oblivion the circumstances attending it, which were more or less painful to some who are now with God, and others who still linger upon the shores of time. But, in the General Conference of 1820, and subsequently, Dr. Emory made unflinching opposition to what he conceived an assumption, on the part of a portion of the episcopacy, of a right to veto the acts of the General Conference. His construction of the course complained of was indeed disclaimed, and we are happy that no such power has since been assumed or claimed by any bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

But if Dr. Emory stood up manfully in opposition to what he believed to be an unauthorized claim of episcopal power, he was

no less useful as a defender of the episcopacy itself, in a subsequent day of trial. It is hard to realize, now, the dangers which menaced the church during the memorable years of the radical controversy. But shall we consider the danger to have been trifling, because the church triumphed? Because the noble ship came out of the storm with every mast, and spar, and rope unharmed, shall we say that there *was* no tempest? Rather let us adore the Power that rides upon the whirlwind—and give due praise to the gallant pilots, who, under his protection, withstood its fury. We should judge of its fierceness, not by what the result was, but by what it might have been had there been no capable steersman at the helm. Who can say but that the desire of change, always a powerful one, and at that time intensified into a passion in some leading minds, would have spread through the church with revolutionary rapidity, and convulsed it from one end of the land to the other, had it not been arrested in its inception? "There never was a period," says our author, "in the history of American Methodism, which required such prudence in counsel, such firmness in action." Ungrateful, indeed, would it be to forget those who then stood up in defense of our noble institutions; and our right hand shall sooner forget its cunning than we refuse to honor their names and commemorate their deeds. We have no desire to exalt one man unduly above another, but we hardly suppose that any will find fault with us for giving the foremost place among the champions of the church out of the itinerancy to Dr. Thomas E. Bond, of Baltimore, whose "Appeal to the Methodists," published in 1827, by its luminous exposition of our system of government, especially with regard to the itinerancy, by its forcible arguments in defense of that system, and by its eloquent appeals to the best feelings of the Methodist community, produced a powerful effect, both in confirming many wavering minds and in preventing the sophisms of the malcontents from leading others astray. This pamphlet, with the "Narrative and Defense," forms part of the history of the controversy. While Dr. Bond was thus acting the part of an able attorney-general, the wisdom and firmness of Rev. James M. Hanson, with whom rested the responsibility of the administration in Baltimore in those perilous times, erected a defense of another sort, no less legitimate, and perhaps no less effective, against the assaults of the innovators. But while these brethren had the danger, and the honor, of fighting the battle in the very district where the enemy's chief strength lay, their efforts were called forth by local circumstances, and some general defense of the church was needed, which should vindicate the fame of her

founders, and set forth, before all men, the true principles of her organization. It was reserved for John Emory to do this work. He did not interfere in the controversy until the demand for his services became urgent, and then he interfered effectually. The "Defense of our Fathers," designed, primarily, as an answer to Mr. A. M'Caine's "History and Mystery of Methodist Episcopacy," took a wider view of the subject than was necessary to refute that malicious production. Mr. M'Caine went far beyond his associates in violence and effrontery. No calumny was too foul to find currency through his means, if it would only serve his purposes of defamation. An honorable character formed no defense for the living against the shafts of his malice; the grave itself was no sanctuary for the venerable dead. His soul had not honor enough "to bless the turf that wrapped their clay;" it could only find utterance, over the tomb, in a hideous howl of slander. But there were many who knew little of the men whom he traduced or the events which he misrepresented; and, in the absence of other information, the very boldness of his assertions gained them credence for a time. "At the instance of some who had taken the deepest interest in the existing contest, Mr. Emory undertook to expose the falsity of his statements and the fallacy of his arguments." In a very short time the "Defense" appeared, and although prepared so hastily, amid the laborious engagements of the book agency, it fully sustained the reputation of its author, and, what is more important, triumphantly vindicated the fame of the founders of the church. The work at once produced a great sensation; friends were delighted, foes were alarmed. It has since been made a part of the preachers' course of study, and has taken its place, deservedly, among the standard writings of the church. The biography before us gives a clear outline of its contents, and the work itself is well known to most of our readers, so that we need do nothing more than express our opinion in regard to its merits. It has the same points of excellence that distinguish all Mr. Emory's writings—clearness of arrangement, fairness of statement, soundness of logic, and conciseness of expression. Nor does it lack pungency of satire and severity of rebuke; and these are combined with deep feeling in the remarkably eloquent passage at the close of the volume. On the whole, this tract, considering the time of its publication, the subjects of which it treats, and the effects which it produced, may be regarded as one of the most important publications that have appeared in the history of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

But Mr. Emory's defense of the church did not end here. At

the General Conference of 1828 he was made chairman of the committee on reform, and presented, as the result of the labors of that committee, the celebrated "Report on Petitions and Memorials." This document, while it sets forth in the clearest terms the inexpediency of lay delegation, and maintains with great boldness the prerogatives of the divinely instituted ministry, is also an invaluable *bill of rights* for the membership. It is therein declared that the General Conference has no strictly legislative powers—that it can make no laws affecting life, limb, or property of the membership—that the laity have full liberty of speech and of the press, subject only to the restrictions imposed by the laws of the land, of the gospel, and of Methodism—and, in short, that the ministry assume no *authoritative* control whatever over the membership—governing no man without his consent. The doctrines of this Report cannot be too well understood among us; we are very much mistaken if any one of them is erroneous; and its unanimous adoption by the General Conference, seconded, as it was, by the universal consent of the church—ministers and laymen—has given it the authority of law, if any principles have that authority under our constitution. The eleventh chapter of the Life, containing that Report and the substance of Dr. Emory's writings in the Quarterly to which it gave rise, is one of the most valuable in the book.

The posthumous tract on Episcopacy exhibits Dr. Emory as the defender of the church against assaults from without. Incomplete as it is, it does no discredit to its author; there is enough to show that he was master of the subject, and would have disposed of the controversy satisfactorily had he been allowed to complete his design. The latter and better portion of the tract, containing a partial examination of Dr. Onderdonk's "Episcopacy tested by Scripture," is, in our judgment, as far as it goes, the ablest answer that has yet been given to that ingenious but overrated production. The high Churchman's weak points were clearly perceived by Bishop Emory, and he attacked them with great weight of metal and directness of aim. May we not express the hope that the work left unfinished by the father will be completed by the son? In some respects, we are sure, the father's mantle has fallen upon his shoulders, especially in regard to the power of analysis and logical argumentation, and if he would enter upon this controversy with all his energies, disciplined as they are, and strengthened by the learning requisite to grapple with the question, we cannot doubt that much more would be done toward settling this question.

In the language of his biographer, "Mr. Emory's connection with the Book Concern, whether it be considered with reference

to its influence upon that establishment and the church at large, or its influence upon the development of his own character, must be regarded as one of the most important periods of his life." The author's chapter on the Book Concern, while it in no respect depreciates the services of others, shows that the present commanding position of the establishment is mainly to be attributed to Dr. Emory.

1. The *Publishing Fund* originated with him. Its origin and objects are set forth in his admirable address to the church and its friends in behalf of the Bible, Tract, and Sunday School Societies of the Methodist Episcopal Church; and though its results have not fully equalled the expectations at first cherished, they have sufficed to evince the sagacity of the measure.

2. The *Methodist Quarterly Review*, which now exerts so powerful an influence, and is destined hereafter to do still greater things for the literature of the church, owes its existence to Dr. Emory, who commenced the publication of its first series in 1830. Most of the original articles, up to 1832, were from his pen, and some of them were written with distinguished ability. The present series of this journal is, to be sure, greatly in advance of the first, but the advance is by no means as great as that of the latter over its predecessor, the papers contributed by Dr. Emory having hardly been surpassed by any that have since appeared.

3. A comprehensive sketch of the history of the Book Concern, from the pen of Bishop Waugh, is given in the volume before us. From that outline, and the more extended account in Dr. Bangs' History, vol. iv, we learn that between the years 1823 and 1828 there was a great expansion of the business of the Concern, to meet which a building was purchased in Crosby-street, and a printing office and bindery established on the premises. During this period Dr. Emory was junior book agent. But

> "this extension of business had not been accomplished without an increase of debt, and although there was now greater energy in the institution to effect its discharge, it may well be doubted whether this result would not have been wholly prevented by the system on which the business was conducted."—P. 238.

The debt of the establishment in 1828 was $101,200 80, two-thirds of which sum was at interest. Its nominal assets amounted to $456,898 30, of which only $59,772, 28 were in fixed capital, cash, and notes receivable; the remainder consisting of stock on hand, and accounts, mostly for books sent out from New-York on commission, from which immense deductions had to be made in order to any thing like a true estimate of their value. Indeed the

agents estimated the real capital of the establishment at only $130,002 02, we suppose, of course, exclusive of its debt. The commission system of business gave rise to a vast amount of *credit* to a multitude of persons throughout the land, and had it continued, this credit must have gone on increasing from year to year. No skill or industry could, under these circumstances, have paid the debts of the institution and kept up its capital. The inevitable alternative must have been, either the curtailment of the business or the destruction of the Concern. Dr. Emory proposed the bold, but necessary measure of an entire revolution in the mode of doing business, and suggested to his colleague the abolition of the commission system, and the adoption of one founded on the principle of actual sales for cash or its equivalent. In the language of Bishop Waugh,—

"The two great objects which Dr. Emory aimed to accomplish were, first, the extinguishment of the debts due from the Concern, and second, the actual sale of the stock on hand, and especially that part of it which was daily depreciating, because of the injuries which were constantly being sustained by it, in the scattered and exposed state in which most of it was found. The ability, skill, diligence, and perseverance which he displayed in the measures devised by him for the accomplishment of these objects, have seldom been equalled, and perhaps never surpassed by the most practiced business man. His success was complete. Before the meeting of the General Conference he had canceled all the obligations of the institution which had been so opportunely intrusted to his supervision. He had greatly enlarged the annual dividends to an increased number of conferences. He had purchased several lots of ground for a more enlarged and eligible location of the establishment, and had erected a large four story brick building as a part of the improvements intended to be put on them, for the whole of which he had paid. It was his high honor, and also his enviable satisfaction, to report to the General Conference, for the first time, that its Book Concern was no longer in debt."

Such were the immediate results of Dr. Emory's agency. We have one word more to say of it. The energy, efficiency, and method which he infused into all the operations of the Concern remain to this day. He has left his mark upon it. His admirable plans had only to be carried out to place the establishment beyond the reach of ordinary contingences. His able successors have done their work in his spirit, and developed the resources of the institution to an extent formerly unhoped for; so that it has stood the ordeal of an immense loss by fire, and of a long period of commercial distress, without even shaking; and to-day it is, to the best of our knowledge, the greatest book-making and book-selling establishment in America.

4. The cause of education always lay near Bishop Emory's heart. His share in the organization of the New-York University, the Wesleyan University, and Dickinson College, evince the interest that he took in general education. In addition to this he drew up the outline of a plan for an education society in the Methodist Episcopal Church, which he designed to aid our ministers and others in educating their sons, and which, we hope, will yet be made the basis of such a society among us. But his efforts for the improvement of the ministry deserve more than a passing notice. Though the education of its ministers had always been an object with the church, its plans for that purpose had always been defective, and were imperfectly carried out. Soon after his election to the episcopacy, Dr. Emory devised a course of study for candidates for deacons' and elders' orders, in which, with his usual discretion, he did not hazard every thing by attempting too much. In due time the course will doubtless be greatly enlarged, and its natural result will be an elevation of the standard of ministerial knowledge among us, corresponding, partially at least, with the general advance of society. In some sections of the country the movement will be more rapid than in others, but we have no doubt whatever that the church will ultimately settle down upon the plan of our British brethren, or upon some better one, for the theological training of its candidates. We have no doubt, either, that Bishop Emory foresaw this result, and would have hastened it had he lived.

5. Dr. Emory's career in the episcopacy was brief, but brilliant. His appointment was hailed with joy throughout the connection. Great expectations were indulged; and we believe that in the three episcopal tours which he was allowed to make, they were entirely satisfied. His powers as a presiding officer were tried on the last night of the General Conference of 1832, when he occupied the chair, and gained the admiration of the delegates as well as of the immense concourse of spectators, by the dignity and firmness with which he discharged its duties. Dignity, indeed, was part of his nature, and it could not forsake him. "I hurry nothing, but endeavor to keep strict order, and every man close to business," was a statement, by himself, of his method of doing business, and admirably did he carry it out. His efforts for educating the candidates for orders have already been noticed; he formed a plan, also, for training the local preachers, which, with an argument for the four years' course of study for the traveling preachers, is set forth in his excellent address to "the Preachers within the Virginia, Baltimore, Philadelphia, New-York, New-

England, Maine, New-Hampshire, Troy, Oneida, and Genesee Annual Conferences," published before he commenced his third and last tour. He attended all these conferences but the two last. Nothing of unusual interest transpired at any of them except the New-England and New-Hampshire, where the first conference difficulties on the subject of abolitionism arose. His conduct there was marked by his usual judgment and firmness. Subsequently he prepared the episcopal address to those conferences, signed by himself and Bishop Hedding, and whatever opinions may be held as to his views of abolitionism, none can deny that the subject is therein treated with a master's hand. As for slavery itself, that "root of evil," as he characterized it, his views were well known; abolitionists themselves never held it in deeper abhorrence. The Troy Conference of 1835 was the last which he attended. On the sixteenth of December following he met his untimely end.

In this article the writer has endeavored to set forth the character of John Emory with all the impartiality which is compatible with the deepest reverence and the tenderest love; at the close he may be allowed one breathing of his own personal feelings. Little did he think, when, at the Troy Conference of 1835, the bishop, at the close of an interview in which he had imparted some of the rich treasures of his experience in kind advice, folded him affectionately in his arms and bade him farewell, that it was a farewell for ever! Earnest was his last gaze upon that form beloved, but O! how earnest *would* it have been had he known that it was the last. Carefully did he record in his memory the words of manly wisdom that fell from those honored lips—how would each precious syllable have been treasured, had he known that these were the last accents of that almost father's voice that should fall upon his ear! To the writer, the name of Emory is fragrant with a thousand blessed recollections. And many hearts, throughout this continent, will throb in unison with his own, when he declares, that for him, that name is the very synonyme of nobleness and honor, associated, as it is, with all that is elevated in intellect, all that is magnanimous in self-devotion, all that is pure in virtue, and all that is sublime in piety.

Dickinson College, Oct. 27, 1841.

ART. V.—*Universalism as it is; or, Text Book of Modern Universalism in America.* By Rev. EDWIN F. HATFIELD. Pp. 341. New-York: published by J. A. Hoisington, theological bookseller, 156 Fulton-street, third door east of Broadway. 1841.

SALVATION through the sacrificial death of Christ is a doctrine which lies at the basis of the Christian system. Repudiate this, and the gospel is a fable. "It is a faithful saying, and worthy of all acceptation, that Christ Jesus came into the world to SAVE SINNERS." This is the soul-inspiring theme of every truly Christian minister. That he is commissioned to offer pardon to the guilty, and consolation to the condemned, through the merits and mediation of a crucified and risen Saviour, gives inspiration to his ministrations, and renders the gospel he preaches the power of God unto salvation. Hence the emphasis with which all who claim to be Christians are wont to use the word *salvation*. As containing in itself the fundamental principle of the system, its distinctive importance in preaching and religious conversation is essential. Without this the most ignorant would discard the pretensions of any who should profess the Christian name or obtrude themselves as gospel teachers. But among all who talk, and preach, and sing of *salvation*, none are louder or more ardent in the strains of exultation with which they dwell upon this theme than are *Universalists*. Who, that has been accustomed to hear them converse, or preach, or to read their writings, has not remarked the stress which they lay upon this topic, and their impassioned and glowing ardor when speaking of the goodness of God in redemption, his love in giving his Son to die for us, and the salvation of the world through Christ? "A *free* salvation"—"a *full* salvation"—"a *complete* salvation"—"the *final* salvation of *all God's creatures*," &c., &c., are phrases which they constantly employ in a way to signify that they alone, in their own estimation, understand and appreciate the doctrine of salvation as taught in the Scriptures.

Now it is upon this fundamental principle of the gospel, the salvation of sinners through the sacrificial death and meritorious intercession of our Lord Jesus Christ, that we join issue with the Universalists. And arrogant as they are in their pretensions, we propose to show that *their gospel* is not a gospel of *salvation*—that there is not an element of salvation in it—and that, by consequence, they have no claim to the reputation of Christians in the proper sense of the term.

The main difficulty of settling points of dispute with Universalists has heretofore been, that they have had no system sufficiently stable and abiding to endure sober and critical investigation. All have agreed, and uniformly asserted, that the doctrine of eternal punishment, as professed and maintained by orthodox Christians, is an absurd dogma, at variance alike with the attributes of God and the revelation of his word; and that, as it is inconsistent to suppose that an infinitely good God can permit any of his intelligent creatures to suffer eternally, he has provided for the *final* and *inevitable* salvation of *all*. This they call "*universal salvation*," a general appellation embracing all the varieties within the wide range of the single negative article which repudiates eternal punishment. But in endeavoring to maintain this position, they have heretofore presented no well-defined theory or system of faith to be adopted, or uniform set of opinions to be controverted, but have shuffled from one position to another to resist the present exigences and evade the force of truth. In the course of the discussion they have published so much, that by carefully selecting and arranging the principal points unequivocally maintained by their leading men, the absurdities for which they must hold themselves responsible may be successfully exposed, and their mischievous influence arrested. For aid in this, the work before us is peculiarly adapted. In this respect it is an important production, for which the author is entitled to the thanks of the Christian public.

In the first chapter of this excellent volume the author shows that the sect is divided into two classes, differing from each other in some important respects, but agreeing in others. The first class is made up of those who flourished before the elder Ballou; and their prominent teachers were Relly, Murray, Chauncy, Winchester, &c. The other class consists of the followers of Mr. Ballou, who have adopted his peculiar views in contradistinction from those of his predecessors.

Of the former class it is said, "The views which they embraced differed from those of the Christian church generally in the article of future endless punishment. They believed, for the most part, in the distinguishing doctrines of Christianity with this one exception. Their hopes of universal salvation were based on the atonement of Christ, whom they regarded as constituting in his superior nature, with the Father and the Holy Spirit, the one only God himself. They expected eternal life, only on the ground that Christ had died for all men, and so had delivered them and the whole human family from the condemnation of the law." A

modern Universalist says of Dr. Huntington, a Presbyterian minister who left a posthumous work* in which he maintains the doctrine of universal salvation, that "he held to the sinner's absolute depravity by nature; the justice of the sentence of endless misery, which he saw plainly threatened in the Scriptures; the doctrine of the atonement, whereby Christ suffered for us the penalty of the law," &c. And similar views are ascribed to Winchester, Chauncy, and Murray, of the same school.

"But," says our author, "Universalism is not what it was. They who judge of it by the writings of either Chauncy, Huntington, Murray, or Winchester, form a very erroneous idea of the system. Since that period it has undergone an almost constant process of transition." In this he is sustained by one of their own writers, Mr. Wittemore, whom he quotes as saying, "The radical changes, which have taken place in the opinions of American Universalists, constitute one of the most interesting traits of their history." Again, "We apprehend that as early as 1800 very essential departures had been made; and, finally, the doctrines of the Trinity and atonement, and *all kindred notions*, were discarded by the whole denomination with very few exceptions." It is further asserted by one of their writers, that "the sentiment by which Universalists are distinguished, is this: *that at last every individual of the human race shall become holy and happy*;" and, consequently, that "all persons who truly believe in the eventual salvation of all mankind by the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, are Universalists." "It makes no difference," they say, "what are the individual's views concerning punishment, if he holds the doctrine above described."

This is their common ground. All classes that range under the general designation of "Universalists" have agreed in adopting it as the basis of their superstructure; and in performing our task of showing that they repudiate salvation altogether, we shall have occasion to keep in view this distinguishing characteristic of the sect.

Their first and final argument—the alpha and omega of all their

* This work is entitled *Calvinism Improved*. It is an attempt to build Universalist conclusions upon Calvinistic premises. The author, as is said in the text, was a Presbyterian minister; such, in fact, he died, without publishing his peculiar views to the world. The above work was found among his manuscripts, and published, or sold, by some of his heirs. But it may be doubted whether the book ever made any converts to the entire theory of the author; the leading principle of which is, that *Christ, as the sinner's substitute*, suffered the *eternal punishment* which he deserves, and so *all sinners are unconditionally delivered from* a liability to such punishment.—Ed.

reasoning on this subject—is founded in the infinite goodness of God. "God is love." This declaration of the apostle they confidently rely on as settling the whole question. From Murray and Winchester down to Sawyer and Williamson, they concur in this, that the goodness of God, as expressed in these words of the apostle, is incompatible with the idea of endless punishment; that it is absurd to suppose that God, whose very nature is *love*, could inflict everlasting misery upon any of his intelligent creatures; and that we are therefore to construe whatever may be found in the Scriptures which seems to favor this idea as meaning something else, because the divine goodness forbids that such an idea should be sustained by any portion of his word. "Moreover," says Mr. Ballou, "we feel it a duty to state, that, in room of straining particular passages, which speak of the punishment of the wicked, so as to favor the idea of unlimited punishment, *we should feel justified in restraining any passage*, could such be found, *that should seem to favor an opinion so dishonorable to God, and so revolting to our best feelings.*" Thus do they declaim with much apparent feeling on the potency of the love of God to neutralize every thing contained in his word which favors the idea of endless punishment. Forcibly as this reasoning addresses itself to the feelings, it will require but little discernment to perceive that it is decidedly opposed to the fundamental doctrine of *salvation* through Christ, as revealed in the gospel. Let us test it.

"GOD IS LOVE." This is the text. The argument is, because God is love, he has no law by which he can inflict endless punishment upon any of his intelligent creatures, as the law of his nature forbids the existence of such penalty. Here they take their stand. Now it follows that if God, because he is love, has no law by which he can inflict endless punishment upon the wicked, he *never had*, never *could have* such a law, for his nature is unchangeable. Then man was *never* liable to endless punishment, for the plain reason that he could not be, as God *never* had and never *could* have a law to inflict such punishment. What then becomes of the atonement? What has it accomplished? Saved man from endless punishment? Surely not, because he was never liable to such punishment! God never could make him liable to it. The atonement then accomplished just nothing at all for man. Christ died in vain. If man be exempted from endless punishment, it is not because Christ died to save him from it, but because God could not inflict it. This is the basis of the creed of Universalists. And it most clearly excludes every element of salvation by Jesus Christ, as taught in the gospel.

The doctrine of salvation by the atonement implies that man was liable to endless punishment, and was rescued from it only by the vicarious sufferings of Christ. So it is laid down in the Scriptures: "If Christ died for all, then were all dead." "God commendeth his love toward us, in that while we were yet sinners, Christ died for us." "God so loved the world that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him might not perish, but have everlasting life." "For the Son of man is come to seek and to save that which was lost." Thus is our deliverance from endless punishment founded upon the glorious provision of the atonement, by which the love of God was manifested toward us. In this light the earlier Universalists, Relly, Chauncy, &c., taught the doctrine of universal salvation. They maintained that *all* would be saved because Christ died for *all;* and hence they were accustomed, in vindicating their doctrine, to dwell much upon those passages of Scripture which set forth the universal redemption of the world by Jesus Christ; omitting, however, the conditions on which the benefits of redemption are offered to us. But it seems not to have occurred to them that all this was in direct opposition to their fundamental argument founded in the love of God as an attribute of his nature; that if that fundamental principle of their creed were admitted, it must annihilate the whole work of redemption by removing the necessity for it; and that, therefore, their theory was self-destroyed by the operation of the antagonist elements of which it was constituted.

What we charge upon former Universalists is *inconsistency.* They talked much of a glorious salvation wrought out for all men by Jesus Christ, and professed great love to the Saviour on account of his condescending mercy in redeeming our fallen world; while the fundamental principle of their theory rendered all this mercy nugatory. This contradiction of parts in the system, tending to work its own destruction, was perceived by some of the party, and no sooner perceived than exposed and renounced. The consequence was, that all it contained which was consistent with gospel truth was exploded, and the whole theory so revised as to "discard the doctrine of the Trinity and atonement, and all kindred notions." This, it will be perceived, was necessary in order to maintain the certain and inevitable exemption of all men from unlimited punishment; because, if it be admitted that the atonement was necessary to rescue man from endless misery, it will follow that he *was once* liable to such misery, and, by consequence, *may be* again—that though God is love, since his violated law *did* subject the transgressor to the penalty of eternal death, and, therefore, rendered it

possible, so it may again be under the dispensation of faith, and a God of infinite love *may* punish the wicked with "everlasting destruction." "He that believeth not shall be damned." Hence have the whole denomination, as Mr. Wittemore tells us, agreed to discard those doctrines which are cognate with the "Trinity and atonement," and the salvation, of course, to which these are essential.

That modern Universalists exclude *salvation* wholly from their scheme will be evident enough to any who will take the trouble to examine their writings. They set out with denying the *necessity* of it. Hear Mr. Ballou, the head and leader of the modern school. "A false education," he says, "has riveted the error in the minds of thousands, that God's law required endless misery to be inflicted on sinners. How often do professed Christians address the Almighty, and say, 'Hadst thou been *just* to have marked our iniquity, we should long since have been in the grave with the dead, and in hell with the damned.' This address amounts to nothing more nor less, than a complimental accusation against God of injustice! It surprises us to think how professed Christians will contend for the honor and glory of God in a way that renders his character infinitely inglorious and dishonorable." Thus is the justice of God, and the salvation which he has provided to rescue man from the penalty of his righteous law, exploded with contempt, and made matter of jest and ridicule, by this leader in the ranks of modern Universalists. But he appeals to the Scriptures. "Now we ask," says he, "can you find that God ever gave a law to man which required endless misery in case of disobedience? *Sure we are*, the Scriptures speak of none, neither do the dictates of good reason admit of its existence." So also says Mr. Williamson: "The dogma of endless wo we reject, as unmerciful, unjust, and cruel, a penalty which a just God never did, and *never can*, annex to his law." Mr. Sawyer too, in his "Letters to Brownlee," says, "Here we meet the popular but *monstrous* idea, that the penalty of the divine law is endless misery. Beware, sir, how you trifle with the divine attributes!" Thus we have it plainly asserted, and reiterated, that a law which inflicts eternal punishment as its penalty is incompatible with the attributes of God, and, therefore, cannot exist. Consequently man was never liable to such punishment, and never can be, and the doctrine which teaches salvation from the curse or penalty of the violated law of God is absurd, "unmerciful, and cruel." This is Universalism! This the scheme dignified with the appellation of "*universal salvation!*"

But they do speak of Christ as a *Saviour*, and of his coming into

the world to *save man!* In what sense, then, are we to understand them on this subject? Mr. Sawyer will answer. "Christ," he says, "did not come to save man from the punishment of sin, the penalty of the broken law; but he came to save him from his sins, *from sinning.*" Again, "Christ came to save his people from their *sins*, and not from the punishment of their sins; to save them from *deserving* punishment, rather than from punishment deserved." What profound logic! The great and glorious work for which the Son of God came into the world and suffered and died, was to save men from *deserving punishment!* But how could they deserve it? God has no law by which he could inflict it! The attributes of his nature forbid that he should have such a law! Man could, therefore, never be *liable* to it—never, consequently, *deserve* or *incur* it! Christ died to prevent an impossibility—to save man from what could never happen to him if he had not died! Salvation, then, is an unmeaning term in the gospel, as it implies just nothing at all in its application to man! According to the theory of Universalists, if man be prevented from "suffering the vengeance of eternal fire," it will not be because he is *saved* from it through the mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ, but because it was *impossible* that he should ever be brought into a condition to need such salvation. Thus is *salvation* effectually excluded from the system.

The doctrine of salvation through Christ, as taught in the Scriptures, is again plainly and palpably contradicted by the Universalists, and exploded as a relic of ignorance and superstition in their theory of rewards and punishments. They do not deny that men will be punished for their sins. On the contrary, they contend that *all men* will receive the punishment due to their transgressions *without exception* and without *mitigation.* Hear Mr. Williamson. In his "Exposition of Universalism" he asserts, as one of the peculiar doctrines of the sect, "that *no man can, by any possibility, escape a just punishment for his sins.*" "Neither forgiveness," says he, "nor atonement, nor repentance, nor any thing else, can step in between the sinner and the violated law." And he further adds: "It is a remarkable fact, that we are the *only* denomination who believe that *all sin* will be punished." The sentiment contained in this quotation is affirmed and vindicated by all their principal writers. There can be no doubt of its being a peculiar doctrine of the denomination. Now it matters not, in the argument, what this punishment is—how long or how severe—it must be inflicted to the utmost extent. There is no pardon, no mercy, no *salvation!* The sinner is doomed to suffer all that the justice of God can inflict. The measure of his punishment is dealt out in exact proportion

with the vindictive claims of unrelenting justice! Is this the gospel of salvation? It is the gospel of Universalists! But what is it in its nature? A theory of universal condemnation—universal punishment—without mercy, or grace, or compassion toward any! But what is there of salvation in it? Nothing at all. It admits of no element of the kind. Such is the inevitable conclusion to which their arguments lead.

The student of the Bible will bear in mind that the doctrine of pardon and justification by faith in Christ is everywhere set forth in the sacred volume. It is on this ground alone that salvation from punishment is proffered to man. "Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ and thou shalt be saved." There is no other hope for the sinner. Now waiving all reference to those passages of Scripture which speak in positive terms of the endless punishment of the finally impenitent, the *condition* on which salvation is offered to man most conclusively proves the unending misery of those who neglect a compliance with it. Take the declaration of our Lord, so much dwelt upon by Universalists in former days, as an example of the argument: "God so loved the world that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him might not perish, but have everlasting life." Here is evidently a distinction made between the *believer* and the *unbeliever*. The former shall have *everlasting life*. But what of the latter? If the declaration mean any thing, it certainly means that such as believe *not*, shall *not* have *everlasting life*. All those texts of Scripture, then, which go to show that deliverance from punishment is through faith in Christ, prove most conclusively that men are *saved* from *deserved* punishment by virtue of the atoning merits of the Saviour, and that those who comply *not* with the *condition* required in the gospel, can never enjoy the *life* promised to believers; and their punishment must, therefore, be *interminable*. Thus does Universalism annihilate not only salvation by Christ, but the fundamental condition on which it is offered to man, by making it of none effect.

It may be construed into want of candor if we omit to notice the light in which modern Universalists hold sin and the punishment which they say will inevitably attend it. In their estimation neither the one nor the other is much to be abhorred or dreaded. Their theory is briefly this:—"Sin is its own punishment;" or what is embraced in the axiom of old Seneca, "There is no greater punishment for sin than sin itself." The following quotation from their writings will illustrate their views on this point:—"We know that there are physical laws which must be obeyed, if we would preserve the health of the body. If we put our hand into

the fire, it will be burned. If we expose our bodies to the cold, they will freeze. So is it with the mind; it has its laws written upon it by the finger of the Creator, and these laws must be obeyed, or we must suffer." "I say, then, that the very *constitution* of man is proof that there is no escape from the punishment of our sins." Here we have the theory. The threatened punishment which God has appended to his law, to restrain men from vice, is not any *future* evil which shall follow after transgression, but that pain only which accompanies the act. It is the same, we are told, as in the case of the dolt who puts his fingers in the fire, and is burned. The pain—the punishment—is present with the act. We say nothing here of the plain language of the Scriptures, which everywhere contradicts this absurd theory. But what is the testimony of observation—of reason—of universal experience in this matter? Does the oppressor, whose unhallowed lust for gain draws him on to defraud the innocent, and grind the face of the poor, find a law in his constitution which connects the full punishment of his crimes with the perpetration of them? Is this true of the wine-bibber—the sensualist—the pleasure-taker? On the contrary, assure them that the only punishment which the law of God inflicts for sin, consists in what they experience while indulging in their sensual propensities and worldly gratifications, and they will bless both the law and its penalty, and pass on unconcerned to the end of their career. We can wonder no longer at the fruits of Universalism, if such be the principles it inculcates. "Men do not gather grapes of thorns, nor figs of thistles." "By their fruits shall ye know them." Here, however, we have a distinct and unequivocal avowal of the corrupt nature of the tree. The fruit is its legitimate product.

Of the volume before us, which has occasioned the train of reflections in which we have indulged, much might be said to commend it to public favor. Mr. Hatfield will receive the thanks of all orthodox Christians into whose hands his book may fall, for the pains he has taken to collect and arrange the materials of which it is composed, so as to place before the public "Universalism as it is." This was an onerous task, requiring a patient examination of the numerous periodicals, pamphlets, and other miscellaneous tracts and papers employed by the sect to disseminate their doctrines, and the labor of selecting from this fugitive mass those principles to which their united approval or general assent has given a sufficient sanction to authorize their admission as component parts of their creed. It will be admitted that our author has performed this task with much fidelity and fairness. He ascribes

no doctrines or opinions to the Universalists which he does not show by explicit quotations from their approved writers to be adopted and vindicated by them. Such a work was much needed, as all who have witnessed the mischievous influence of Universalism, and the difficulty of exposing its errors and absurdities on account of its want of acknowledged identity and tangible form, will readily admit. We will not detain the reader, however, by giving an analysis of it, presuming that those who have an interest to know more of the subject will forthwith procure the volume, and read it for themselves. We will, therefore, conclude this paper by an extract, containing a synopsis of the doctrines which the author has deduced from the writings of the sect, and arranged in a condensed form. Commencing on page 27 of his work, he proceeds to say:—

"To the faithful exposition of this novel and strange creed, I shall now direct the reader's attention. Though but ~~little~~ understood, and less cared for by the great body of Universalists, it is received and advocated by nearly every preacher in the denomination. A. C. Thomas, in his 'Theological Discussion' with Rev. Dr. Ely, states, (p. 25,) that his 'own views are the views of a large majority of American Universalists.' And of another system of Universalism, which he calls 'Calvinism Improved,' he says, that 'Edward Mitchell, of New-York, is, I believe, (1834,) the *only public advocate* of this form of Universalism in the United States.'

"The reader may, therefore, rest assured, that the system now to be exhibited, is, with a few exceptions that will hereafter be stated, the creed of Universalism in this country, as taught by their standard authors, and preached from their pulpits. In the form in which it is now to be presented it is found in none of their publications. And yet every article, as here exhibited, is gathered from their writings, where it is plainly stated and boldly defended.

"The following *synopsis* may properly be called

"The Creed of American Universalism.

"1. All mankind will eventually become holy and happy.

"2. Final happiness never has been, and never can be, forfeited by sin.

"3. Mankind are born as pure as Adam was when he was created.

"4. Sin has its origin, not in the mind, but in the animal nature.

"5. Man never becomes totally depraved.

"6. Sin is punished only in this life.

"7. Sin ceases with the death of the body.

"8. Mankind are naturally and originally mortal.

"9. Man has no immortal soul.

"10. Every man will inevitably suffer to the extent of his deserts.

"11. Sin fully punishes itself.

"12. There is properly no such thing as punishment.

"13. Christ saves no one from any deserved suffering.
"14. There was nothing peculiar in Christ's death.
"15. Jesus Christ was only a man of superior gifts.
"16. There is no distinction of persons in the Deity.
"17. The favor of God can neither be gained nor lost.
"18. Mortal life is not, in any sense, a state of probation for another state of being.
"19. Faith has no connection with happiness in a future state.
"20. Regeneration is merely a change of party.
"21. All mankind will be equal in the resurrection.
"22. There will not be a day of general judgment in the resurrection-state.
"23. There are no merely spiritual beings, called angels, either holy or unholy.
"24. The Christian sabbath is a mere human device.
"25. Church ordinances are of doubtful utility.

"Such are some of the peculiarities of this novel system. The most of them appear in nearly all their systematic exhibitions of their own faith, and are regarded as essential to their scheme. One after another these tenets have been put forth, as circumstances required. As they now appear they form a complete chain, the links of which are mutually dependent; a chain most difficult to break when once it has been thrown round the heart. To most it proves to be an everlasting chain of darkness." L.

ART. VI.—*A Plea for the Intemperate.* By DAVID M. REESE, A. M., M. D., late Professor of the Theory and Practice of Physic in the Albany Medical College. New-York: John S. Taylor & Co. 1841.

EVIDENT and striking is the parallel between the advancement of Christianity in the early ages and the progress of the temperance reformation in our own day. In the beginning both resembled the grain of mustard seed. The instruments were alike feeble in human estimation. In either case it required no little moral courage to breast the opposition of habit and interest, and to encounter, what is yet more paralizing, the sneers and the ridicule of the world's wisdom. For the same reason that the heathenish idolator closed his ears to the instruction of Christ, did multitudes throw themselves in the way of the temperance movement. Their craft was in danger. Thereby they had their wealth. In each case, too, it is worthy of remark, opposition came, not only from men who were avowedly regardless of the laws of God, but also

from those who were zealous in his service. Many lineal descendants of Abraham were exceedingly bitter in their enmity against the person and the teaching of the Messiah: and in the early days of the temperance reform long and loud were the notes of opposition from multitudes who were spiritually Abraham's seed. It is of no use to attempt to conceal this fact. It would be unwise if it were practicable, as it may teach the pioneers in future reformations what they may expect, and tend to nerve the faltering energies of the soul to meet and overcome obloquy and opposition. We are not questioning the purity of motive by which Christians once were actuated in opposing the temperance cause. Some dreaded it as having a tendency to secularize Christianity. Some feared its sectarian aspect, while others opposed it as chimerical, or as reflecting on the purity and the power of their faith. They may have been perfectly conscientious in this matter. Many of them doubtless were. Saul of Tarsus dragging men and women to the judgment seat, and Paul the apostle glorying in the cross of Christ, in both cases acted according to the dictates of conscience, and did only what the voice of duty seemed to prompt.

Again, the fundamental principles of Christianity are few and simple. They were summed up by the great Founder in one word—love. One word, abstain, conveys the whole object of the temperance reformation, and reveals the entire machinery by which that object is to be accomplished. There is about as much reason, moreover, for the charge of ultraism against those who carry out the principle in the one case as in the other. *Total* abstinence is even yet looked upon as fanatical by many who profess friendship for the cause of temperance, just as *perfect* love is deemed visionary by multitudes who are enrolled under the banner of Christ. We shall be charged, probably, with obtruding sectarian doctrines if we push this part of our parallel; but we may not, therefore, flinch from asserting our conviction, that as nothing less than the doctrine of total abstinence can insure the triumphs of the temperance reform; so the full glory of Christianity can never be exhibited by any system that is satisfied with requiring less than the entire consecration of soul and body to the service of God. But *that* is Christian perfection.

In the early period of the church's history the gospel was preached unto Jews only, and it was not until after the day of Pentecost that it was proclaimed to the outcasts of the Gentile world. Until very recently the main efforts in the cause of temperance have been directed, not to reclaim the drunkard, but to save the sober. The former was looked upon, and is even yet

looked upon by many, much in the same light as that in which the Jewish convert viewed his heathen brother: as beyond the pale of salvation, without hope, accursed. We live in the dawn of a new era. The proclamation has gone forth: there is hope for the besotted victim of intemperance, however abject or degraded. The trophies of a few past months have shown, to an extent almost incredible, the potency of the simple watchword—abstain. Many a wretched outcast, for whom naught was expected but the grave and the hell of the drunkard, now walks erect in all the dignity of manhood. The desolate hearth has been made glad. The tears of her who once looked almost with envy upon the widow in her loneliness have been wiped away. The blush that mantled the cheek of children worse than fatherless has given place to the radiance of heartfelt joy. Without irreverence the friends of the temperance cause may now exclaim: Our day of Pentecost is fully come.

Nor is this all. The reclaimed inebriate has gone forth to the rescue of others. With his own experience for his teacher he is enabled to reach the conscience of the drunkard far more readily, and with a tenfold greater prospect of success, than could possibly be hoped for from cold abstractions and speculative eloquence. His style of address, and his sources of argument, differ greatly from those heretofore presented in what have been styled temperance lectures. It is like the difference between the attempts of philosophy to meliorate man's moral condition and the glowing appeal of philanthropy and sympathetic kindness. While the former plays in fitful coruscations around the understanding, the latter takes the heart captive, and renovates the entire affections. Hence, with the man of intemperate habits, he who has been himself a drunkard is the most successful pleader. He can enter into his feelings, solve his difficulties, probe the deep recesses of his soul, and, knowing by his own sad experience the power of temptation, is not easily discouraged.

Very opportune in this crisis of the temperance reform is the little manual by Dr. Reese, entitled "A Plea for the Intemperate." Its object is twofold. First, to inspire the victim of intemperance with hope in his own case; and, secondly, to encourage those who are making efforts to rescue him from ruin. The author's mind seems to have been thoroughly imbued with the beautiful sentiment of the Saviour: "There is more joy in heaven over one sinner that repenteth than over ninety and nine just persons that need no repentance." A glorious truth, and one that had it not been revealed from heaven would never have entered into human conception.

Our author's object is to carry out this idea with reference to the victim of intemperance, and while he would not interfere with the *conservative* efficacy of the common temperance movement, he beholds in it a restoring and renovating power, to the exercise of which he summons the friends of humanity as with a trumpet voice.

The foundation of the author's "Plea" is the self-evident, but too often forgotten truth—*the drunkard is still a man;* and being a man, it is urged, that so long as he is on this side of hell's dark cavern, he may be restored to society; and that to make efforts for such restoration is the dictate alike of Christianity and philanthropy. But who looks upon the reeling and bloated drunkard as upon a fellow being? Has he not been regarded as an outcast? Why has the bubbling fountain of human sympathy, that cheers all other wretchedness, and seeks to make glad all other desolation, been sealed up against the victim of intemperance? Why should it not visit his dwelling? Is there any thing in Christianity to forbid it? Breathes there aught of the spirit of Christ in the cool calculations that are made with reference to the probable duration of the drunkard's stay on earth? Is there philanthropy in the argument, addressed as it frequently is to the sober and the temperate, that if *they* will sign the pledge, in so many years every inebriate will be in his grave, and the banner of temperance shall wave in universal triumph? There might be, if, as was once believed, he who had passed the boundary line is beyond recovery, away on the other side of the rubicon of hope. But now we know the contrary; and while we may trust that the times of our ignorance God winked at, it becomes Christians especially to take heed lest conscience force from them in an unexpected hour the bitter ejaculation, "We are verily guilty concerning our brother, in that we saw the anguish of his soul, when he besought us, and we would not hear." Our brother! Ay, there is power in that word. Call him vile? You speak truly. Degraded? Even so. On a level with the brutes that perish? Nay, not quite. Made in the image of God, our brother still. His soul a deathless spirit like thine own. His body, a temple; magnificent, though in ruins.

It is a strange anomaly that in almost every other species of degradation to which man is liable, human sympathy is enlisted just in proportion to the depth of his wretchedness. In other cases it stops not to inquire *how* the man has become vile; it is enough that he is wretched, and needs relief. The cause may be speculated upon afterward. Says our author,—

"But when once a man has become publicly known as a drunkard, he is at once exiled from the home of his youth, and the house of his

friends. His companions in the associations which made him what he is, and by whom his moderate drinking had been encouraged by example, until he fell by the snare they had laid both for themselves and him, and by which they are still entangled; these all avoid and disown him as 'a fellow not fit to live.' If they speak of him in his absence, it is as of one lost, utterly beyond recovery, as for ever lost. Or even if among his former friends there be any semblance of commiseration over his unhappy fate, while they express their emotions of pity, or even find it in their hearts to make prayer in his behalf, both the one and the other are accompanied with all unbelief, and despair in his case is universally felt and expressed. A brother's and a sister's love, a father's paternal regard, a mother's compassion, and even a wife's deep fountains of affection are, alas! too often sealed, and toward the hapless wanderer, all, all are 'without natural affection,' and his name is seldom mentioned but with a feeling allied to execration.

"Is he met in the street, or in public places, after he has become known as a drunkard? Even his own familiar friend will pass him without a look of recognition, and possibly not content with thus slighting him, will even outrage his forlorn condition by a visible expression of scorn or derision; and his immediate relatives, if they speak to him at all, do so in terms of rebuke and contempt, perhaps accompanied by upbraiding and reproachful epithets. They look upon him as an outlaw from all the ties of kindred; a living pestilence, for whom there is no hope. Not only is he shut out from all the redeeming influences of the domestic circle, but his company, and even his presence is shunned, nor is any effort made to reclaim or restore him, prompted either by parental, filial, fraternal, or even conjugal love. Thus abandoned by all, and constrained to feel the unutterable anguish of his cruel exile, he becomes given up to self-abandonment, and exclaims, in the desolation of his spirit, 'No one cares for my soul!' The last ray of light and hope is thus, alas! too often extinguished, and the hapless exile, now only the sad remnant of what he was, regarding himself doomed to infamy and execration, soon yields to his destiny, and his immortal spirit is ingulfed in the whirlpool of perdition."

To strengthen our author's plea, he contends that the habitual drunkard is a monomaniac: and that drunkenness is a disease just as really as is delirium arising from any other cause. While, therefore, he is unsparing in his condemnation of the moderate drinker, he views the confirmed drunkard as an object of pity rather than of blame. His sin consisted in drinking at first moderately: it is his misfortune that he is now a monomaniac. It is not for us to call in question the pathological accuracy of our author in this matter. He is a physician eminent in his profession, and not likely to hazard his reputation by publicly advocating an untenable position. To ourselves, and we doubt not to the generality of readers, this gives to the whole phase of intemperance a

new aspect. It presents the confirmed drunkard not only as a brother, but as a brother in distress. It claims for him the same sympathy, the same kindness, the same efforts as are now extended to the diseased, the blind, and the insane. The celebrated Dr. Rush appears to have had a somewhat similar idea when he urged so long and perseveringly upon the public authorities the necessity of providing a hospital for the cure of the intemperate. Why, if habitual drunkenness be a species of mania, why should there not be an asylum for its victims, as well as for other varieties of madness?

Our author denies, *in toto*, and combats with energy, the commonly received opinion that moderate drinking is innocent, and that drunkenness is the evidence and effect of excess. He says,—

"It is not true, in any sense, that the grossly intemperate are such because of the excessive quantity they drink. On the contrary, no habitual drunkard can be found who drinks a moiety of the daily quantity which he used to drink while he was regarded a moderate drinker, and before he had become a drunkard. It is wholly a mistake to suppose that the most desperate drunkard is the man who drinks the greatest quantity of intoxicating liquors, or that the degree of drunkenness, in any given case, is proportionate to the quantity drank. For, when once intoxication has become habitual, any quantity, however small, is sufficient to perpetuate it, if taken before the system has recovered from the inebriation."

And hence, he continues:—

"If there be innocence and excellence in moderate drinking, the drunkards are better entitled to our respect and admiration than those who despise them; for the worst drunkard is the most moderate drinker in the whole fraternity. For while moderate drinkers, so called because not known to be drunken, will often drink a pint of brandy in a day, or a bottle of wine at dinner, and another at night, any drunkard in the land can be kept drunk the year round by half the quantity, after he is once fully intoxicated. And though it may have required a quart of fourth-proof brandy, taken in twenty-four hours, to have fully intoxicated him at first, yet, now the mischief has been done, a single glass of wine, porter, beer, or even cider, if repeated every few hours, and before he has fully recovered from his intoxication, will keep him drunk until he dies, the victim, not of excess, but of 'moderate, very moderate drinking.' Nor would any man ever recover from a fit of intoxication if he did not, by a physical necessity, totally abstain; for he would be drunk till he died, if he continued to drink any intoxicating liquor, however moderately. And it is equally certain that no drunkard was ever reformed except by total abstinence, for the same reason—a single glass, even of the weakest kind of intoxicating liquor, being sufficient to perpetuate drunkenness, by reproducing it indefinitely.

"In reprobating excessive drinking, then, while extenuating moderate drinking, we fail to reach the conscience of the drunkard; for he knows that he is now only a moderate drinker, though he can revert to the time when he did drink to excess, and since which he has been conscious of a physical disability of drinking to the same extent, for he now becomes drunk long before he passes the line of moderation. Nor can such a man ever be reformed, until he feels that the origin and source of his drunkenness, as well as its present continuance, is moderation, and not excess. The public mind, moreover, must be taught that to abandon the drunkard to his fate, because of his present excessive drinking, is abominable injustice and wrong, since no drunkard is guilty of any present excess, his only crime now being moderate drinking, and much more moderate than he formerly practiced, with the approval and companionship of those who now cast him off as worthy of death, 'a fellow not fit to live.'"

The personal and persevering efforts of every individual who has a drunken relative or friend, will, in most instances, result in his restoration to health. The prescription of our author has had, he tells us, the benefit of experience. It requires, on the part of the physician, kindness, firmness, hope. On that of the patient, one thing only—abstinence, total, entire. Into the minutiæ of details, spread out by the author, this is not the place to enter. The "Plea" will, doubtless, have a wide circulation. Its vigorous style will commend it to the admirer of pure idiomatic English, and its glowing benevolence will find way to the hearts of all who would labor to convert a sinner from the error of his way. F.

Art. VII.—*Biblical Knowledge.*

An Essay read before the Literary and Theological Association of Chenango District, and published by their request.

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The Bible is the word of God. God speaks to all men through the medium of conscience; and he is every moment teaching us the great principles of duty by the constitution and course of nature, and by the tendencies and results of human conduct. But he nowhere addresses us in *language* except in the Bible. In this book we see his hand-writing. Here we listen to his voice. Here he talks with us face to face. This volume, and this alone, we believe contains the words of eternal life. We make it the foundation of our preaching. We appeal to it as the standard of all

correct faith and practice. We read it to some extent; but do we study it as closely and with as much interest as the foregoing facts would justify and require? Would not the interrogatory of Philip, "Understandest thou what thou readest," be as applicable to some of us as it was to the Ethiopian? Do we understand the Scriptures as fully as we ought, in view of the means we have to do so, the solemn and important character of their contents, and the repeated injunctions laid upon us to be faithful in their perusal? If these questions were proposed to our people, I am confident they would answer them in the negative, and if proposed to some of us, their spiritual guides, I apprehend we should have reason to feel embarrassed. Let us, then, consider some of the helps to a knowledge of the Bible, and some of the motives that should incite us to the pursuit of such knowledge.

First, *The helps, or means.*

And I. Spiritual mindedness. However much we perfect ourselves in the letter of the Scriptures, unless we comprehend their spirit they are of little use to us. The ancient Israelites understood the letter of the Old Testament better than we do; but they were ignorant of its spirit. "And to this day, when Moses is read, the vail is on their heart." "The natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God, for they are foolishness to him; neither can he know them, because they are spiritually discerned. But he that is spiritual judgeth all things." In order that we may rightly and fully understand the Scriptures we must be enlightened by the same Spirit by which they were originally indited. We should always read them with a prayerful mind, and frequently, like the devoted Stoner, upon our knees before God.

II. We shall derive no inconsiderable aid in understanding the Bible by attention to the marginal references. The references, particularly in the polyglot editions, are of the greatest importance, as they throw light upon obscure passages, and also as they give us a clear view of the uniformity of the divine administration under the several dispensations, and the substantial harmony of the sacred writers. By reading the Scriptures in this connected, systematic way, we shall, like Isaiah in his vision, behold Jehovah sitting upon a throne, high and lifted up, his train filling the temple, and the sacred penmen, like the seraphim, covering themselves, and crying one to another, "Holy, holy, holy is the Lord God of hosts, the whole earth is full of his glory." One would scarcely believe, before making the trial, what proficiency may be made in the knowledge of the word of God by this "comparing spiritual things with spiritual;" and without any other commentary or exposition

than what the different parts of the sacred volume mutually furnish for each other.* To illustrate: on the doctrine of the possibility of falling from grace, we find several passages like these: "If they shall fall away," &c. Heb. vi, 6. "For if after they have escaped the pollutions of the world, through the knowledge of the Lord Jesus Christ, they are again entangled therein and overcome," &c. 2 Peter ii, 20. But these passages, says one, are no argument in favor of the possibility of falling from grace, for they are merely hypothetical; the apostle is only making a supposition; the word *if* in these places implies an impossibility. But if so, we answer, the word *if* must imply an impossibility in all the passages where it occurs, or only in a part of them. If the latter, it would follow that the word of God warns us in some places against possibilities, and in some places against impossibilities; that is, in some places the Bible means something, and in others it means nothing. Or if the former, that is, if the word *if* always implies an impossibility wherever it occurs, then what shall we say of such passages as the following: "If any man will come after me, let him deny himself," &c. Matt. xvi, 24. "Behold I stand at the door and knock, if any man will hear my voice," &c. Rev. iii, 20. "If thou seek him, [the Lord,] he will be found of thee, but if thou forsake him, he will cast thee off for ever." Now, to make the *if* in each of these passages the sign of an impossibility, would effect an overturn in theology, greater, we apprehend, than even the friends of the theory would be prepared to abide. Here, then, by a comparison of scripture with scripture, an important class of passages are placed in their true light, and the doctrine of the possibility of falling from grace is sustained.

III. Further light is shed upon the Scriptures by studying them in the languages in which they were originally written. 1. And here, perhaps, some are ready to reply, We have not time to acquire a knowledge of these languages. True, we have not the time which those ministers have who are exempt from the amount of travel which the itinerant system imposes upon us. But by method much time can be redeemed; and besides, much of the time bestowed upon the Greek and Hebrew must, if they be not studied, be spent in searching in other channels for that information which an acquaintance with these tongues would bestow. Look at the vast literary labors of Mr. Wesley, Dr. Clarke, and Richard Watson. Yet these labors were performed while they were in the itinerant field. Think of the astonishing acquirements of Thomas Walsh, whom Mr. Wesley declares to have been the

* See Pref. to Eng. Vers. of Polyglot Bible.

best Biblical scholar he ever saw; being able to tell how often any original word occurred in the Old Testament or the New. Yet Thomas Walsh was a traveling preacher. And our late lamented brother Keyes* was much like him: he was master of the Greek and Hebrew Scriptures. But brother Keyes' early advantages were nothing. Go with me six miles down the valley of the Otego, and I will show you the farm which constituted his college: he graduated upon the Hartwick hills. And from the time he was thrust out into the work, a green and awkward plough-boy, till the time of his decease, it is doubtful if there was an individual member of his conference to whom were assigned more appointments of little refinement, lean support, extensive travel, and abundant labors, than were assigned to him. And yet when he fell, though still in his prime, he was a literary giant. 2. But why is a knowledge of these languages needful? Or how would it improve our knowledge of the Bible? Because, first, by studying it through this medium, you would study it more attentively than you otherwise would. Searching the Scriptures in a learned language necessarily fixes the attention more closely upon each word and sentence than when you glide through them in your own familiar vernacular. You are more apt to remember where a subject is treated of, and what is said about it. Secondly, possessed of this knowledge, God speaks to you directly; but destitute of it, he speaks to you through an interpreter. And though your interpreter may be a learned and honest one, and as such we are free and happy to acknowledge the received English version, still, on account of variations in the structure and idiom of different languages, the best interpreter cannot convey the original sense in all its force and with all its shades of meaning. Thirdly, since our translation, Biblical knowledge has enjoyed the advantage of two hundred and thirty years research, in the progress of which much additional light has been elicited. But of what avail is this light to us without a knowledge of the original? We are informed of certain results 'tis true; but what do we know of the process by which those results have been arrived at? The conclusion is announced, but the premises are concealed. We perceive an increase of light, but cannot tell whether it emanates from the sun of the gospel, or whether it is reflected from the icebergs of *rationalism*. Hence, remaining ignorant of the languages, we must either consent to be led implicitly by the *ipse dixit* of other men, or deprive ourselves, in many instances, of the fruits of a

* Late a member of the Oneida Conference, but now in Abraham's bosom.—Ed.

whole life spent in Biblical research; that is, by neglecting a study which would require our leisure for four or five years, we lose the labors of forty or fifty years; nay, the accumulated labors of centuries. Fourthly, a knowledge of Hebrew and Greek is often important in ascertaining the truth in points of controversy. Is it asserted, for instance, that standing is the proper Scriptural posture in devotion? Aside from the numerous passages which might be quoted as authorizing the kneeling position, it is worthy of remark, that the same Hebrew verb, בָּרַךְ, which signifies to bless, adore, and invoke, also signifies to kneel. From which we infer that the posture generally assumed in blessing, adoring, and invoking, was that of kneeling. And this conclusion is confirmed by the fact that בֶּרֶךְ, the term for knee, is derived directly from the foregoing verb, and is applied to the knee, according to the learned Buxtorf, *a benedicendo, et salutando*, that is, from its being employed in blessing and worshiping. So again, if we knew nothing of the original of the word *baptize* but from the construction given to it by the strenuous advocates of a particular mode, we should probably have to yield to their views, suffer our Bibles to be mutilated, and conclude that whether the season be hot or cold, and whether the candidates be male or female, sick or well, they are not baptized unless the body is wholly immersed in water. But a critical and candid examination of the original word Βαπτίζω, as it occurs in the New Testament, proves that it is a generic, and not a specific term; that is, it signifies an effect produced, and not a specific outward act by which that effect is produced. The effect expressed by Βαπτίζω, is that of purifying; that is, when used in reference to the religious rite, it signifies to purify, without designating whether the purification is to be effected by sprinkling, affusion, or immersion. Instance Mark i, 8.

IV. Improvement in Biblical knowledge will be further promoted by attention to the rules and principles of interpretation or Hermeneutics, the science which teaches to find, and express in an accurate manner, the meaning of another's language. And as it is no longer a question whether the language of the Scriptures is to be interpreted upon the same principles as that of other books, it becomes a matter of the first importance to understand these principles. To illustrate: it is often important to know whether a passage of Scripture is used in a literal or figurative sense. The rule is, that we are never to depart from the literal meaning without evident reason or necessity. And further, a passage is not to be considered figurative unless you can substitute literal words in the place of the figurative, and still retain a consistent idea. For

example: the writer was once conversing with a Quaker on the duty and importance of promoting the missionary cause, and quoted, in favor of it, this passage: "Go ye into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature." Very true, he replied, but many things enjoined by Christ are not to be understood literally, but figuratively; as where he commands his disciples to wash one another's feet. Now this rule enabled me to obviate his objection. In the instance quoted by him, literal words may be substituted in room of the figurative; thus, cultivate a condescending disposition toward each other. But as to the passage quoted by me, if you call it figurative, the literal meaning is inscrutable. What literal words can you substitute, and make sense? The truth is, the passage, as it stands, must be taken in its literal meaning or it has no meaning at all. Again, it is necessary in order properly to understand many parts of the Bible, to know how much of it is typical, and how much is not. The cause of Christianity has suffered great disservice, from the days of Origen downward, by a tendency to a typical and mystical mode of interpreting the sacred volume. For example: it has been maintained that Abel was a type of Christ, and Cain of the Jews, who crucified him; that Pharaoh and the Egyptians were types of sin and Satan; the tree of life in Paradise, a type of the cross; and that the universal dominion given to man by his Creator, over the irrational tribes, was adumbrative of the unlimited power of the pope! Now that there are certain persons, events, and institutions named in the Scriptures, which were designed to represent certain other persons, events, and institutions, all must agree. But that this random way of multiplying them is incorrect and dangerous, is equally manifest. For upon this plan you make the Bible speak any thing and every thing. And in this way you might prove the divinity of Christ as readily from the first chapter of Job, as from the first chapter of John. Hence we want a rule to enable us to distinguish real types from those which are merely imaginary. The rule is this: while we may draw illustrations of religious truth from a great variety of things in the Bible, we are only at liberty to consider such portions of it typical as the Bible itself declares to be so.

V. Finally, great assistance in obtaining a knowledge of the Scriptures will be realized from an attentive examination of Biblical archæology; or the domestic, political, and sacred antiquities of the Jews, including Biblical geography, and accompanied with the history of those nations which were contiguous to, and cotemporary with, the ancient Israelites. These subjects present to our view a vast field of inquiry, greater than we can occupy in

this essay, or even thoroughly survey. Yet it is a field, every part of which is, to the student of theology, attractive in beauty, and abundant in fruit. We must satisfy ourselves at present by barely pausing to remark, that a knowledge of these subjects throws important light upon many passages of Scripture. For instance, Rev. xix, 12, "And on his head were many crowns." This is illustrated beautifully by the fact, that in the Olympic games, as the victor might conquer more than once in the same games, and sometimes repeatedly on the same day, so he was sometimes presented with many crowns. It were richly worth one's while to peruse the whole of Rollin's history merely for the sake of the striking and abundant proofs he furnishes of the fulfilment of Scripture prophecy. In Solomon's graphic description of old age, (Eccles. xii,) the force of the expression, "the almond tree shall flourish," is not felt till we learn that this tree puts forth snow-white blossoms before its leaves appear, and at such a time presents a most beautiful and appropriate emblem of the hoary head of age. We always admired that passage in Hosea xiv, which compares the prosperity of the church to the rich exuberance of Lebanon. But our ideas have been much improved by reading the description of that celebrated mountain from Eastern travelers. After gazing with them upon its stupendous size, its summits piercing the clouds, its verdant slopes, variegated with groves of lofty cedar, oliveyards, and vineyards, its silver streams and murmuring waterfalls; after inhaling with them the coolness of its shades and the fragrance of its flowers and fruits, how sweetly do the accents of the prophet fall upon the ear: "I will be as the dew unto Israel. He shall grow as the lily, and cast forth his fruits as Lebanon. His branches shall spread, and his beauty shall be as the olive tree, and his smell as Lebanon. They that dwell under his shadow shall return, they shall revive as the corn, they shall grow as the vine, and the scent thereof shall be as the wine of Lebanon." Follow those travelers a little further, and they will point you to the peaceful valley of the Jordan. The banks of the river, as you perceive, are bordered with a thick forest of reeds: and when the river rolls quietly within its channel those entangled thickets are the resort of lions. But now you observe the river is swollen, and has overflowed its banks far and near. And do you observe that fierce tawny lion that is ranging the adjacent fields, burning with resentment at having been driven from his favorite retreat, and ready to attack the first victim that falls in his way, while he makes the whole land reverberate with his terrific roar? Well, now you behold the figure which Jeremiah had in his eye

when, foretelling the invasion of Edom by the king of Babylon, he says: "Behold, he shall come up like a lion from the swelling of Jordan against the habitation of the strong," Jer. xlix, 19. And it is not improbable that Peter alludes to the same scene, 1 Pet. v, 8, where he says, "Be sober, be vigilant, for your adversary the devil, as a roaring lion, walketh about seeking whom he may devour." Thus led on by this species of research, as the Persian magi were led by the star in the east, we should soon arrive where the Saviour was born; but in this instance the star would not stop over that place: it would pass on until we had reviewed the memorable scenes of his teaching and miracles. It would bring us finally to the city over which he wept, and where he was condemned, and by wicked hands was crucified and slain; and at every stage of our progress new light would beam forth upon the corresponding portions of the word of God. And what an interesting branch of knowledge is here presented! How pleasing! How instructive! How hallowed! Others may excavate the ruins of Pompeii and Herculaneum; but let me linger about the fallen towers and dilapidated walls of Jerusalem. Others may delve in the catacombs of Thebes, or climb the time-worn pyramids of the Nile, in painful effort to decipher the hieroglyphics of the Pharaohs; but let it be my nobler, holier work to study those antiquities which illustrate the meaning of the book of God. *Their* success will only give them a more full and sickening view of the pollutions of ancient paganism. But in whatever degree *we* succeed, in the same degree we shall increase in that knowledge which makes wise unto salvation. To our minds even classic Greece and martial Rome present no charms like the Holy Land. In the mellow numbers of Pierpont we can say,—

> "No, no, a lonelier, lovelier path be mine,
> Greece, and her charms, I leave for Palestine.
> There purer streams through happier valleys flow,
> And sweeter flowers on holier mountains grow.
> I love to breathe where Gilead sheds her balm,
> I love to walk on Jordan's banks of palm;
> I love to wet my feet in Hermon's dews,
> I love the promptings of Isaiah's muse:
> In Carmel's sacred grot I 'll court repose,
> And deck my mossy couch with Sharon's deathless rose."

We are now prepared, secondly, *to consider the importance of a thorough acquaintance with the Scriptures* on the part of the ministry.

I. And, first, from the nature of the book. It has been well remarked by an able theologian, that the office of reason, with

respect to a reputed revelation, is twofold: first, to inquire whether it *be* a revelation; and, secondly, what does it contain. The first of these questions is, in our minds, satisfactorily settled. We most devoutly believe that God has made a revelation of his will to men in the Bible. Well, now, is it not a most important inquiry to ascertain what that will is? Yes, to us in common with all other classes of persons, the study of the Scriptures is of the first importance. Is it important to glorify God? to shun hell? to gain heaven? Then it is important to examine the Scriptures, for they alone can give us authentic counsel on these momentous subjects. Other moral and religious books are only valuable in so far as they illustrate and impress the principles of the Bible. The living ministry are useful no further than their communications are illuminated by the truths and imbued with the spirit of revelation. "The Bible," says Hannah More, "is a lamp to our feet, and a light to our path; it points us to the Way, the Truth, and the Life. It is our guide while we live, and our trust when we die. It is the charter of our salvation, and the pledge of our immortality. If there were but one Bible in the world, all the wealth of the world would not be adequate to the value of that one Bible." But now the whole importance of this divine volume depends upon its being read. Unread, it is no better to you than the veriest romance. Hence, immediately upon the giving of the law, the reading of it was most solemnly enjoined, and hence, too, our Saviour says, "Search the Scriptures, for in them ye think ye have eternal life, and they are they that testify of me."

II. A thorough knowledge of the sacred oracles is important in the ministry, from the influence of our example upon community. "Like priest, like people." How sadly was this illustrated in the dark ages! Look, for instance, at the seventh and eighth centuries, when Gilemar, archbishop of Rheims, being called upon before his consecration to read a portion of the gospels, was found so deplorably ignorant, as not to understand the literal meaning of the passage; when, instead of the appropriate qualifications of the minister, were substituted those of the hunter and hawker, the deans of many of the cathedrals in France actually entering upon their dignities habited in a surplice girt with a sword, in boots and gilt spurs, and a hawk on the fist! Look down even as late as the sixteenth century, nearly a hundred years subsequent to the invention of the art of printing, when Albert, archbishop of Mentz, having met accidentally with a Bible, and read some pages in it, observed: "Indeed, I do not know what this book is, but this I see, every thing in it is against us:" and when even Carolstat, who was after-

ward one of the reformers, acknowledged that he never began to read the Bible till eight years after he had taken his highest degree in divinity! It were easy to infer what, under such circumstances, would be the ignorance and stupidity of the laity. If darkness rested upon the priests, gross darkness covered the people. Of this no stronger proof need be adduced than the institution of the feast of the ass; celebrated in several of the churches of France about the tenth century, in commemoration of the Virgin Mary's flight into Egypt.* A young girl, richly dressed, with a child in her arms, was placed upon an ass superbly caparisoned. The ass was led to the altar in solemn procession. High mass was said with great pomp. The ass was taught to kneel at proper intervals. When the ceremony was ended, the priest, instead of the usual words with which he dismissed the assembly, brayed three times like an ass; and the people, instead of the usual response, brayed three times in return! An illustration of our position, more honorable to human nature, is seen in the state of Biblical knowledge about the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in England; when, by the efforts of such men as Coverdale, Rogers, and Cranmer, the Scriptures had been translated into the vulgar tongue, and permission granted to have them read by all ranks of society. "It was wonderful," says the old historian,* "to see with what joy this book of God was received, not only among the learneder sort, and those that were noted for lovers of the Reformation, but generally all England over, among all the vulgar and common people, and with what greediness God's word was read; what resort to the places where the reading of it was. Every body that could bought the book,† or busily read it, or got others to read it to them, if they could not themselves; and diverse more elderly people learned to read on purpose for this, and even little boys flocked among the rest, to hear portions of the Holy Scriptures read." So much for the example and influence of devoted ministers of the gospel in inspiring community with an interest in the word of God. Is it important, then, that impenitent men should be induced to examine that precious volume which teaches them both their danger and their duty? Is it important that the church, in these days of Mormonism, infidelity, and Universalism, should be thoroughly enlightened in Scriptural truth? Is it important to the triumph of the Redeemer's kingdom on earth, that the rising generation, by means of sabbath schools and Bible classes, should be brought up in the nurture and admonition of the truth, and know the Scrip-

* See Townley's Lit. History of the Bible.

† The New Testament alone cost at that time about $180.

tures, which are able to make them wise unto salvation? For the very same reasons, it is important that ministers of the gospel should set the example of a deep and lively interest, of a close and persevering assiduity, in the study of the sacred records. But,

III. It is important in view of the main business of our calling; which is, to preach the gospel. For as revelation is the grand authentic source from which we derive all religious truth, whether doctrinal or practical, a thorough and intimate knowledge of the Bible is indispensable. It were as absurd for a preacher to think of succeeding without this, as for a person to set up for a surgeon who knew nothing of anatomy; or to imagine he could guide a ship across the pathless ocean while utterly ignorant of the principles of navigation. This will be the more manifest if we consider for a moment the different kinds of preaching. These may be classed under four heads:—Hortatory, doctrinal, ethical, and expository. First, the *hortatory.* In this mode of sermonizing you take certain doctrines and facts for granted, and proceed directly to draw your inferences, and make your application. For instance, you take it for granted that the unconverted man acknowledges himself a sinner, that he ought to repent and reform, that while he neglects this he is slighting infinite mercy, and in danger of perdition. And your object is, so to illustrate these points and press them home upon the conscience, as to arouse him to action. But what are the motives which you will present? Why, those of duty and interest. But upon what does duty depend? Upon God's commands. And by what is interest determined? Surely by the promises and threatenings of God. But the commands, the threatenings, and the promises of God, are to be found only in the word of God. And hence it is clear, that even in those discourses which consist mainly of exhortation, very little can be said to purpose without immediate recourse to the sacred oracles. And if this be true of hortatory preaching, where every thing is taken for granted, how much more of *doctrinal*, where every thing must be proved? where you must *convince* the unconverted that they are sinners; must *convince* them that they ought to repent and reform; must convince them that every moment they delay they are trampling upon blood-bought mercies, and are in peril of damnation! And the same is true of *ethical* or moral subjects, where the object of the preacher is to define, illustrate, and enforce moral duties. He cannot advance a single step toward the accomplishment of his design, only as he is sustained by a "Thus saith the Lord." But least of all can you do without a knowledge of the Bible in *expository* preaching, whose chief end, as its name imports, is to

expound the word of God. In every mode of sermonizing the text should be explained; and we virtually give our views of every passage we quote in support of any doctrine or duty. But in the expository method explanation is the principal thing. Here we have nothing to do but explain and apply the written word. And what kind of a figure would such a mitred ignoramus as Albert or Gilemar have made in this sort of work; who, had they been called upon to explain a portion of Romans, or Acts, would probably not have known whether Romans was an epistle written to the Romans, or by them; and whether Acts were a record of the doings of the apostles, or whether it were the name of a fifth evangelist! But a knowledge of the Scriptures was no more necessary for this purpose in that age of the church than the present. For how can a minister, under any circumstances, explain to others what he does not understand himself? The very idea is absurd. Let us beware how we attempt it; lest it happen to us according to the saying of Christ, "And if the blind lead the blind, both shall fall into the ditch." But what then, shall we dispense with this mode of preaching? So far from it, we firmly believe that, of all the methods of sermonizing, the expository deserves the preference. Not that we would have a minister always confined to this style; but we would have him employ it more than any other. And in every discourse, whatever the category under which its particular structure should require it to be classed, let the business of explaining Scripture constitute a principal object, and let it occupy a prominent place in the sermon. Permit us to state two or three reasons for this opinion. First, it is according to our Discipline:—"Frequently read and enlarge upon a portion of Scripture."—P. 50. "Take thou authority to read the Holy Scriptures in the church of God, and to preach the same."—P. 125. "Take thou authority to preach the word of God."—P. 138. Secondly, it is the Scriptural mode. We must all have observed, in the New Testament, the frequency of such phrases as the following:—"Teaching the word of God." "Hearing the word." "The ministry of the word." "Speaking the word of the Lord." "Preaching the word of God." "Preaching the word." The last of these occurs some ten times in the book of the Acts alone. Now, by "the word," "the word of God," &c., must be meant the Scriptures. And by "speaking," "teaching," and "preaching" that word, must be understood the proclaiming, expounding, and enforcing the Scriptures. Such was the preaching of Ezra and his coadjutors: "They read in the book of the law, and gave the sense, and caused the people to understand the

meaning," Neh. viii, 9. Such was also the mode adopted by those itinerant preachers sent out from among the priests and Levites by the pious Jehoshaphat: "They taught in Judah, and had the book of the law of the Lord with them, and went about throughout all the cities of Judah, and taught the people," 2 Chron. xvii, 9. This was likewise the apostolic method. The first sermon delivered under the Christian dispensation was preached by St. Peter, and it was of the expository kind. In the course of the sermon he quotes ten verses of Scripture, five from Psalms, and five from the prophet Joel; and the discourse consists entirely of the exposition and application of those passages. The second was delivered by St. Stephen, and belongs to the same class. In that discourse he gives an epitome of the history of the people whom he addressed, drawn from the first two books of the Pentateuch and the Kings, with quotations from the prophets Isaiah and Amos: the object of the whole of which was to prepare the way for this most ingenious, though awful and pungent application: "Ye stiff-necked and uncircumcised in heart and ears; ye do always resist the Holy Ghost: as your fathers did, so do ye. Which of the prophets have not your fathers persecuted, and they have slain them which showed before the coming of the Just One, of whom ye have been now the slayers and murderers?" I need hardly remind you that this was Paul's manner of preaching. A sketch of the first sermon of his, which is contained in the Acts, is found in the thirteenth chapter: in which having, like Stephen, presented a succinct account of early Scriptural events in the history of his nation—thereby preparing the way to introduce the genealogy of Christ, the prophecies which went before on him, his great forerunner; his condemnation, death, and resurrection; all of which he proves to have transpired, in accordance with the predictions—he avails himself of the force of the whole by exhorting his hearers to embrace this Saviour by the hope of pardon on one hand, and by the fear of aggravated punishment on the other. His wonderful knowledge of the Scriptures, exhibited on the occasion of his trial before Festus, was what led the latter to exclaim, "Paul! thou art beside thyself: much learning doth make thee mad!" The expository was his general, if not invariable mode; for it is said (Acts xvi, 2) that he "went in unto the Jews, in the synagogue, and, as *his manner was*, reasoned with them three days out of the Scriptures." And again, (xxvi, 22,) he says, "Having therefore obtained help of God, I continue unto this day witnessing both to small and great, and saying *none other things* than those which the prophets and Moses did say should come." Thirdly, divine authority en-

joins this mode of preaching upon ministers at the present day. This is rendered highly probable by what has already been seen in the practice of the apostles. But they recommend it by precept as well as example. Paul, in giving his advice to Timothy, says, "Preach the word," 2 Tim. iv, 2; which means, as the preceding context strikingly shows, Explain and enforce the Holy Scriptures: for that context says, (chap. iii, 15,) "All Scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness. That the man of God [that is, the minister of the gospel] may be perfect, throughly furnished unto all [that is, all *these*] good works." And again, (chap. ii, 15,) "Study to show thyself approved unto God, a workman that needeth not to be ashamed, rightly dividing the word of truth:" or, as the Vulgate has it, *recte tractantem verbum, veritatis*— "rightly handling the word of truth." The "word of truth" here, doubtless, means the gospel. And "rightly dividing," or handling it, signifies that we acquire right views of the gospel, and correctly impart them to others. Finally, we maintain that the interests of the church demand the more general adoption of this kind of preaching. We are sorry to say it, but we do think that the great mass of the people in our country are lamentably ignorant of the Scriptures. How many plain passages are not comprehended! How much is misconstrued! How very defective is their view of the scope and tenor of the several sacred writers! How often have we heard remarks like this!—"I formerly believed the sentiments of such a denomination, but now I am convinced that this people are right, because they have the most Scripture on their side:" as though we were to be guided, not by the meaning of Scripture, but by the amount quoted. And who has not been astonished at the ease with which many people, intelligent enough in other matters, are led astray by religious errors the most gross and palpable that ever deceived the human mind? And we regret to add, that much of the preaching of the present day leaves the people just about as ignorant of the Bible as it finds them. If we were going to compare apostolic with modern preaching, we could not do it better, perhaps, than by saying, that in the former God spoke much, and man little; but in the latter God speaks little, and man much. How many sermons do we hear in which no Scripture is explained, not even the text! Custom makes it necessary to take a text; otherwise, I do not know but we should dispense with the Bible altogether! But having paid it this compliment, we bid it farewell, and, reversing Paul's rule, the sermon is composed, not of the words which the Holy Ghost teacheth, but which man's wisdom

teacheth. The pulpit teems with dissertations, moral essays, learned disquisitions, and splendid orations: but, alas for the starving people! "there is a famine of the word of the Lord." May we not trace to this cause the spiritual debility and declension of many of the churches, as also the carelessness and stupidity which characterize the irreligious? But let the church be "fed with the sincere milk of the *word*, and they will grow thereby." "Commend them to God, and to the *word of his grace*, and it will be able to build them up, and give them an inheritance among all them that are sanctified." The impenitent cannot stand before this kind of preaching. "*The word of God* is quick and powerful, and sharper than any two-edged sword, piercing even to the dividing asunder of soul and spirit, and of the joints and marrow, and is a discerner of the thoughts and intents of the heart." It was this Scriptural mode of sermonizing, in opposition to the artificial, this desire to instruct rather than to amuse, that distinguished the preachers of the Reformation from those who had preceded them. The reformers were "mighty in the Scriptures." They preached Jesus Christ and him crucified; they preached justification by faith; and instead of referring their hearers to "popes and canons, to fathers and founders," for ultimate authority, they took the liberty to direct the people, both for law and gospel, to the word of God. The consequence was, that whereas before, the effect of preaching was transitory and feeble, and the world was growing worse under it; now, when such men as Luther, and Melancthon, and Zuingle, and Calvin, came forth, Bible in hand, proclaiming the pure, unadulterated truths of the gospel, their auditors listened as for eternity, went away new creatures, and resolved by whole nations to reform. "The old papal popular sermons," says a graphic writer, "had gone off like a charge of gunpowder, producing only a fright and a black face; but those of the *newe learninge*, as the monks called them, were small hearty seeds, which being sown in the honest hearts of the multitude, and watered with the dews of heaven, softly vegetated, and imperceptibly unfolded blossoms and fruits of inestimable value." Such are some of the reasons why, in our pulpit ministrations, we should make it a point of prime importance to instruct the people in the Scriptures. But as we can impart such instruction only in so far as we possess it, therefore, all these reasons bear with equal force in favor of our acquainting ourselves with the sacred record. Yes; if it be important that we should imitate apostolic usage, and obey apostolic precepts in the principal business of our profession; if it be important that ignorance be removed, error exposed, sinners con-

verted, and the church of God built up on their most holy faith; for all these reasons, it is important that we should search the Scriptures. It was from reading his Latin Testament that Luther imbibed the principles of the Reformation: and by a striking coincidence, it was while studying his Greek Testament that Mr. Wesley's heart caught the flame of that revival which has since spread through Christendom. Let us then study our Bibles, that we may contribute to perpetuate those principles, and to diffuse that flame, until it shall brighten into the universal light of millennial day.

ART. VIII.—*The Life of the Rev. Charles Wesley, M. A., some time student of Christ-Church, Oxford: comprising a Review of his Poetry; Sketches of the Rise and Progress of Methodism; with Notices of Contemporary Events and Characters.* By THOMAS JACKSON. 2 vols., 8vo., pp. 608, 586. London: published by John Mason. 1841.

THE evidences of a divine hand in the affairs of the world are both numerous and striking. Every evolution of the wheels of Providence exhibits a species of power and intelligence altogether above the mere resources of nature; and gives evidence of the presence of that all-pervading Spirit which is the source of all rational existence and moral order throughout the universe. The complicated machinery of the universe is under divine control. God does not act the part of a mere indifferent spectator of its various turnings and shiftings, but his hand behind the screen is working out some grand result in all its multifarious revolutions. When kingdoms or empires rise or fall; when new light marks out the pathway of succeeding mental developments, and constitutes a new era in the march of mind; when some splendid achievement changes the aspects of society, and opens new sources of happiness and improvement to the whole race, the true Christian philosopher will say in the language of inspiration, "Who knoweth not in all these, that the hand of the Lord hath wrought this?"

But the doctrine of a *special providence* is equally marked in the Scriptures, though not so generally admitted as that of a general superintendence of the affairs of the world. It is not, however, always easy to determine when an event is to be attributed to the *special interference of divine agency;* and when it is the result of those general laws by which God ordinarily works.

That peculiar form of Christianity called Methodism, whatever opinions some may entertain with regard to the legitimacy of its origin, or its beneficial tendency, must be, on all hands, admitted to have exerted a very wide influence upon the opinions and destinies of mankind. And hence, whatever it is, it certainly is not one of those trivial matters which scarcely deserve a passing notice; but is, on the other hand, obviously a thing of so much interest and prominence as to be entitled to the gravest consideration, not only of the Christian, but also of the historian, the philosopher, and the politician.

In determining whether a *special* divine agency has been concerned in originating and sustaining a system of reform, we would naturally be led to inquire into the suitableness of the time selected for its manifestation—the adaptedness of the means employed in its execution—and the adjustment of the system itself to the ends proposed.

So far as our plan and space will permit, we shall in this article test the providential claims of Methodism by these principles.

As to the period when Methodism had its origin, upon the supposition that it is really an improvement upon other forms or systems, and designed by the great Head of the church as an instrument of the revival of evangelical religion; what period since the reformation from popery could have been selected more appropriate than that in which the Wesleys began to excite public attention! At this period, it is universally admitted, vital godliness had suffered a most melancholy decline, both in the Church of England and among the Dissenters. To this point we have the testimony of some of the brightest ornaments and most learned divines, both of the national Establishment and the dissenting churches. Several of these may be seen in Jackson's "Centenary of Methodism."

In the volumes before us we have a multitude of facts which tend directly to the same point. The lives of the clergy of the Establishment were often grossly immoral, and from these men the Wesleys, and their coadjutors, often met with the most violent and scandalous persecution. Nor were the Dissenters always clear in these unchristian and barbarous transactions. The clergy of the Establishment were often found at the head of an infuriated mob, urging them on to deeds of the most brutal violence, against unoffending men, women, and children, in the exercise of their natural and civil rights! These same servants of the altar were often found at the card-table, in groggeries and stews, and sometimes

administering the sacred rites of religion in a state of intoxication! Now when such instances as these become so common as not to shock the public mind; when "the prophets prophesy lies, and the people love to have it so;"—"Like priest like people;"—"The whole head is sick, and the whole heart faint;" then it must be admitted there is imminent need of a reformation in the Church, and that there should be some who have the moral courage, and the zeal for God, to stand up in defense of true religion.

No one at all acquainted with the state of religion and morals at the period referred to, will pretend to doubt the necessity of reformation. Mr. Southey says, "There was never less religious feeling either within the Establishment or without, than when Wesley blew his trumpet and awakened those who slept." If, indeed, the licentiousness of the clergy, and the stupid ignorance and abandoned wickedness of the people, of the sixteenth century, called for the burning zeal and intrepidity of Luther, did not the same causes call as loudly for the fire and faith of the Wesleys in the eighteenth? And if God had designed, by some new and striking evolution of his providence, and through an extraordinary instrumentality, to awaken a slumbering world before the cup of its iniquities should be filled, such a demonstration of his power and goodness might have been expected about this period of time. Then "darkness covered the earth, and gross darkness the people;" and why should it be considered, by those who acknowledge a superintending power, as incredible, that an instrumentality somewhat extraordinary in its character should be employed to roll back the tide of moral gloom which was sweeping over the fairest portions of God's heritage?

But let us next proceed to notice the instrumentality in the revival of religion which, it seems, was so much needed.

John and Charles Wesley were the sons of the Rev. Samuel Wesley, rector of Epworth, and Mrs. Susannah Wesley, daughter of Dr. Samuel Annesley, a pious and learned Nonconformist minister. John was born June 14, 1703; and Charles, December 18, 1708. John, when a little more than six years of age, narrowly escaped being consumed in the conflagration of the parsonage at Epworth. In allusion to this deliverance, he often called himself "a brand plucked out of the fire." Such was the nature of Mr. Samuel Wesley's official duties that the early training of his numerous family devolved principally upon his inimitable companion. Under her wise and pious guidance they early acquired habits of study and of patient thought, and John, especially, was serious and circumspect in his life. The brothers passed

through their preparatory studies and entered the University of Oxford, where they graduated with the highest honors. John was elected Fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford, and was also appointed Greek lecturer and moderator of the classes. From reading Taylor's Holy Living and Dying, Kempis's Christian Pattern, and Law's Serious Call to a Holy Life, Mr. John Wesley, while in college, was brought under strong religious impressions, and chiefly through his instrumentality his brother Charles became habitually serious and attentive to the duties of religion. These gentlemen, with several of their fellow students, statedly met to assist each other in their spiritual interests. The great circumspection of their lives, and their regular and orderly habits, occasioned a young gentleman to remark, "Here is a new set of Methodists sprung up," alluding, as is supposed, to a company of ancient physicians so called. This new name was soon very generally awarded to the young men, and finally became the distinctive appellation of the followers of Wesley and Whitefield.

The brothers were acute and diligent, and became eminently skilled in the ancient classics. John, presiding at the debates, became a master of logic, and acquired the power to unmask the most specious sophism, and to seize upon the very point where the fallacy lay, however deeply covered with the rubbish of metaphysical subtilties and refinements. Here Providence was wisely preparing him to break a spear with the sturdiest spirits of the age, and to grapple with error in its most imposing forms.

In 1735 the brothers accepted the appointment of missionaries to Georgia, John having been previously ordained deacon and priest, and Charles being ordained for the occasion. Their principal object, in undertaking this mission to the new world, was to carry the gospel to the Indians; but God had other designs to answer in the enterprise. In consequence of the unsettled state of the colony, the original object the Wesleys had in view being found impracticable, after an absence of less than two years they returned home. During their stay in Georgia they suffered many severe trials, and became inured to perils and hardships, so many of which they were destined to brave during their subsequent history. The following, from the entries made by Charles in his Journal, will afford a glimpse of several species of conflicts and hardships not very agreeable to flesh and blood:—

"After spending an hour at the camp, in singing such psalms as suited the occasion, I went to bed in the hut, which was thoroughly wet with to-day's rain.

"March 29th. Knowing I was to live with Mr. Oglethorpe, I had

brought nothing with me from England, except my clothes and books: but this morning, asking a servant for something I wanted, (I think a tea-kettle,) I was told Mr. Oglethorpe had given orders that no one should use any of his things. I answered, that order, I supposed, did not extend to me. 'Yes, sir,' says she, 'you was excepted by name.' Thanks be to God, that it is not yet made capital to give me a morsel of bread.

"March 30th. Having laid hitherto on the ground, in a corner of Mr. Reed's hut, and hearing some boards were to be disposed of, I attempted in vain to get some of them to lie upon. They were given to all besides.

"March 31st. I begin now to be abused and slighted into an opinion of my own considerableness. I could not be more trampled upon was I a fallen minister of state. The people have found out that I am in disgrace. My few well-wishers are afraid to speak to me. Some have turned out of the way to avoid me. Others desired I would not take it ill, if they seemed not to know me when we should meet. The servant that used to wash my linen sent it back unwashed. It was great cause of triumph my being forbidden the use of Mr. Oglethorpe's things, and in effect debarred of most of the conveniences, if not the necessaries, of life. I sometimes pitied and sometimes diverted myself with the odd expressions of their contempt; but found the benefit of having undergone a much lower degree of obloquy."

"April 5th. At one this morning the sand-flies forced me to rise, and smoke them out of the hut. The whole town was employed in the same manner. My congregation in the evening consisted of two Presbyterians and a papist. I went home in great pain, my distemper being much increased with the little duty I could discharge.

"April 6th. I found myself so faint and weak that it was with the utmost difficulty I got through the prayers. Mr. Davison, my good Samaritan, would often call, or send his wife to tend me; and to their care, under God, I owe my life.

"To-day Mr. Oglethorpe gave away my bedstead from under me, and refused to spare one of the carpenters to mend me up another.

"April 10th. At six Mr. Delamotte and my brother landed; when my strength was so exhausted I could not have read the prayers once more. He helped me into the woods; for there was no talking among a people of spies and ruffians: nor even in the woods, except in an unknown tongue. He told me that Mr. Oglethorpe received him with abundant kindness. I began my account of all that has passed, and continued it till prayers. It were endless to mention all the scriptures which have been for so many days adapted to my circumstances; but I cannot pass by this evening's lesson, Hebrews xi. I was ashamed of having well-nigh sunk under mine, when I beheld the conflicts of those triumphant sufferers 'of whom the world was not worthy.'

"Sunday, April 11th. I had just recovered strength enough to consecrate at the sacrament: the rest my brother discharged. We then got out of the reach of informers, and proceeded in my account; being fully persuaded of the truth of Mrs. W.'s information against Mr. Oglethorpe, Mrs. H., and herself.

"April 14th. By a relation which my brother gave me, of a late conference he had with her, I was again, in spite of all I had seen and heard, half-persuaded into a good opinion of Mrs. H. For the lasting honor of our sagacity be it written!

"April 16th. My brother brought me off a resolution, which honor and indignation had formed, of starving rather than ask for necessaries, Accordingly I went to Mr. Oglethorpe, in his tent, to ask for some little things I wanted. The next day my brother and Mr. Delamotte set out in an open boat for Savannah."—Vol. i, pp. 58–61.

The principal circumstance of interest connected with the mission of the Wesleys to America, was the opportunity which it gave them of becoming acquainted with the Moravians, a simple-hearted and deeply pious people. The purity of their lives, and their grave and sensible discourses upon experimental religion, were rendered instrumental, in the hands of God, of awakening the missionaries to a sense of their real state. In relation to this deeply interesting matter, John, afterward, holds the following language:—"It is now two years and six months since I left my native country in order to teach the Georgian Indians the nature of Christianity; but what have I learned myself in the mean time? Why, (what I least of all expected,) that I, who went to America to convert others, was never myself converted to God." Under that deeply contrite state, which wrung from him this humiliating confession, he was much assisted by a pious and learned Moravian minister by the name of Peter Böhler. On wishing to be advised by him whether he should desist from preaching justifying faith until he should experience it himself, he received this memorable answer: "Preach faith *till* you have it; and then because you have it, you *will* preach faith."

It is written, "The first shall be last and the last first:" this was verified in the religious experience of the brothers. Though John was first to become thoroughly awakened to a sense of his spiritual necessities, he was last to experience that blessed liberty which both had for some time been earnestly seeking. Charles, at this time being quite ill, was taken to the house of a "Mr. Bray, a brazier, who lived in Little Britain, near Smithfield; but he was a happy believer in the Lord Jesus, living in the spirit of faith, and prayer, and holy love, and was able, from his own personal experience, as well as from the sacred volume, to teach even the accomplished collegian 'the way of the Lord more fully' than he had hitherto known it."

"At every opportunity Mr. Bray read the Holy Scriptures to the afflicted and anxious inmate of his family, joined with him in supplica-

tion to the Father of mercies, and by his advice and sympathy greatly assisted him in the pursuit of the 'one thing needful.' Ten days after his removal to the residence of this humble, but devout man, Mr. Charles Wesley entered into that state of spiritual liberty and enjoyment which he preferred to every thing else, both in earth and heaven. During this interval he was visited by several persons, some of whom had obtained 'the pearl of great price,' and others were pressing hard after it; for a spirit of inquiry on the subject of religion was then extensively excited, partly by the recent preaching of Mr. Whitefield; partly by the private labors of Peter Böhler, who had lately left London; and partly by the preaching of Mr. John Wesley, who was admitted into several of the London pulpits, and was followed by immense crowds of people. Among those who visited Charles, at this time, was the learned Mr. Ainsworth, author of the Latin Dictionary which bears his name. He was now venerable through age, and attended the Methodist meetings for prayer and spiritual converse, in the spirit of a little child.

"As an illustration of the manner in which Mr. Charles Wesley waited upon God for the gift of faith, and of the salvation connected with it, the following selections from his Journal are given:—

"'May 12th. I waked in the same blessed temper, hungry and thirsty after God. I began Isaiah, and seemed to see that to me were the promises made, and would be fulfilled; for that Christ loved me. I found myself more desirous, more assured, I should believe. This day (and indeed my whole time) I spent in discoursing on faith, either with those that had it, or those that sought it; in reading the Scriptures, and in prayer.

"'I was much moved at the sight of Mr. Ainsworth, a man of great learning, above seventy, who, like old Simeon, was waiting to see the Lord's salvation, that he might depart in peace. His tears, and vehemence, and childlike simplicity, showed him upon the entrance of the kingdom of heaven.

"'In the afternoon I read Isaiah with Mr. Edmunds; saw him full of promises; and that they belonged to me. In the midst of our reading Miss Claggetts came, and asked that they might hear us. We were all encouraged to pursue the glorious prize, held out to us by the evangelical prophet. When the company was gone, I joined with Mr. Bray in prayer and the Scripture; and was so greatly affected that I almost thought Christ was coming that moment. I concluded the night with private, vehement prayer.

"'May 13th. I waked without Christ; yet still desirous of finding him. Soon after William Delamotte came, and read me the sixty-sixth Psalm, strangely full of comfortable promises. Toward noon I was enabled to pray with desire and hope, and to lay claim to the promises in general. The afternoon I spent with my friends, in mutual exhortation to wait patiently for the Lord, in prayer and reading. At night my brother came, exceeding heavy. I forced him (as he had often forced me) to sing a hymn to Christ; and almost thought he would come while we were singing: assured he would come quickly. *At night* I received much light and comfort from the Scriptures.

"'May 14th. The beginning of the day I was heavy, weary, and unable to pray; but the desire soon returned, and I found much comfort both in prayer and in the word: my eyes being opened more and more to discover and lay hold upon the promises. I longed to find Christ, that I might show him to all mankind; that I might praise, that I might love him. Several persons called to-day, and were convinced of unbelief. Some of them afterward went to Mr. Broughton, and were soon made as easy as Satan and their own hearts could wish.

"'May 17th. To-day I first saw Luther on the Galatians, which Mr. Holland had accidentally lighted upon. We began, and found him nobly full of faith. My friend, in hearing him, was so affected as to breathe out sighs and groans unutterable. I marveled that we were so soon and so entirely removed from him that called us into the grace of Christ, unto another gospel. Who would believe our Church had been founded upon this important article of justification by faith alone! I am astonished I should ever think this a new doctrine; especially while our Articles and Homilies stand unrepealed, and the key of knowledge is not yet taken away.'"—Vol. i, pp. 130–132.

The following is the account of the happy deliverance of the brothers from "the spirit of bondage," taken from their Journals:—

"'THE DAY OF PENTECOST.

"'Sunday, May 21st, 1738. I waked in hope and expectation of his coming. At nine my brother and some friends came and sung a hymn to the Holy Ghost. My comfort and hope were hereby increased. In about half an hour they went. I betook myself to prayer: the substance as follows:—"O Jesus, thou hast said, *I will come unto you.* Thou hast said, *I will send the Comforter unto you.* Thou hast said, *My Father and I will come unto you, and make our abode with you.* Thou art God, who canst not lie. I wholly rely upon thy most true promise. Accomplish it in thy time and manner." Having said this, I was composing myself to sleep, in quietness and peace, when I heard one come in, (Mrs. Musgrave, I thought, by the voice,) and say, "In the name of Jesus of Nazareth, arise, and believe, and thou shalt be healed of all thy infirmities!" I wondered how it should enter into her head to speak in that manner. The words struck me to the heart. I sighed, and said within myself, "O that Christ would but speak thus to me!" I lay musing and trembling; then I rung; and Mrs. Turner coming, desired her to send up Mrs. Musgrave. She went down, and returning, said, Mrs. Musgrave had not been here. My heart sunk within me at the word; and I hoped it might be Christ indeed. However, I sent her down again to inquire, and felt in the mean time a strange palpitation of heart; and said, yet feared to say, "I believe! I believe!"

"'She came up again, and said, "It was I, a weak, sinful creature, that spoke; but the words were Christ's. He commanded me to say them; and so constrained me, that I could not forbear."

"'I sent for Mr. Bray, and asked him whether I believed. He answered, I ought not to doubt of it: it was Christ that spoke to me. He knew it, and willed us to pray together. "But first," said he, "I will

read what I have casually opened upon: *Blessed is the man whose transgression is forgiven, whose sin is covered. Blessed is the man unto whom the Lord imputeth not iniquity, and in whose spirit there is no guile.*" Still I felt a violent opposition, and reluctance to believe; yet still the Spirit of God strove with my own, and the evil spirit, till by degrees he chased away the darkness of my unbelief. I found myself convinced, I knew not how nor when; and immediately fell to intercession.'

"The fact is, this plain, illiterate woman had a deep and solemn conviction that she ought thus to address the afflicted penitent, who was weeping and praying for pardon, peace, and holiness; but recollecting that he was a scholar and a clergyman, she was afraid to do it. She durst not speak to him in this manner face to face, and with difficulty prevailed upon herself to utter these words as she stood upon the stairs. By this humble instrumentality it pleased God to produce in the heart of his servant the vital faith which he so earnestly desired.

"'On Sunday morning,' says Mr. Charles Wesley, 'she took Mr. Bray aside, burst into tears, and informed him of the matter; objecting, she was a poor, weak, sinful creature; and should she go to a minister! She could not do it, nor rest till she did. He asked her whether she had ever found herself so before. "No, never." "Why, then," said he, "go. Remember Jonah. You declare promises, not threatenings. Go in the name of the Lord. Fear not your own weakness. Speak you the words. Christ will do the work. Out of the mouths of babes and sucklings hath he ordained strength." They prayed together; and she then went up, but durst not come in till she had again prayed by herself. About six minutes after she had left him, he found and felt, while she was speaking the words, that Christ was with us.

"'I never heard words uttered with like solemnity. The sound of her voice was entirely changed into that of Mrs. Musgrave. (If I can be sure of any thing sensible.) I rose, and looked into the Scripture. The words that first presented were, "And now, Lord, what is my hope? Truly, my hope is even in thee." I then cast down my eye, and met, "He hath put a new song in my mouth, even a thanksgiving unto our God. Many shall see it, and fear, and shall put their trust in the Lord." Afterward I opened upon Isaiah xl, 1: "Comfort ye, comfort ye my people, saith your God. Speak ye comfortably to Jerusalem, and cry unto her, that her warfare is accomplished, that her iniquity is pardoned: for she hath received at the Lord's hand double for all her sins."

"'I now found myself at peace with God, and rejoiced in hope of loving Christ. My temper, for the rest of the day, was mistrust of my own great, but before unknown, weakness. I saw that by faith I stood; and the continual support of faith, which kept me from falling, though of myself I am ever sinking into sin. I went to bed still sensible of my own weakness, (I humbly hope to be more and more so,) yet confident of Christ's protection.'

"When Mr. John Wesley left the sick-bed of his brother this morning, he went to one of the churches in London, to hear the celebrated

Dr. John Heylyn preach; and afterward assisted the doctor in the administration of the Lord's supper, the curate having been taken ill during the service. On leaving the church, says he, 'I received the surprising news, that my brother had found rest to his soul. His bodily strength returned also from that hour. "Who is so great a God as our God?"'

"When Mr. Charles Wesley first believed with the heart unto righteousness, his faith was weak; so that, to use his own expressive language, he held the Saviour 'with a trembling hand.' But by prayer, spiritual conversation, and the practical study of the inspired volume, his confidence waxed stronger, and his evidence of the divine favor became increasingly distinct and vivid. He was now more sensible of his own weakness than he had ever been before, even when sin had the dominion over him. He felt that all his sufficiency was of the Lord; so that he realized the apostolic paradox, 'When I am weak, then am I strong.' Indeed, the very act of faith is a renunciation of self, and a laying hold upon Christ as our

'strength and righteousness,
Our Saviour, and our all.'

"Mr. John Wesley was doubtless greatly encouraged, by his brother's happy experience, in the pursuit of the same salvation, for which he had long intensely hungered and thirsted; and with respect to him also the time of liberty drew near. On the day after Charles had found peace, he says, 'My brother coming, we joined in intercession for him. In the midst of prayer, I almost believed the Holy Ghost was coming upon him. In the evening we sung and prayed again.' They did not pray in vain.

"'In the evening' of the following Wednesday, says John, 'I went very unwillingly to a society in Aldersgate-street, where one was reading Luther's "Preface to the Epistle to the Romans." About a quarter before nine, while he was describing the change which God works in the heart through faith in Christ, I felt my heart strangely warmed. I felt I did trust in Christ, Christ alone, for salvation; and an assurance was given me that he had taken away *my* sins, even *mine*, and saved *me* from the law of sin and death.

"'I began to pray with all my might for those who had in a more especial manner despitefully used me, and persecuted me. I then testified openly to all there what I now first felt in my heart. But it was not long before the enemy suggested, "This cannot be faith; for where is thy joy?" Then I was taught that peace and victory over sin are essential to faith in the Captain of our salvation; but that, as to the transports of joy that usually attend the beginning of it, especially in those who have mourned deeply, God sometimes giveth, sometimes withholdeth, them, according to the counsels of his own will.'"—Vol. i, pp. 133–127.

We have now reached a new and important era in the history of the Wesleys. The mighty change they had now experienced gave character to all their subsequent movements, and to the

whole of their affairs a new aspect. They now preached, from experience, a present salvation, and the assurance of pardon, with the power of the Holy Ghost sent down from heaven. Some were "pricked in their hearts, and cried out, Men and brethren, what shall we do?" while others "contradicted and blasphemed."

But it was not long before these men of God were excluded from all the pulpits. Mr. John Wesley's account of this matter is as follows:—"I was forbidden, as by general consent, to preach in any church, (though not by any judicial sentence,) 'for preaching such doctrine.' This was the open, avowed cause; there was at that time no other, either real or pretended, except that the people crowded so." Here seem to be two reasons why Mr. Wesley was deprived the use of the churches: one the *doctrines* which he preached; and the other, the *crowds* which his preaching brought into the churches. This bringing a multitude of people to the church was an innovation upon the good old order of things that could not be endured; and especially when they came "to hear such doctrines" as justification by faith alone, without the deeds of the law—and holiness of heart and life. It is doubtful whether St. Paul, had he been alive, would have been admitted to the British pulpits in the days of John Wesley. It is matter of some doubt whether there would not have been many of the sticklers for good order, and the doctrinal purity of the church of those times, who would have pronounced upon the Wesleys and the apostle, in common, the sentence, *Hence, ye profane!*

But the fire was not to be extinguished by proscription and persecution. These measures have usually been ineffectual when employed to stop the progress of light and truth. When, after the death of Stephen, the apostles and disciples were obliged to flee from Jerusalem, they were scattered abroad, and were like so many firebrands thrown into the stubble. For going in all directions, and preaching as they went, they soon set the world in a blaze. And when the Wesleys were excluded from the pulpits they commenced preaching *in the streets* and *in the fields*. And the novelty of this thing, of turning a vast common into a church, brought together multitudes, who heard the word of God to the saving of their souls, who, as far as human calculation can determine, would have remained in their sins had the labors of these men of God been bestowed in the ordinary way.

Field preaching, which was so grievous an offense against order and established usage, was not the result of a preconcerted plan, but was a necessary resort. And though it exposed the preachers to all sorts of abuse, it was eminently useful in awakening public

interest, and in bringing the means of salvation to all classes of people. John Wesley had a spirit that never cowered. While the rabble assailed him with hard stones and rotten eggs, and bishops and archbishops, with equal zeal, hurled at his devoted head hard names and rotten arguments, his zeal was unabated, his spirit unyielding as a wall of brass—he moved *on* in the name of the Lord. The great work in which he was engaged had taken too deep a hold upon his moral feelings to suffer him to fly from it on the approach of danger. A tide of obloquy, or a shower of stones, or the pointed steel, were all puny weapons, directed against the man whose great object was the conscientious discharge of his duty, and who felt that he was immortal until his work was done.

The penetrating truths delivered by the Wesleys, in the true apostolic spirit, were sent home to many hearts, and many pressed upon them for private instructions. These were finally organized into "societies," and were statedly met and instructed according to their wants. The first of these organizations, which proved permanent, took place in London "in the latter end of the year 1739." As the multiplication of these societies, and the abundant public labors of the Wesleys, would not permit them to meet the societies always in person, they appointed some one of the most gifted of the number to lead the exercises in their absence, to receive the contribution of "a penny a week" to defray their small expenses, and to give them spiritual advice and instruction.

It soon became necessary that they should have places in which to meet the societies, and preach to such as wished to hear statedly the word from them. The first of these primitive Methodist chapels was a building erected for a "foundery," in the vicinity of London. Mr. Wesley leased the premises, and fitted up the building, which was large and unsightly, partly for a chapel, and partly for a residence. In this "old foundery," renovated and new modeled, ordnance was now to be cast which should shake the world, and do execution upon both hemispheres! Iron hearts would be melted down, and cast over; and an abundance of the precious ore would be wrought into "vessels to honor, and meet for the Master's use."

Several preaching places having been provided, the question now was, who should supply them? A young man, by the name of Thomas Maxfield, who had been brought to God by Mr. Wesley's instrumentality, in the absence of the Wesleys, prayed, exhorted, and expounded the Scriptures with great acceptability and usefulness. Finally, he began to preach regular sermons; and as Mr. Wesley had never contemplated instituting a ministry, and wished,

as much as possible, to conform to the usages of the Established Church, he found fault with this new measure, and was about to put a stop to it. His mother, then residing in his dwelling in the foundery, having heard Maxfield preach, wisely interposed. Said she, "John, you know what my sentiments have been. You cannot suspect me of favoring readily any thing of this kind. But take care what you do with respect to this young man; for he is as surely called of God to preach as you are. Examine what have been the fruits of his preaching; and hear him also yourself." The advice of this wise and godly woman was never lightly esteemed by her sons. John heard for himself, and after suffering him to preach for a while in private houses and the smaller chapels, he was received into the work as a regular helper. Several others were employed in the same way, among whom was John Nelson, a stone mason, but a man of uncommon force of character, who cared as little for a shower of stones as he would for so much chaff. Many of these laymen became, under the wise directions of the Wesleys, powerful and eloquent preachers, and able theologians. Such was Mr. Thomas Olivers, formerly a shoemaker and a man of profligate habits. He published a number of hymns, and several polemical tracts, which reflect the highest honor upon his taste and his reasoning powers.

The captious and sarcastic Mr. Toplady affected to despise Mr. Olivers, and reproached him with his former profession: a course, by the by, not very ingenuous, nor in the best manner evincing that self-respect, and that confidence in the goodness of his cause, which become a Christian polemic. Whether, indeed, Thomas Olivers was such a *cobler* in divinity as his contemptuous opponent would insinuate, any sensible person may easily judge by reading his argument upon the perseverance of the saints, founded upon the Epistle to the Hebrews. This masterly, and, as some think, unanswerable, work is too little known.

In all the great emergencies which arose, we see John Wesley eminently qualified to judge of the indications of Providence. It may be doubted whether he manifested any extraordinary amount of *foresight*, especially in the early stages of Methodism. He appears not always to have foreseen what he was coming to, and only to be concerned to meet existing emergencies. But when the exigency arrived, however unexpected, and contrary to his own prejudices, he judged of it accurately, and provided for it promptly. And that he was not mistaken in his leading measures, is evident from the fact that, after they had been fully tested, he found no occasion to retrace his steps.

Mr. John Wesley was a man of various learning and unexampled industry. And his extraordinary qualifications were laid under heavy contributions to furnish his societies with the means of useful knowledge. He not only wrote many learned and labored volumes, but prepared a multitude of small tracts, some original, and others selected from the best authors; these he abridged and improved to suit his purposes, and published them in cheap form, that they might go into general circulation, and be read by the poorest. How he ever found time for so much reading and writing, in addition to so much journeying, preaching, and exercise of immediate oversight over the societies, has been a mystery to many. But the fact is in some measure explained by his habit of economizing time. He constantly retired at ten, and rose at four, and did every thing by rule. He sedulously practiced the rules which he left for his sons in the gospel: "Never be unemployed; never be triflingly employed." By these means, while another would be making preparations to commence an enterprise, he would finish it and have it off his hands.

Wr. Wesley's strength in argument was known and respected by the most bitter and reckless of his opponents. He was a giant in controversy; his spear was *as a weaver's beam;* and whithersoever he turned it, the most potent foes quailed, and the most specious systems of error crumbled to dust. And whether he meets in the field of controversy the learned Dr. Taylor, the shrewd Bishop Warburton, or the Jesuitical O'Leary, he has about him the same manly independence and Christian candor. Though shrewd and cutting, he is still liberal, generous, and kind. To error he gives no quarter; but the erring he is ever desirous to restore. With what Christian charity and forbearance did he respond to the attacks of his *quondam* friends and companions, Messrs. James Hervey and George Whitefield! With what respect does he treat their Christian character, while he feels compelled to differ from them in some speculative point of theology! As a polemic he possessed the rare quality of leaving extraneous matter, seizing upon the strong points of the argument, and of narrowing down the ground of controversy. In the compass of a very few lines he often answers whole pages, stripping off the veil of sophistry, and leaving truth so bare that a child can see it. He never troubles himself with the rhetorical flourishes, and the personal reflections of his opponent, but meeting his argument directly in the face, he demolishes it with a blow, and then leaves him to his reflections. Any one who will candidly read the controversial tracts of John Wesley, will not set all this down as the mere idle

compliments of a too fond admirer, nor will he wonder that the citadel of Methodism, though often fiercely assailed in the days of Mr. Wesley, was never taken. The learned and pious Dr. Doddridge, on reading his "Appeal to Men of Reason and Religion," inscribed upon the back of it, "How forcible are right words!"

The *practical* character of John Wesley's mind is apparent in all his great movements; it is impressed upon all his works. Principles, lying hid under masses of rubbish, were brought out and tested by experiment; truth, connected with error, was separated from it and left unincumbered; books containing much good, but some bad matter, (often enough to neutralize all the good,) were analyzed, and the gold culled out, while the dross was cast away. The properties of *steam* were discovered long before the days of Fulton, but it was reserved for him to make a practical application of them, which should constitute a new era in the history of the world. And though many of the principles of Methodism had a sort of latent existence before Mr. Wesley's time, and much useful matter found in his writings may be found elsewhere, yet such was their association with antagonist or counteracting principles and influences, that they were often practically inoperative.

Mr. Charles Wesley, whom we have hitherto noticed in connection with his brother John, was mostly distinguished for his poetical effusions. He continued to travel and preach at large for several years with great success, but finally settled in life.

The following is given as one specimen of numerous instances of heroic Christian gentleness amid the fiercest persecution. Who, in this land and age of freedom and light, can read this without contrasting the circumstances of the Wesleys with our own! Surely "the lines have fallen to us in pleasant places: yea, we have a goodly heritage."

"From London Mr. Charles Wesley went to the west of England; and after preaching at Bath, Painswick, Evesham, and other places, on the 20th of May, he says, 'I got once more to our dear colliers at Wednesbury. Here the seed has taken root, and many are added to the church. A society of above three hundred are seeking full redemption in the all-cleansing blood. The enemy rages exceedingly, and preaches against them. A few have returned railing for railing; but the generality have behaved as the followers of Christ Jesus. I preached in a garden, on the first words I met: 1 Cor. ii, 1. While I spake of his suffering He looked upon us, and made us look upon him and mourn. Many wept as one that mourneth for his first-born. I exhorted and entreated the very lively society. Surely among this people I have not run or labored in vain.

"'May 21st. At five I commended the woman of Canaan as an example of prevalent importunity. A young man who had been

grievously vexed of the devil was now set at liberty. I spent the morning in conference with several who have received the atonement under my brother, &c. I saw a piece of ground, given us by a Dissenter to build a meeting-house upon, and consecrated it by a hymn.

" 'I walked with many of the brethren to Walsal, singing. We were received with the old complaint, "Behold, they that turn the world upside down are come hither also." I walked through the town amid the noisy greetings of our enemies. I stood on the steps of the market-house. A host of men was laid against us. The floods lifted up their voice, and raged horribly. The street was full of fierce Ephesian beasts, (the principal man setting them on,) who roared, and shouted, and threw stones incessantly. Many struck without hurting me. I besought them in calm love to be reconciled to God in Christ. While I was departing, a stream of ruffians was suffered to bear me from the steps. I rose, and, having given the blessing, was beaten down again. So the third time, when we had returned thanks to God for our salvation. I then, from the steps, bade them depart in peace, and walked quickly back through the thickest rioters. They reviled us, but had no commission to touch a hair of our heads.'

" Having preached at Birmingham and at Wednesbury, he took his leave of the people in Staffordshire, and hastened to Sheffield, preaching at Melbourne, Coleorton, and Nottingham-cross, on his way. In Sheffield the clergy had succeeded in inflaming the public mind, so that during his stay a mob assembled, and pulled down the Methodist chapel, which had been erected by the liberality of a poor people. He states that, on his arrival, he found them 'as sheep in the midst of wolves: the ministers having so stirred up the people, that they were ready to tear them in pieces.' He adds, 'I went to the society-house, next door to our brother Bennett's. Hell from beneath was moved to oppose us. As soon as I was in the desk, with David Taylor, the floods began to lift up their voice. An officer (Ensign Garden) contradicted and blasphemed. I took no notice of him, and sung on. The stones flew thick, hitting the desk and people. To save them and the house, I gave notice I should preach out, and look the enemy in the face.

" 'The whole army of aliens followed me. The captain laid hold of me, and began reviling. I gave him for answer, "A Word in Season, or Advice to a Soldier;" then prayed, particularly for his majesty King George, and preached the gospel with much contention. The stones often struck me in the face. After sermon I prayed for sinners as servants of their master the devil; upon which the captain ran at me with great fury, threatening revenge for my abusing, as he called it, the king, his master. He forced his way through the brethren, drew his sword, and presented it to my breast. My breast was immediately steeled. I threw it open, and fixing mine eye on his, smiled in his face, and calmly said, "I fear God, and honor the king." His countenance fell in a moment; he fetched a deep sigh; put up his sword; and quickly left the place. To one of the company, who afterward informed me, he said, "You shall see, if I do but hold my sword to his breast, he will faint away." So perhaps I should, had I

only had his principles to trust to; but if at that time I was not afraid, no thanks to my natural courage.

"'We returned to our brother Bennett's, and gave ourselves unto prayer. The rioters followed, and exceeded in their outrage all I have seen before. Those of Moorfields, Cardiff, and Walsal, were lambs to these. As there is "no King in Israel," (no magistrate, I mean, in Sheffield,) every man does as seems good in his own eyes. Satan now put it into their hearts to pull down the society-house; and they set to their work while we were praying and praising God. It was a glorious time with us. Every word of exhortation sunk deep; every prayer was sealed; and many found the Spirit of glory resting on them. One sent for the constable, who came up, and desired me to leave the town, since I was the occasion of all this disturbance. I thanked him for his advice, withal assuring him, I should not go a moment the sooner for all this uproar; I was sorry for *their* sakes that they had no law or justice among them: as for myself, I had my protection, and knew my business, as I supposed he did his. In proof whereof he went from us, and encouraged the mob. They pressed hard to break open the door. I would have gone out to them, but the brethren would not suffer me. They labored all night for their master, and by morning had pulled down one end of the house. I could compare them to nothing but the men of Sodom; or those coming out of the tombs, "exceeding fierce." Their outcries often waked me in the night: yet I believe I got more sleep than any of my neighbors.'"—Vol. i, pp. 327-329.

The vile mobs which the Wesleys so frequently had to contend with were often but the mere tools of the high Churchmen of the day, and were sometimes led on by the clergy. The following are a few specimens of clerical piety and decency prevalent in those days, among the many furnished in these volumes:—

"'Our poor colliers being repelled from the Lord's table by most of the Bristol ministers, I exhorted them, notwithstanding, to continue daily with one accord in the temple, where the wicked administrator can neither spoil the prayers, nor poison the sacrament.

"'Sunday, July 27th. I heard a miserable sermon at Temple church, recommending religion as the most likely way to raise a fortune. After it, proclamation was made, that all should depart who were not of the parish. While the shepherd was driving away the lambs, I stayed, suspecting nothing, till the clerk came to me, and said, "Mr. Beecher bids you go away; for he will not give you the sacrament." I went to the vestry door, and mildly desired Mr. Beecher to admit me. He asked, "Are you of this parish?" I answered, "Sir, you *see* I am a clergyman." Dropping his first pretence, he charged me with rebellion, in expounding the Scripture without authority, and said, in express words, "I repel you from the sacrament." I replied, "I cite you to answer this before Jesus Christ, at the day of judgment." This enraged him above measure. He called out, "*Here! take away this man!*" The constables were ordered to attend; I suppose lest the

furious colliers should take the sacrament by force. But I saved them the trouble of taking away "this man," and quietly retired.'"—Vol. i, p. 231.

"'July 24th. I preached near Penzance, to the little flock, encompassed by ravening wolves. Their minister rages above measure against this new sect, who are spread throughout his four livings. His reverend brethren follow his example. The grossest lies which are brought them they swallow without examination, and retail the following Sunday. One of the society (James Duke) went lately to the worshipful the Rev. Dr. Borlase for justice against a rioter, who had broken open his house, and stolen his goods. The doctor's answer was, "Thou conceited fellow! art thou turned religious? They may burn thy house, if they will. Thou shalt have no justice." With those words he drove him from the judgment-seat.'"—Vol. i, p. 394.

"'July 30th. I cried to a mixed multitude of wakened and unawakened sinners, near Penzance, "Is it nothing to you, all ye that pass by?" and prayed with the still-increasing flock, whose greatest persecutor is their minister. He and the clergy of these parts are much enraged at our people's being so ready in the Scriptures. One fairly told Jonathan Reeves, he wished the Bible were in Latin only, that none of the vulgar might be able to read it. Yet these are the men that rail at us as papists!'"—Vol. i, p. 396.

"Before Mr. Charles Wesley left Wales, he received another proof of the hostility with which he was regarded by some of his brethren in the ministry. A clergyman refused to admit him to the table of the Lord; while, at the same time, he gave the sacred elements to a man who, at the time of receiving them, was notoriously drunk, and made a disturbance in the church! No sin was so grievous as that of Christianity in the form of Methodism."—Vol. i, p. 421.

"'Jan. 9th. I talked severally with the little society, who are as sheep encompassed with wolves. Their minister has repelled them from the sacrament, and labored to stir up all the town against them. And they would have worried them to death, had not the great man of the place, a professed papist, hindered these good Protestants from destroying their innocent brethren. By three I came safe to Epworth, and was received by Edward Perronet and the brethren as one alive from the dead.'"—Vol. i, p. 460.

These passages constitute an instructive commentary upon the manners of the times, as well as upon the state of religion among the English clergy. And it was from the labors of these ministers of *the true apostolical succession* that, we are now often told, the Church of England could, and would have been reformed, or, if not by them, certainly by the *sermons* they might *read*, and the *prayers* they might *say*.

The following is the notice taken by our author of the "first conference:"—

"The walls of Jerusalem were built in troublous times; and it was in the midst of persecution and national perplexity that the Wesleys

and their friends held their first conference for the purpose of canvassing their doctrines, and the principles upon which they had proceeded in the exercise of an itinerant and field ministry, and in the formation of societies. No layman was present in this assembly. All its members were episcopally ordained. Their place of meeting was the foundery, in London; and their sittings were held by adjournment from Monday, June 25th, 1744, till the end of the week. On the first of these days Mr. Charles Wesley preached, and baptized an adult person, who received 'the inward and spiritual grace' in direct connection with the 'outward and visible sign.' On the day which preceded the opening of the conference, Mr. Charles Wesley says, 'Our brethren, Hodges, Taylor, and Meriton, assisted us at the sacrament. We received it with the whole society, to our mutual comfort. At our love-feast we were six ordained ministers.' He adds,

"'June 25th. We opened our conference with solemn prayer, and the divine blessing. I preached with much assistance, and baptized Samuel Holloway, who felt in that moment the great burden taken off. We continued in conference the rest of the week, settling our doctrine, practice, and discipline, with great love and unanimity.'"—Vol. i, pp. 387, 388.

The names of the persons present were as follows:—Rev. Messrs. John and Charles Wesley; Mr. Hodges, rector of Wenvo; Mr. Piers, vicar of Bexley; Mr. Taylor, vicar of Quinton; and Mr. Meriton, a clergyman from the Isle of Man. Mr. Jackson proceeds:—

"These six clergymen constituted the first Methodist conference. They agreed, during their sittings, to avoid all visits, except to the sick; to conduct all their deliberations as in the immediate presence of God; and to improve every opportunity, in the intervals of their meetings, for secret prayer. In discussing the question of justification they express a fear that they had 'unawares leaned too much toward Calvinism,' and even 'Antinomianism.' They mean, that they had done this, not by speaking lightly of holiness and good works, as the fruit of faith, and as following justification; but by inadvertently speaking of the imputation of Christ's personal righteousness, literally and strictly. They had not always represented the perfect righteousness of Christ (including his active and passive obedience) as that by the merit of which believers are justified before God; but as formally transferred to them. This was true, especially so far as Mr. Charles Wesley was concerned. No man was more strenuously opposed to the tenet of absolute predestination; yet in speaking of justification, in these early periods of his itinerant ministry, he often used a Calvinistic, and even an Antinomian phraseology, which he had derived from the writings of Saltmarsh and Dr. Crisp, as he afterward confessed. This objectionable phraseology occurs in some of his early hymns, and he sometimes inadvertently countenances the unscriptural notion of universal pardon. Great benefit doubtless resulted from the free and confidential intercourse which these devoted men had with

each other in the course of this memorable week. They learned the necessity of expressing themselves with precision, and of avoiding extremes.

"On various questions of practice the conclusions which were adopted by the conference were eminently liberal, and very remote from what is usually called high Churchmanship. With respect to 'a false or railing sermon' that might be inflicted upon them at church, they say, 'If it only contain personal reflections, we may quietly suffer it. If it blaspheme the work and Spirit of God, it may be better to go out of the church. In either case, if opportunity serve, it would be well to speak or write to the minister.' In answer to the question, 'How far is it our duty to obey the bishops?' it is said, 'In all things indifferent. And on this ground of obeying them we should observe the canons, as far as we can with a safe conscience.'

"In regard to the suggestion, that the Methodists might ultimately become a distinct sect, especially when their clerical leaders were no more, these servants of God declare, 'We cannot with a safe conscience neglect the present opportunity of saving souls while we live, for fear of consequences which may possibly or probably happen after we are dead:' thus assuming, that the salvation of souls is of far greater importance than external unity, or the maintenance of any system of ecclesiastical order whatever: a principle which few men will dispute, who take into account the joys of heaven, and the misery of perdition."—Vol. i, pp. 389, 390.

It has been an object of much importance with some of the evangelical clergy of the Church of England to prove that Methodism had nothing to do with the increase of spirituality in the Church. One of these efforts is found in the biographers of the Rev. Mr. Venn, a contemporary of the Wesleys. After quoting the language of these gentlemen, and meeting them with facts too stubborn to be controverted, our author concludes:—

"The endeavor to prove that Mr. Venn acquired and maintained his enlightened and effective piety, independently of Methodistical influence, is therefore a hopeless task. Nor is the attempt itself to be commended. Whatever spiritual good exists in any man, he has received it from the God of all grace, who, in the exercise of his sovereign wisdom and mercy, selects and employs what instrumentality he pleases in the accomplishment of his own designs; nor have any of his creatures a right to say to him, 'What doest thou?' The fact is undeniable, that John and Charles Wesley were the personal friends of Mr. Venn, when this justly celebrated clergyman obtained his best and highest qualifications for the sacred office. Charles was also a spiritual adviser of Mr. Venn's amiable and intelligent wife, at the commencement of her pious course. If they were both benefited by the counsel, prayers, and spirit of the brothers, neither their posterity, nor the members of the Church to which they belonged, have any reason to be ashamed. But whether they are or not, the case is not altered. The biographers of Mr. Venn may 'wash him with nitre,

and take much soap,' yet they will never be able to remove from his character and memory the glorious reproach of Methodism."*—Vol. ii, p. 18.

When the Methodist societies had become numerous, and Mr. Wesley's *lay helpers* had acquired a respectability of character which compared advantageously with that of any body of ministers in the nation, it was not to be expected that the people would be willing to go to *the Church* for those ordinances which every true minister of Jesus Christ ought in due time to be authorized to administer to those committed to his charge. Moreover, the preachers themselves, following the plain practical principles of Methodism, which principally consisted in laboring to secure the salvation of the greatest possible number, by such means as are dictated in God's word, would necessarily be led to inquire whether they were indeed *divinely called* to the *full* work of the ministry. The question of the administration of the ordinances, and a separation from the Church, consequently came up, and strongly agitated both the conference and the societies. Mr. John Wesley had advised as few and as slight departures from the order of the Church as possible, and of course had not authorized any of the preachers, not in orders, to administer the ordinances. Several of them did, notwithstanding, assume this right in those places where the people could not obtain them from the regular clergy. With this Mr. Charles Wesley was highly offended. He was so strongly attached to *the Church* that he would have separated the offenders with a stroke, and have left the societies to do without the ordinances, rather than seem to approach dissent. His views and those of his brother differed in this: John was for pursuing the direct course of usefulness, and leaving the event. If this course should lead to measures which would ultimately bring about a separation, by exclusion or otherwise, for this he was not careful. He acted from a sense of duty; and if the authorities of the Church should "thrust him out" for his irregularities, he was prepared for the worst. But he, to the last, did not favor a voluntary separation. Charles, on the other hand, was for cutting off those preachers who were inclined to dissent, and preparing the better sort of the remainder for orders in the Church: indulging the dream that some

* How much capital has been made of the effort noticed by Mr. Jackson, will be seen in the following note from the celebrated Dr. Hook:—"It is clearly shown by Mr. Venn, (preface to Venn's Life,) that the early 'Evangelicals' in the Church were not indebted, even indirectly, as it has been sometimes misrepresented, to the Wesleys or Whitefields for the sentiments by which they were influenced."—See *Call to Union*, p. 79.

English bishop would ordain these, and let them go at large and labor as Methodist itinerants.

After introducing several of Mr. Charles Wesley's letters to his friends upon this subject, Mr. Jackson makes the following sensible reflections :—

"These letters are particularly valuable, not only as exhibiting the state of feeling among the Methodist preachers in those times, but for the light which they shed upon Mr. Charles Wesley's character. With the real difficulties of the case he did not attempt to grapple. He does not show how the scruples of such men as Cownley, Walsh, and the Perronets, could be removed; nor how the spiritual wants of the societies were to be met in those places where they were repelled from the table of the Lord. Such was his impetuosity, that he could see nothing in the scruples of these men but pride; and he was resolved to force all the people to an attendance upon their several churches, whatever they might hear there, and though they went with the certainty of being driven from the holy communion. Such a course was not suited to the occasion. The persons concerned were not children, either in years, understanding, or piety. They were rebuked, but not convinced; and left to utter their complaints in all directions. To treat them in this manner was only to restrain the evil for a time. It was not removed. Mr. John Wesley pursued a different course. He also was anxious to preserve the people and preachers in communion with the Established Church; but he would not, even for the attainment of this object, dismiss from the itinerant ministry men of whose uprightness, piety, and usefulness he had the fullest evidence. Nor would he deal harshly with men whom he thought to be in error, when he saw that conscience was concerned."—Vol. ii, pp. 73, 74.

The letters from Mr. John Wesley to his brother were well calculated to moderate his feelings, and present the question at issue in its true light :—

"He thus speaks, under date of June 20th, 1755 :—

"'Do not you understand that they all promised by Thomas Walsh, not to administer, even among themselves? I think that a huge point given up; perhaps more than they could give up with a clear conscience. They showed an excellent spirit in this very thing. Likewise when I (not to say you) spoke once and again, spoke *satis pro imperio*,* when I reflected on their answers, I admired their spirit, and was ashamed of my own. The practical conclusion was, not to separate from the Church. Did we not all agree in this? Surely either you or I must have been asleep, or we could not differ so widely in a matter of fact. Here is Charles Perronet raving, because his friends have given up all; and Charles Wesley, because they have given up nothing; and I, in the midst, staring and wondering both at one and the other. I do not want to do any thing more, unless I could bring them over to my opinion; and I am not in haste for that.

* "With sufficient authority."

"'Cyprian is a terrible witness of the sense of the then church;* for he speaks it not as his own private sense, but an incontestable allowed rule: and by *Antistes* there, I really believe he means the minister of a parish. That pinches me. Nevertheless, I think with you, till I get more light; though I should be hard set to defend myself against a skillful adversary. When I am convinced it is my duty, I will follow Cyprian's advice. The same say you, and no more. I do not fluctuate yet; but I cannot answer the arguments on that side of the question. Joseph Cownley says, "For such and such reasons, I dare not hear a drunkard preach, or read prayers." I answer, I dare: but I cannot answer his reasons.'

"Eight days after the date of this letter, Mr. John Wesley again wrote to his brother on the same subject. 'Wherever I have been in England,' says he, 'the societies are far more firmly and rationally attached to the Church than ever they were before. I have no fear about this matter. I only fear the preachers' or the people's leaving, not the Church, but the love of God, and inward or outward holiness. To this I press them forward continually. I dare not, in conscience, spend my time and strength on externals. If, as my lady says, all outward Establishments are Babel, so is this Establishment. Let it stand for me. I neither set it up, nor pull it down. But let you and I build up the city of God.

"'Thomas Walsh (I will declare it on the house-top) has given me all the satisfaction I desire, and all that an honest man could give. I love, admire, and honor him; and wish we had six preachers in all England of his spirit. But enough of this. Let us draw the saw no longer, but use all our talents to promote the mind that was in Christ. We have not one preacher who either proposed, or desires, or designs (that I know) to separate from the Church at all. Their principles in this single point of ordination I do not approve: but I pray for more and more of their spirit (in general) and practice. Driving may make me fluctuate; though I do not yet.'"—Vol. ii, pp. 82-84.

Again he says:—

"'I am *proximus ardet Ucalegon!* The good bishop of London has excommunicated Mr. Gardiner for preaching without a license. It is probable the point will now be determined concerning the Church. For if we must either *dissent*, or *be silent*, *actum est!* We have no time to trifle!'

"In a letter written a few weeks afterward, he adds, 'You are by no means free from temptation. You are as positive as if you had never seen either Stillingfleet or Baxter. I am very calm and cool, determining nothing, but to do nothing rashly. Now which is more in the temptation? To my thought, you are in it, and over head and ears. Your gross bigotry lies here, in putting a man on a level with an adulterer, because he differs from you as to church government.

* "The passage in Cyprian to which allusion is here made, Mr. Wesley had cited in a former letter. It is, *Populus a scelerato Antistite separare se debet*, 'It is the duty of the people to separate themselves from a wicked bishop.'"

What miserable confounding the degrees of good and evil is this!"—Vol. ii, pp. 86, 87.

It was resolved in several succeeding conferences, that *it was not expedient to separate from the Church.* In this conclusion the Methodists generally acquiesced. There were, however, several instances in which the preachers left the connection and became Independents, taking as many of the people as chose to follow them. It will, even now, admit of a question whether more was gained than lost by the course taken. Mr. Jonn Wesley was certainly in most delicate and difficult circumstances. He felt the weight of the arguments for dissenting: he saw the people driven from the churches, or obliged to receive the ordinances at the hands of a wicked priesthood; he saw the signs of a divine call evidently accompanying the ministrations of the preachers; he saw the hopelessness of any assistance from the bishops by way of dispensing ordinations; and he also saw the certain prospect of losing many of his valuable helpers, and many of his societies. And, on the other hand, he saw that a formal separation from the Church would alienate some of those efficient auxiliaries from the regular clergy which would still co-operate with him so long as he held on to the Church. His brother Charles, in a letter to Mr. Johnson, says, "You and they know, if my brother left the Church, I should leave him; and this alone would be sufficient to hold you back, that you would not part whom God hath joined."—Vol. ii, p. 184.

Under these weighty pressures, on either hand, the prudent medium course was taken. This was not satisfactory to those who entertained extreme opinions on either side. The violent dissenters went off, and Mr. Charles Wesley, though he continued in connection with his brother to the end of life, henceforward labored in a comparatively limited sphere, and his usefulness was very materially curtailed.

Mr. Charles Wesley's zeal for the Church was further manifested in his letters both to his clerical friends and to the preachers, several of which are given us by Mr. Jackson. The Rev. Mr. Grimshaw sympathized deeply with Mr. C. Wesley in his views, as is evident from a correspondence on the subject between these two good, but somewhat prejudiced men. In relation to the views expressed in this correspondence, Mr. Jackson observes:—

"When these excellent men contended that the Methodist preachers must either be clergymen or dissenting ministers, they were not aware of the design of Providence to raise up in the nation a middle party, not directly identified with either, but exerting a salutary influence

upon both. In those times, indeed, no human sagacity could foresee how the Methodist succession could be secured. God, however, has taken care for this. The Wesleyan Methodists have never, as a body, either avowed or entertained the belief that an ecclesiastical establishment, Episcopacy, or the use of a liturgy, is unlawful. In the strict sense of the word, therefore, they are not dissenters. Separatists from the Established Church most of them unquestionably are; and occupy an independent position between the two great bodies, with one of which Mr. Charles Wesley thought they must necessarily be identified. Yet even a regular attendance upon the religious services of the Church, by all who choose it, is not at all inconsistent with membership in the Methodist societies; nor is it even discountenanced."

"It is somewhat pleasant to read Mr. Charles Wesley's statement, that all the Methodists in London, to a man, were agreed in sentiment with him, and were resolved to live and die in the Church of England. The fact is, they had every thing that the Methodists in the country desired: divine service in church-hours, and the Lord's supper in their own chapels. They had even more. These London favorites were almost continually indulged with the presence of one or other of the Wesleys, teaching them early and late from the pulpit, baptizing their children, and dispensing to them every sabbath-day the sacred memorials of redeeming mercy.

'Deep in rich pastures, will thy flocks complain?'

A Yorkshire Methodist might have addressed these metropolitan Church-folks, who seldom went near a church except at a wedding or a funeral, as Job did his healthy and loquacious friends: 'I also could speak as ye do: if your soul were in my soul's stead, I could heap up words against you, and shake mine head at you.'

"The project of Mr. Charles Wesley to procure episcopal ordination for Mr. Hopper and the other preachers appeared to him a matter of immense importance; but it savors more of the anxious Churchman, than of the zealous Methodist, whose own movements had been notoriously irregular. His object in this was twofold. It was to prevent separation from the Church, and to secure a provision for the preachers in the time of old age. But the scheme was impracticable. It was not likely that any bishop would ordain the whole of these simple-hearted and laborious men, who had never breathed the air of a college, and whose habits were alien from canonical order: and if any bishop were to ordain them, it would only be on condition that each of them should confine his ministrations within the limits of a parish. In this case, there would have been an end of that itinerant preaching which was everywhere so greatly sanctioned by the divine blessing; and most of the Methodist societies must have been dissolved. Painful as were the privations of the preachers, especially in the time of age and infirmity, few of them, had the proposal been made, could have been induced to accept a comfortable maintenance upon these terms. They chose rather to endure the severities of hunger, if such were the will of God, than abandon the people of their charge, and leave the uninstructed multitudes of their countrymen to perish for lack of know-

ledge. The fact is, Mr. Charles Wesley was a poet and a preacher; but he had not, as he himself confessed, the practical wisdom which was requisite to superintend and conduct an extensive work of God, like that with which he was connected. Happily for the Methodists and the world, the preachers had entire confidence in the judgment of his brother, who kept them steadily engaged in the work of saving souls. In the exercise of a noble faith they persevered in their original calling; they sought not the clerical office for a morsel of bread; and God in his providence took care of their temporal interests."—Vol. ii, pp. 193–195.

Another matter which gave Mr. C. Wesley much vexation was his brother's ordinations for America. Our author has given us the correspondence between the brothers, Charles's strictures upon the act in letters to his friends, and the animadversions of others: and accompanies the whole with appropriate remarks. The fact is here made most obvious, that the most of Mr. Charles Wesley's alarm, on the occasion of his brother's ordinations, originated in an apprehension that Dr. Coke would persuade the dissenting party in England to receive ordination at his hands, and so draw off the great body of the Methodists from the Establishment. These fears John believed totally groundless, and the issue proved them to be so. Upon a letter from Mr. C. Wesley to Mr. Latrobe, Mr. Jackson makes the following reflections:—

"From this letter it is manifest that Mr. Charles Wesley's jealousies of the preachers arose principally from his want of intercourse with them. They were scattered over the country, where he never went; and from the dissenting prejudices of a few he judged of the rest. Whereas when he met eighty of them in this conference, he found them, with few exceptions, one in mind and heart with himself and his honored brother. That they were not inclined to violent measures is demonstrated by their Christian moderation when he and his brother were no more. The government of the connection devolved upon them at the period of the French revolution; and under all the excitement connected with that event, and the passion for change which it created, the body of Methodist preachers maintained a steady adherence to the principles in which they had been nurtured by their venerated father in the gospel. Instead of seeking ordination from Dr. Coke or any other man, and generally proceeding to the administration of the sacraments, as Mr. Charles Wesley apprehended, the majority of them firmly withstood all attempts to innovate upon their original plan, and denied the sacraments to the societies till all further resistance was unavailing. The preachers in general sought no ordination at the hands of Dr. Coke; nor did the doctor, after Mr. Wesley's death, attempt to introduce any of those changes in the body which Mr. Charles Wesley feared."—Vol. ii, p. 403.

We shall close our references to the work before us, upon this

subject, with the last letter Mr. C. Wesley wrote to his brother in relation to it, accompanied by Mr. Jackson's introductory remarks :—

"It is not therefore surprising," says our author, "that, as Mr. Charles Wesley drew near the close of life, he became less hostile to his brother's ordinations. As long as he was able to labor, he continued to serve the Methodist congregations with his wonted faithfulness. Within less than twelve months of his death, writing to his brother, he says, 'I served West-street chapel on Friday, and yesterday. Next Saturday I propose to sleep in your bed. Samuel Bradburn and I shall not disagree.

"'Stand to your own proposal. Let us agree to differ. I leave America and Scotland to your latest thoughts and recognitions.' 'Keep your authority while you live; and after your death *detur digniori*, or, rather, *dignioribus*.* You cannot settle the succession.'"—Vol. ii, p. 409, 410.

From this whole controversy we may clearly see how illy qualified even a good and wise man may be to judge of a matter which he is either unable or unwilling *fully* to examine.

Our author follows the documents upon this subject with an argument upon the validity of Mr. J. Wesley's ordinations, from which we should be happy to make extracts, did space permit.

On the controversy which arose upon the Minutes, involving "the five points," and in which Mr. Fletcher took so active a part, Mr. Jackson has bestowed considerable attention; in which poor Mr. Shirley and Lady Huntingdon meet with a castigation sufficiently severe.

Mr. C. Wesley principally excelled as a Christian poet. The following will give the reader a tolerable idea of the character of his poetry, and the obligations which the Methodists especially are under to him for his labors in this way:—

"It is as a writer of devotional poetry that Mr. Charles Wesley will be permanently remembered, and that his name will live in the annals of the church. In the composition of hymns, adapted to Christian worship, he certainly has no equal in the English language, and is perhaps superior to every other uninspired man that ever lived. It does not appear that any person besides himself, in any section of the universal church, has either written so many hymns, or hymns of such surpassing excellence. Those which he published would occupy about ten ordinary sized duodecimo volumes; and the rest which he left in manuscript, and evidently designed for publication, would occupy at least ten more. It would be absurd to suppose that all these are of equal value; but, generally speaking, those of them which possess the least merit bear the impress of his genius.

* "Let it be given to *one* who is more worthy of it; or, rather, to *those* who are more worthy of it."

"It is doubtful whether any man has written the English language with greater purity and strength than Mr. Charles Wesley. He introduces words derived from the Greek, Latin, and French languages, when they are necessary, because of the metre, or the rhyme, and to give a greater variety to his diction; otherwise he almost always uses words of Saxon origin, the force and beauty of which are universally felt. An opinion has prevailed that several of his hymns were greatly improved by his brother, who gave them an elegance and polish which they did not originally possess. But this is true only to a very limited extent. Mr. John Wesley shortened many of his brother's hymns, when he inserted them in his general collection; in some instances he joined two or three short ones together; such allusions as were strictly personal and local he expunged, so as to adapt the stanzas in which they occurred to general use; but in other respects, the alterations which he introduced into Charles's compositions were very few. The correctness of Mr. John Wesley's taste will not be disputed; and in logical clearness and arrangement he had few equals; but even in prose, while he excelled most men in simplicity and strength, Charles rivaled him in terseness, and surpassed him in spirit. Both in prose and verse, Charles's words and idioms are thoroughly English. Nor did John's taste in poetry always come up to Charles's standard. In his copy of the Arminian Magazine he has animadverted upon some pieces which John admired, and therefore inserted in that publication.

"To Mr. Charles Wesley it was a great advantage that he was so well trained in classical learning. Had he not been a sound scholar, he could never have fully exercised his high vocation as a devotional poet, and the church would not have derived the full benefits of his genius. Being familiar with the great poets of antiquity, he had a perfect knowledge of the laws of versification. While he possessed the true poetic spirit, he thoroughly understood 'the art of poetry;' so that his compositions are not only free from the literary blemishes and defects which disfigure the works of many less-instructed writers, but in their numbers and general structure invariably display the hand of a master. Of him, as well as of an elder poet, it might be justly said. that he no sooner began to write, whether 'prosing or versing,' than it was apparent that 'the style, by certain vital signs it had, was likely to live.' This the intelligent vicar of Shoreham at once perceived and declared.

"The ease and freedom with which he wrote are very apparent. His brother has remarked, that whenever he detected a stiff sentence in any of his own prose writings he expunged it instantly, deeming stiffness in an author an unpardonable offence against good taste. Charles manifestly cherished the same feeling with regard to verse. It cannot be said of him, as Dr. Johnson said of Prior, that the words which he selects to express his meaning are reluctantly 'forced' into the situations which they occupy, and 'do their duty sullenly.' They rather appear formed for the exact service which is assigned them; and seldom can one of them be either dispensed with or transposed without impairing the beauty or the sense. Many of his stanzas are as elegantly free in their construction as even the finest paragraphs

of Addison's prose. While his sentiments and language are admired by the most competent judges of good writing, his hymns are perfectly intelligible to the common people; thousands of whom, possessed of spiritual religion, feel their truth and power, and sing them with rapturous delight. His metres are very numerous, perhaps more so than those of any other English writer whatever; and it is difficult to say in which of them he most excelled. There are twenty-six metres in the Wesleyan collection in general use; and several others occur in the volumes which Charles published in his own name. This variety renders the reading of his books exceedingly agreeable. His cadences never pall on the ear, and never weary the attention. Like scenes in nature, and the best musical compositions, they are perpetually varying, and charm by their novelty.

"As his object in writing was not the establishment of his own reputation, but the advancement of Christian piety, by fanning the flame of devotion, he was not so solicitous for the originality of his thoughts as for their truth and importance. Occasionally, therefore, he did not hesitate to borrow a thought from other men, and cast it into his own mold; and while he proposed it in his own incomparable diction, he never failed to expand and improve it. He did not borrow the thoughts of other men because he was himself destitute of the inventive faculty; for his hymns which are perfectly original are far more numerous, and embrace a wider range of subjects, than those of any other writer in the English language. His object in composition was first his own edification, and then the edification of the church; and he was ready to press into his service whatever was likely to advance these holy designs."—Vol. ii, pp. 476–479.

We should be happy here to give some specimens of Mr. C. Wesley's poetry, but for want of space must leave the reader to find these in the work before us, or elsewhere, as he has the means.

Mr. Jackson's volumes afford the most ample evidence of the integrity, zeal, and peculiar greatness of Mr. C. Wesley. Here we see him as the zealous and successful preacher; the spirited, chaste, elegant, and truly Christian poet; the tender husband, and the affectionate father. We see him, indeed, like other human beings, sometimes struggling with his prejudices, and often, like some of his class of mind, more sensibly alive to emergencies than wise to provide for them; but he is always prompt to act when duty is plain, and never backward to labor or suffer when the cause of Christ and the good of souls require it. When, in the latter part of his life, he ceases to travel at large as he had formerly done, he *sings* of the loving-kindness of the Lord. And while his brother is in the field, braving the dangers, and enduring the toils and hardships of the battle, we hear the mellow and inspiring voice of the poet of Methodism shouting to the hosts of Israel,

"Soldiers of Christ, arise,
And put your armor on,
Strong in the strength which God supplies,
Through his eternal Son.
Strong in the Lord of hosts,
And in his mighty power,
Who in the strength of Jesus trusts
Is more than conqueror."

Thus, in his peculiar way, effectively contributing, to the very last of his life, to the continuance and increase of the great revival which he had, as an itinerant preacher in connection with his brother, been instrumental in commencing.

The journals and private letters of Mr. C. Wesley exhibit him in the light of a most amiable and trustworthy friend. Nothing can exceed the tenderness and true respect with which he addressed his most worthy and pious lady, when absent from home. And though not so happy in his sons, both of them being too much devoted to music, and one of them, in his religious course, being intractable and erratic, yet his kindness and parental affection remain the same, most marked, if not peculiar. He was a great and good man, and his biographer is entitled to the thanks of the world for the comprehensive and impartial view he has given of him.

We have extended this article to so great a length, that we cannot occupy space for several citations and remarks which we had intended to present. We fear, indeed, we have given a very inadequate view of the work. We hope it will, ere long, in some form, be given to the American public from the Methodist press. It is a work full of interest, not only to Methodists, but to liberal-minded Christians of all denominations.

The manner in which the good and laborious C. Wesley met his last enemy may be gathered from the following characteristic and affecting lines, which were dictated by him, and written by Mrs. Wesley, just before his exit:—

"In age and feebleness extreme,
Who shall a sinful worm redeem?
Jesus, my only hope thou art,
Strength of my failing flesh and heart;
O could I catch a smile from thee,
And drop into eternity!"—Vol. ii, p. 441.

ART. IX.—1. *Theory of Temptation.* Methodist Quarterly Review for October, 1841: Article, Butler's Analogy of Religion, pp. 586–590.

2. *Methodist Quarterly.—Nature of Temptation.* Zion's Herald and Wesleyan Journal. Vol. xii, No. 43. (Oct. 27, 1841.)

WE read with pleasure and profit the Review of Butler's Analogy, in the Methodist Quarterly for October, 1841, in which was set forth a theory of *temptation;* and have perused, with scarcely less interest, some editorial strictures on the same in Zion's Herald, (Vol. xii, No. 43;)—perceiving that they had their origin in no captious spirit, that they are candidly and clearly stated, and were evidently dictated by an honest desire of arriving at the truth, on a most important subject.

The first objection presented in the strictures, as it seems to us, resolves itself, in part at least, into a mere matter of criticism. When the reviewer says, "Temptation is a sensible impulse or solicitation to do some evil act," and afterward points it out as the office of "virtue and religion to restrain from indulgence, *where indulgence is unlawful*, or to restrain within *proper limits*, where indulgence is lawful;" we understand him, by these and similar remarks, sufficiently to have defined the general nature of temptation. It is true, for the purpose of presenting a perfect and harmonious theory on this subject, he refers to the appetites and passions in the human constitution as having each its corresponding external object, appointed by God as its natural excitant; and says,—

"When, under proper conditions, the external exciting object is presented, its corresponding appetite or passion is *necessarily excited*, and *tends* to seek gratification. This involuntary and necessary excitement, which tends to seek its gratification, is called *lust;* and properly constitutes temptation."

This, though appearing to be a universal proposition, is evidently intended to be limited by the qualifying remarks with which it is accompanied. Had it read thus:—*When, under proper conditions, the external exciting object is presented, its corresponding appetite or passion is necessarily excited, and tends to seek gratification; and this involuntary and necessary excitement, when it tends to* unlawful or excessive *gratification, is called lust, and properly constitutes temptation;*—then it would have been clear and precise, and would have prevented the possibility of misconstruction.

We remark, in passing, however, that the reviewer does not say,

nor intimate, that this is the *direct* natural origin of *all* our temptations. He subsequently refers expressly to "reflection" and to "Satanic suggestion," as *secondary* sources of temptation.—Nor do we see that it was necessary to the mere statement of the general theory, to encumber it with an allusion to "irregular and perverted sensibilities;" inasmuch as such an allusion was in no way necessary to the practical application made by him of the theory. It is sufficient, if it shall appear, that all he says of the class of temptations designated by him, is properly applicable to them.

If the first objection presented in the strictures goes any further than to this mere *statement* of the theory, it is not distinctly set forth. The writer, however, in one place, says,—

"Temptation most certainly does not consist in the 'natural and necessary excitement' of the appetites and passions by the objects '*which God has appointed*' as their natural excitants; but in some perverse or some irregular excitant, or some perverted susceptibility in the appetite or passion excited; that is, *when there is excitement.*"

And again he remarks,—

"A disposition to unlawful or excessive indulgence is not '*a natural and necessary*' excitement; such a disposition is contrary to the 'appetites and passions' of an unfallen nature, and the power to excite it does not inhere 'naturally and necessarily' in the 'objects which God has appointed as their natural excitants.'"

There seems to be here suggested a radical objection to the theory itself. And the point at issue, we think, must lie somewhere in this general question:—Whether an "involuntary and necessary excitement," produced in "the appetites and passions" by the "objects which God has appointed as their natural excitants," does, or even *can*, "tend to unlawful or excessive indulgence;" and that too, in the language of the strictures, "in an unfallen nature?" This I understand the Herald to deny; while it may be rather indirectly, but yet, I think, fairly, affirmed from the doctrine of the review. Now let us follow the reviewer, in seeing what light is thrown on this subject by the only example on record of a temptation addressed to our first parents before their fall. "And when the woman saw that the tree was *good for food*, and that it was *pleasant to the eyes*, and a tree *to be desired to make one wise*, she took of the fruit thereof and did eat, and gave also unto her husband with her; and he did eat." In this temptation there is exhibited, beyond the possibility of controversy, *excitement*, and an excitement of both an *appetite* and a propensity, (or, in the language of the review, a "*passion*,") and that, *by an object which*

God had appointed as their natural excitant;—the intervention of Satanic influence, as we shall by and by see, not materially affecting the case. See also Dr. Clarke on this passage, the italicizing being his own:—"The fruit appeared to be wholesome and nutritive. *And it was pleasant to the eyes.* The beauty of the fruit tended to whet and increase appetite. *And it was to be desired to make one wise,* which was an additional motive to please the palate. From these three sources, all natural and moral evil sprung; They are exactly what the apostle calls the *desire of the flesh!* the tree was good for food; *the desire of the eye,* it was pleasant to the sight; and *the pride of life,* it was to be desired to make one wise."

The only remaining question here is,—Was this excitement *involuntary;* and, under the circumstances of the case, *necessary?* We answer, that we perceive no evidence that this temptation was voluntarily sought; but have conclusive evidence to the contrary. Was it necessary? That is, did it arise unavoidably out of the circumstances with which they were surrounded? In this sense, was *any* temptation *necessary* to our first parents? Dr. Butler says, "The notion of a future account, and general righteous judgment, implies some sort of temptation to what is wrong, otherwise there would be no moral possibility of doing wrong, nor ground for judgment or discrimination." And he again and again speaks of a state of probation, as necessarily implying "trial, difficulties, and danger." Without temptation, how could these exist? And if they were to meet temptation at all, how could it arise more unavoidably than in the case in question? or, to use the precise language of the reviewer, how could it be more "involuntary," or more "necessary?" As, however, our reply to the second objection presented in the strictures will throw further light on this whole subject, we will here leave it.

To this *second* objection brought against the theory of temptation as set forth in the review, we turn with pleasure, because it is definite in its nature, and precise in its statement. The strictures say,—

> "This theory, in our humble opinion, construes as *mere temptation* what we believe all sound theologians condemn as *sin.* We refer to the '*excitement*' of the 'passions or appetites' *in temptation.* This our author [the reviewer] repeatedly and emphatically declares '*not to be sin, nor of the nature of sin*;' an assertion which we apprehend to be liable to dangerous consequences."

And again the editor demurs to this theory on these "two grounds:"—

"First, That particular assertions, [quoted from the reviewer,] as well as the whole expression of his theory, imply 'excitement' of the 'appetites and passions' to be an essential element of temptation. Second, That they declare this excitement not to be sinful."

On these two points, then, the writers are at issue.—And it is worth while simply to remark, in passing, that the objection lies not against the *extent* to which the "excitement" is allowed by the reviewer to go, without sin; but against the *existence* of the excitement. Not to refer to the general statement of the objection, this appears from the example, cited by the editor, of the sanctified man; and also from the quotation in support of his views from the Guide to Christian Perfection,—which quotation is attributed to Professor Upham. Neither of these allows excitement *in any degree*. On this point of the objection, *here* then is the issue; and here, the love of truth compels us to sustain the doctrine of the review.

Before however entering formally on the discussion of the points here involved, we shall pause a moment for the purpose of laying down some principles, as well for future as for immediate use. And our reference, in this place, to Professor Upham's Philosophical Works, is not for the purpose of presenting an *argumentum ad hominem*, nor of arraying quotation against quotation. We shall refer to these works as authority, only so far as we consider the doctrines beyond controversy defensible.—He considers the mental states under the three general divisions;—the intellect, the sensibilities, and the will. The *natural* sensibilities are considered under the heads, emotions and desires; and the *moral* sensibilities, under the heads, moral emotions, and feelings of moral obligation. When we add, that the *desires* embrace the instincts, the appetites, the propensities, and the affections, we have an outline of the entire mental action before us. Nor is the *order* of the mind's action left by him in obscurity, or in doubt. It commences with the intellect, and passes on to the will, through the medium of the emotions and desires on the one hand, and of the moral emotions and feelings of obligation on the other. This is not represented as the occasional, or even the *usual* order; but as the *only* way in which the will can be addressed. These views are so distinctly set forth in the volumes to which we refer, as not to require quotations in support of this statement; and this general theory of mental action is, by this author, so amply supported both by argument and authority, that we are not aware that a doubt has ever been seriously suggested in regard to the correctness of any part of it. We shall therefore feel at liberty, as we pass along, to refer to this, as the true theory of the mind's action.

Now, then, we are prepared to approach this first question,—*Does temptation imply excitement?* And on this point, we shall quote Dr. Butler, for the purpose primarily of showing that the reviewer has not, in this particular, either misunderstood or misstated his author's views; and, in the second place, because we can refer to no more competent authority. And from among numerous passages recognizing this principle, we select these two:—

"As when we say, men are misled by external circumstances of temptation, it cannot but be understood, that there is somewhat within themselves to render those circumstances temptations, or to render them susceptible of impressions from them; so, when we say, they are misled by passions, it is always supposed, that there are occasions, circumstances, and objects, *exciting these passions*, and affording means for gratifying them. And, therefore, temptations from within, and from without, coincide, and mutually imply each other. Now, the several external objects of the appetites, passions, and affections, being present to the senses, or offering themselves to the mind, and so *exciting emotions suitable to their nature*, not only in cases where they can be gratified consistently with innocence and prudence, but also in cases where they cannot, and yet can be gratified imprudently and viciously; this as really puts them in danger of voluntarily foregoing their present interest or good, as their future, and as really renders self-denial necessary to secure one, as the other; that is, we are in a like state of trial with respect to both, *by the very same passions, excited by the very same means.*"*

"Together with the general principle of moral understanding, we have in our inward frame various affections toward particular external objects. These affections are naturally, and of right, subject to the government of the moral principle, as to the occasions upon which they may be gratified, as to the times, degrees, and manner, in which the objects of them may be pursued; but then the principle of virtue can neither excite them, *nor prevent their being excited.* On the contrary, they are naturally felt, when the objects of them are present to the mind, not only before all consideration whether they can be obtained by lawful means, but after it is found they cannot. For the natural objects of affection continue so; the necessaries, conveniences, and pleasures of life, remain *naturally desirable*, though they cannot be obtained innocently, nay, though they cannot possibly be obtained at all. And when the objects of any affection whatever cannot be obtained without unlawful means, but may be obtained by them, such affection, *though its being excited*, and *its continuing some time in the mind*, be as innocent as it is natural and necessary, yet cannot but be conceived to have a tendency to incline persons to venture upon such unlawful means, and therefore must be conceived as putting them in some danger of it."†

* Analogy, part i, chap. 4. † Ib., part i, chap. 5.

Passing now from the precise and strong language of Dr. Butler, we proceed to another view of this matter. In the sense in which he explains temptation, it most obviously implies danger; and danger here must imply some connection between the impulse of temptation and the *will*, from which alone can proceed a moral action. But from the general view which we have presented of the mind's action, this temptation, which must first be addressed to the intellect, can reach the will only through the emotions and the desires. As this is a point of great importance, we will fortify it by one or two quotations. Mr. Locke says expressly, that the *desires* lie between the intellectual perceptions and the will. "Let one man," says he, "place his satisfaction in sensual pleasures, another in the delight of knowledge: though each of them cannot but confess, there is great pleasure in what the other pursues; yet neither of them making the other's delight a part of his happiness, their *desires* are not moved, but each is satisfied without what the other enjoys, and so *his will is not determined to the pursuit of it*." And again, "Good though appearing, and allowed [to be] ever so great, yet till it has reached *desires* in our minds, and thereby made us uneasy in its want, *it reaches not our wills*."* Professor Upham is equally explicit on this point; and also shows conclusively, that the *desires* cannot be reached but through the *emotions*.† In accordance with these views, President Wayland remarks, "The *object* of the *passions* and *appetites* is to impel us toward certain acts, which produce immediate pleasure;"‡ implying unequivocally that the intellect cannot of itself perform this office.

From all this it clearly appears, that the temptation cannot reach the will, or produce action of any kind, without passing through the region of the sensibilities; and that it cannot proceed one step beyond the mere intellectual perception, without producing *emotion*, the very nature of which is "*excitement*." The authority of Dr. Butler is, then, strongly sustained by the *nature of the case*.

To this view of the subject, it is believed the common sense of Christian men inclines. One man tells us, he *was never tempted* to steal; another, that he *was never tempted* to take the name of God in vain; and others, in every stage of Christian experience, that they *have never been tempted* to give up their faith in Christ, or to abandon the hopes of religion;—while the very fact of their

* Essay concerning Human Understanding, book ii, ch. 21, §§ 43, 46.

† See Men. Phi., stereot. ed., vol. ii, § 14; also Treatise on the Will, ch. iii, § 26; and many other passages.

‡ Elements of Moral Science, ch. ii, sec. 3.

making the statements shows, that these are even at the time matters of *intellectual perception;* or, in the language quoted to sustain the theory of the strictures, that they "exist intellectually," —that they "exist in the thoughts," and "are perceived and thought of." When men have no theory to sustain, it is clear they do not call these *temptations*. The element that is wanting is *excitement*. And referring to the Scriptures—the *Scriptures*, by which the correctness of all our philosophical deductions, and all our speculative opinions on such subjects, must be tested—the only direct attempt we find there to define temptation, is that cited by the reviewer; and that most assuredly implies the presence of this element. "Every man is tempted, when he is *drawn away of his own lust*, and *enticed*," James i, 14. Our English version of this passage makes the expression peculiarly strong and forcible, but not more so than the original.

This point being thus settled, we have nothing more to do with it, at present, except to remark as a most important inference from the view we have taken, that "excitement" as here defined, and as the term seems to be used by the reviewer, does not imply a "disposition" to indulgence of any kind, nor does it necessarily imply a state of "desire;"—both which terms occur in the strictures, but neither of them in the review. This excitement may be weak, or it may be almost overwhelming in its power; but, from the considerations presented, we cannot doubt that, in some of its modifications, it is, in the language of the reviewer, "an essential element of temptation."

In establishing the first position, viz., that "excitement of the appetites or passions" is "an essential element of temptation," the second follows almost as a necessary consequence; which is—that this "excitement" *is not sinful*. The reviewer, in designating this excitement by the term *lust*, evidently had a reference to the passage quoted by him, and already referred to by us, from the Epistle of James. And in this Scripture sense, we are assured, it *precedes* sin. "Lust, *when it hath conceived, bringeth forth sin*." As another evidence of its entire innocence, it is said in this immediate connection, (verse 13,) "*Blessed is the man that endureth temptation:* for when he is tried, he shall receive the crown of life, which the Lord hath promised to them that love him." And without pausing at this point to inquire particularly in regard to Mr. Wesley's opinion, does he not clearly subscribe to this principle, when he speaks of an "irregular" and "wandering imagination,"—which is known to be the source from which arise naturally and involuntarily so many and fearful temptations, and temptations

often accompanied with strong "excitement,"—as an "*innocent infirmity?*"*

In strict accordance, as we conceive, with this Scripture view, the reviewer says,—

"The excitement, or the lust in this sense, is not sin, nor of the nature of sin; but the *yielding* to the excitement where the indulgence is unlawful, or yielding to an unlawful extent, where indulgence is lawful, *this* constitutes sin."

Again,—

"The final and unerring test of sin, then, is, not the existence of the temptation, but the consent of the will. Whenever this consent is given in any degree, *then* sin commences; and the extent of the consent is the measure of the degree of sin. When we feel the temptation, *if* we consent to prolong the excitement, or if it be in our power to allay it, or to escape from it, and we refuse to do it, then we begin to sin; for the voluntary continuance of the excitement partakes of the nature of gratification, in which sin properly consists."

Here we see why the reviewer has said, that "the *existence* of this excitement," though not in itself "sin, nor of the nature of sin," yet "contains the preliminary conditions which may lead to sin;" and we also see how sin—to continue the Scripture figure—is *conceived* by this excitement, or lust. But when it is said, that temptation, as we have defined it, "is not sin, nor of the nature of sin," *actual* sin is of course intended. And this is the only sense in which Wesley uses the term *sin*, or in which he considers it ever to be used in Scripture. "*Sin*," he affirms over and again, "*is a voluntary transgression of a known law.*"† Temptation, then, though in the language of Kempis, it is "grievous and troublesome," and though in that of Bishop Butler, it "implies danger,"—yet is not sinful. It brings no condemnation; thus it is not even "of the nature of sin." Had the reviewer been writing a popular essay on Christian Perfection, instead of a Theory of Temptation, he would doubtless have told the young Christian, that by the exercise of an effectual faith, and by a patient continuance in ways of well-doing, these periods of painful "excitement" and "agitation" would pass away,—the "horrible, offensive, and impure reflections and imaginings," of which he had spoken, would subside; and, "though now for a season, if need be, he is in heaviness through manifold temptations," yet "that the trial of his faith, being much more precious than of gold that perisheth, though it be tried with fire, will be found unto praise, and honor, and glory, at the appearing of Jesus Christ," 1 Pet. i, 6, 7.

* See Sermons on Christian Perfection, and on Temptation.

† See his Sermon on Perfection.

Before leaving this part of the subject, we will formally refer to two classes of temptations alluded to at the very outset of our remarks, as not being directly embraced in the general origin of temptation, as set forth in the review. And this we do, in the first place, for the purpose of ascertaining the exact relation which every temptation by which man is assailed bears to the general theory; and also because we find them alluded to, though rather remotely, in the editorial strictures,—and alluded to, as though they *tended* at least to embarrass the reviewer's theory.

The *first* class to which we refer, are those which have their origin in "*Satanic suggestion.*" And in regard to these we remark, that in common with those of which we have more particularly spoken, they are "involuntary and necessary," that is, unavoidable; yet, unlike them, these are excited in the appetites and passions, not *directly* by the "objects which God has appointed as their natural excitants,"—though these objects are generally made the medium of the suggestion. In this respect alone they differ; but not in their *nature*, when once formed, nor in their *moral character*. The general doctrines of the reviewer's theory are therefore strictly applicable to these, as he himself has affirmed.—Such as these were the temptations of our Saviour, and are many of those by which the good man is assaulted.

To the *second* class the reviewer has not distinctly alluded; and these, it must be admitted, are one step further removed from the operation of his theory. They differ not only in their *origin* from the temptations embraced in the general theory, but *may* differ in a single particular in their *moral character*. The temptations referred to are these:—The appetites and passions sometimes by *long excessive indulgence* seem to find "excitement" in objects *not* "appointed by God as their *natural* excitants."—If this perversion of these natural powers has been the result of unavoidable ignorance, or of any circumstances beyond the individual's control; then the temptations arising from their excessive or irregular action differ not, *except in their origin*, from those we have been examining, and are, in all other respects, fully embraced in the general theory. But if this perversion of the natural powers has been the result of voluntary and sinful indulgence, as in the case of the ordinary inebriate, the transgressor has the double responsibility resting on him, of *having perverted the powers given him by his Maker*, and also of *gratifying the lust arising from the perversion.*

Here, and *here alone*, we find a temptation, the *existence* of which, as well as its gratification, involves guilt; and, in this re-

spect, it differs from the entire class of temptations directly embraced in the reviewer's general theory, and doubtless forms an exception to its full application. This temptation, however, does not perhaps differ very materially from those noticed by the reviewer as having their origin in "*reflection*," provided that reflection is *deliberate* and *voluntary;* yet this *two-fold* character of guilt is not by him distinctly pointed out.—Concerning such temptations, it remains only to add this very important practical remark;—that though they may have their origin in the basest depravity of the most groveling appetite, even such an origin does not destroy, or abate, one tithe from the virtue of a conscientious and successful resistance. This last conclusion we believe to be sustained by the common consent of men, and by the general spirit of the Scriptures.

We now purpose to go into a brief examination of the theory presented in the Herald, as in accordance with sound theology, and as opposed to that of the review.—At the close of the strictures, the editor has said in regard to the reviewer, that "it requires much more ability to construct his theory, than to demolish it." Whether this compliment can be returned, we can perhaps judge better at the *close* of our remarks, or perhaps it will be safer to leave this point to the judgment of others. With higher views, however, we trust, than those connected with the construction and demolition of theories, we shall proceed cautiously but fearlessly to our work; nor shall we be deterred by the suggestion of the editor, that we are on a "subject which reaches occult positions, that the human mind cannot grasp." And the first and chief point which attracts our attention, is the cold and philosophical sort of temptation which is set forth in these strictures, as the only one free from "the nature of sin;"—a temptation, which, in the language of the editor, "has no exciting influence upon the passions," and in which the person is represented as "feeling no excitement to the evil" by which he is tempted; and which, in the language quoted as from the pen of Professor Upham, "goes no further than the thoughts," and "enters not into the emotions or the desires." This, we must believe, will present itself to the consciousness of every man as a mere theoretical abstraction, differing from those impulses which men usually call temptations, at least as much as the cold and motionless statue differs from the living and breathing form!

First, we inquire,—Is this the kind of temptation which assails the young Christian? The spirit of the strictures answers de-

cidedly in the negative. Then, his temptation partakes at least "of the nature of sin." But what does experience say on this subject? How does he feel, when he has come out from one of his sore conflicts with his appetites, with his passions, or with Satan? Dr. Wayland says, "If he have obeyed the impulses of conscience, and resisted successfully the impulses at variance with it, he will be conscious of a feeling of innocence, of approbation, of desert of reward."* The impulses here referred to as opposed to those of the conscience, are the appetites, the passions, and self-love. When he has resisted successfully and overcome these impulses, he will be conscious of a feeling—not of *gratitude* that he has escaped, though scathed and injured in his moral powers, and filled with remorse for "sin,"—but, in the language of this severe moralist, "he will be conscious of a feeling of *innocence;*" and not only of innocence, but "of *approbation,* and of *desert of reward.*" This is the common sense view of the subject, and is imbodied in almost all books of morals and ethics. And I have no hesitation in saying, that just in proportion to the power of these impulses to evil, and the length of the conflict, provided the resistance have been constant and unwavering, will be the greatness of the peace that will succeed, and of the joy of the deliverance. And it is when the man, by acquisitions of grace, obtains the power of coming out victorious from these conflicts, that he joins with the apostle and says, "There is, therefore, now no condemnation to them who are in Christ Jesus, who walk not after the flesh, but after the Spirit." So far, then, from these conflicts involving any thing "of the nature of sin," we believe they furnish the best evidence of virtue and genuine piety; and that too, as we have before intimated, whether they arise from appetites and passions unperverted, or from appetites acquired and passions alienated by former sinful habits.

But how stands this case, if we refer to the perfect Christian? We quote from the Herald:—

"How, then, is a sanctified person tempted? We answer, *intellectually,* not *sensitively;* by mere intellection, not by passion. His passions and appetites being pervaded by the presence and purity of the divine Spirit, have no susceptibility of unholy excitement, no *tendency to evil.* Satan cannot exert an improper *influence* upon his mind; he can only present to it *thoughts.* For example, two Christians, one sanctified, the other not, perceive a certain opportunity of becoming independently wealthy by the use of some improper means. The sanctified person *perceives* the opportunity—nothing but imbecility could keep him from the perception—but it has no exciting influence

* Elements of Moral Science, chap. ii, sec. 2.

upon his passions; he may intellectually dwell upon the circumstances, and wonder at the facilities they afford to an evil mind; but at the same time not only feel no excitement to the evil, but exultingly thank God for his exemption from it. On the other hand, the unsanctified Christian may feel the cravings of avarice, he may go the whole day in sore conflict with these cravings, beating them down and yet feeling them."

And is this all the sanctified man knows of temptation? We appeal to experience, and inquire—*Is this all?* Has he no "fiery trials"—no *conflicts*, in the very strongest sense of that term? We do not inquire whether he has *unsuccessful* conflicts, or *long-continued* and *doubtful* conflicts, or even *frequent* conflicts;—this is not necessary to the case. *Has he conflicts at all?* If he has, let us inquire, for the purpose of testing the theory of the strictures, where the contest must lie? And here, we feel the utmost confidence in remarking, that the *object* of this conflict, if there ever is one in his heart, is to gain the assent of the will; and with this single remark, we proceed to make two quotations from Professor Upham's Philosophical Works:—

"It will readily be conceded that morality implies a will, a power of choice and determination. But the mere moral emotions, viz., of approval and of disapproval, do not of themselves reach the will. They operate on the will through the feelings of obligation; that is to say, they are always succeeded by the latter feelings before men are led to action. All other emotions operate through the desires. *So that the will, in making up its determinations, takes immediate cognizance of only two classes of mental states, viz.*, DESIRES *and* FEELINGS OF OBLIGATION."*

"The class of mental states, which are termed emotions, are followed not merely by desires, but also by another class, distinct from desires, and yet sustaining the same relation of proximity to the will, which, for want of a single term, we have been obliged to denominate feelings of obligation. Desires are founded on the natural emotions, or those which involve what is pleasurable or painful, while obligatory feelings are exclusively based on emotions of a different kind, viz., moral emotions, or emotions of moral approval and disapproval. The obligative states of mind, although they are easily distinguished by our consciousness from desires or the desirive states of mind, agree with the latter in being in direct contact with the voluntary power, and not unfrequently *these two classes of mental states stand before the will in direct and fierce opposition to each other.*"†

Here, then, precisely,—in the immediate region of the *will*,—is found this great moral battle-ground; where the sole combatants—though excited and urged on by the *emotions*—are the *desires* on the one hand, and the *feelings of obligation* on the other; and

* Ment. Phi., vol. ii, § 263. † Treatise on the Will, chap. iii, § 30.

where the prize to be lost or won—is the *human soul*. Here the conflict continues at times during the man's whole probation,—the contest never being entirely abandoned, nor the scene of the conflict changed. Temptation, then, can never become properly such,—can never produce affliction, or danger, or even "heaviness," only so far as it *excites*, or *tends to excite*, the DESIRES. We have *before* shown that "excitement is an essential element of temptation;" and *here* we incidentally find the precise *nature* and *extent* of the "excitement," which is necessary to give it its distinctive character.

This view, while it may not often be distinctly set forth by theological writers, is yet believed not to be at variance with their general doctrines. And here again we shall take occasion to recur to the passages before quoted from Dr. Butler, to which the reader's attention is again specially invited.—In the first, he gives us to understand, that "the several external objects of the appetites, passions, and affections, being present to the senses, or offering themselves to the mind, excite *emotions* suitable to their nature," and that they do this, "not only in cases where they can be gratified consistently with innocence and prudence, but also in cases where they cannot." In the next quotation he goes further, and naming the affections as one class of the *desires*, he says, "They are naturally felt when the objects of them are present to the mind, not only before all consideration whether they can be obtained by lawful means, but after it is found they cannot. For the natural objects of affection continue so; the necessaries, conveniences, and pleasures of life, *remain naturally desirable*, though they cannot be obtained innocently; nay, though they cannot possibly be obtained at all. And," he goes on to say, (with such change only as a partial quotation, for the sake of brevity, demands,) "where the objects of any affection whatever cannot be obtained without unlawful means, but may be obtained by them, such *affection*, though it be *excited*, and though it *continue some time in the mind*, is as *innocent* as it is *natural* and *necessary*." And in the same passage he expressly asserts, in regard to this class of *desires*, that "virtue can neither excite them, *nor prevent their being excited*."—All comment is here rendered unnecessary.

This view we shall also support by a quotation from Wesley:—

"The more any believer examines his own heart, the more will he be convinced of this: That faith, working by love, excludes both inward and outward sin from a soul watching unto prayer; that nevertheless we are even then liable to temptation, particularly to the sin that did easily beset us; that if the loving eye of the soul be steadily fixed

on God, the temptation soon vanishes away: but if not, if we are *ἐξελκομενοι*, (as the apostle James speaks, chap. i, 14,) drawn out of God by our own desire, and *δελεαζομενοι*, caught by the bait of present or promised pleasures; then that desire conceived in us, brings forth sin; and having by that inward sin destroyed our faith, it casts us headlong into the snare of the devil, so that we may commit any outward sin whatever."*

Here we shall notice but two points;—the one is, that the believer from whose soul "is excluded both inward and outward sin," is nevertheless liable to *temptation to sin;* and the other, that "sin" does not result from the working of this temptation, till it is *brought forth* by the action of the *desire* which is conceived in him.—We believe this general doctrine is also strongly expressed by Dr. Clarke, when he says, "That to be tempted, *even to the greatest abominations*, (while the person resists,) *is not sin.*"†

When these desires are awaked in the mind, and this moral contest commences there, we cannot be told, in the language of the strictures, that the temptation "consists in some perverse or irregular excitant, or in some perverse susceptibility in the appetite or passion excited." When the good man—even the perfect man—hungers, but the appetite cannot innocently be gratified; or when he thirsts for knowledge, while the gratification of this propensity conflicts with some higher duty; or when he stands over his dying child, struggling to control his affection, and keep it in submission to the will of his God,—these varied forms of *desire* are "excited," —"virtue," says Dr. Butler, "cannot prevent their being excited;" and they are excited too, most obviously, as the reviewer says, "by the [very] objects which God has appointed as their natural excitants." These temptations arise from God's appointment, and extend even to the excitement of the deepest feelings of the heart,—which excitement is often painful and long-continued; but yet, how great a part of the trials of the good man do they make up! and how is he consoled under them by the assurance, that "when he is tried he shall come forth as gold!"—The peculiar character of the temptations of the sanctified person, is then doubtless this;—that while they *tend*, in common with the temptations of feebler Christians and of all other men, *to the excitement of the desires*, he does not allow them to take hold on these desires. He has attained the power of constantly arresting them *at this point*, and of successfully repelling them. And this single condition, we believe, will meet the requisitions of both Wesley and Fletcher, and

* Sermon on the Privilege of the Children of God.

† See notes on Christ's temptations in the wilderness.

our other standard writers, making only some slight allowance for the difference between the popular and the scientific use of terms.

We pause here to inquire,—Is this conclusion in accordance with the nature—may I not say, with the *philosophy*—of Christian perfection? Let not the reader be startled. Infidelity has long asserted that philosophy is opposed to Christianity; it should be the labor of the Christian to remove so fatal a delusion. The time shall come, when it shall be known and admitted, that true philosophy and Christianity coincide, and form one harmonious and beautiful system.—What, then, is the philosophy of that change which converts the man from the error of his ways, and restores him to the moral image of his God? To understand this we must know the nature of the depravity from which he is to be recovered. And in what does this consist? Has sin attached itself to man's physical nature? Mr. Wesley denies this in the strongest language.* It is, then, something connected with the mind. And are we to suppose, that any *positive* depravity or evil principle was at the time of man's fall implanted or infused into his nature? He who supposes this has first to furnish the proof, and then to reconcile it with the moral character of the Deity. It is much more natural to suppose, that this depravity consists in some irregular action of the original powers of the mind. This is the view of President Edwards, whose authority on this point, it is believed, in no way conflicts with that of our standard authors. His doctrine is, that man was originally created with all the natural appetites, passions, and other principles, which now attach to his nature, and of which we have spoken; but that the principle of divine love then presided over them, and held and maintained supreme dominion in the heart. "While things continued thus," he says, "all things were in excellent order, peace and beautiful harmony, and in their proper and perfect state." But when man broke his covenant with his God, this order, and peace, and harmony were destroyed. The principle of divine love no longer ruled the elements of his nature;

"Because," says he, "it would have been utterly improper in itself, and inconsistent with the covenant and constitution God has established, that God should still maintain communion with man, and continue, by his friendly, gracious, vital influences, to dwell with him and in him after he was become a rebel, and had incurred God's wrath and curse. Therefore immediately the superior divine principle wholly ceased; and thus man was left in a state of darkness, woful corruption, and ruin; nothing but flesh without Spirit. The inferior princi-

* See Sermon on Perfection: Works, vol. ii, p. 172.

ples of self-love and natural appetite, which were given only to serve, being alone and left to themselves, *of course* became reigning principles; having no superior principles to regulate or control them, they became absolute masters of the heart. The immediate consequence of which was a *fatal catastrophe*, a turning of all things upside down, and the succession of a state of the most odious and dreadful confusion. Man did immediately set up *himself*, and the objects of his private affections and appetites, as supreme; and so they took the place of *God*. These inferior principles are like fire in a house, which we say is a good servant, but a bad master; very useful while kept in its place, but, if left to take possession of the whole house, soon brings all to destruction. Man's love to his own honor, separate interests, and private pleasure, which before was wholly subordinate unto love to God, and regard to his authority and glory, now disposes and impels him to pursue those objects without regard to God's honor or law; because there is no true regard to these divine things left in him. In consequence of which, he seeks those objects as much when against God's honor and law, as when agreeable to them. And God, still continuing strictly to require supreme regard to himself, and forbidding all gratifications of these inferior passions, but only in perfect subordination to the ends, and agreeableness to the rules and limits which his holiness, honor, and law prescribe, hence immediately arises *enmity* in the heart, now wholly under the power of self-love; and nothing but *war* ensues, in a constant course, against God. As, when a subject has once renounced his lawful sovereign, and set up a pretender in his stead, a state of enmity and war against his rightful king necessarily ensues. It were easy to show how every lust and depraved disposition of man's heart would naturally arise from this *privative* original, if here were room for it. Thus it is easy to give an account how total corruption of heart should follow on man's eating the forbidden fruit, though that was but one act of sin, *without God's putting* any evil into his heart, or *implanting* any bad principle, or *infusing* any corrupt taint, and so becoming the *author* of depravity. Only God's *withdrawing*, as it was highly proper and necessary that he should, from rebel man, being, as it were, driven away by his abominable wickedness, and men's *natural* principles being *left to themselves*, this is sufficient to account for his becoming entirely corrupt, and bent on sinning against God."*

Such, then, being the nature of the depravity of the human heart, we are prepared to inquire,—What is necessary to a restoration of man to the moral image of his God, or to make him holy in heart and in life? Simply the reinstating in his heart the principle of supreme love to God; the consequence of which will of course be, the subjugation of all the other principles of his nature to its control. This answer arises legitimately from the very *nature of the case*. But in this gracious change, there is not even implied, the

* Edwards' Doctrine of Original Sin, part iv, chap. ii. See also Upham's Men. Phi., vol. ii, §§ 189–196.

destruction, or indeed the *entire suspension, of a single faculty of the mind.*—This view of the *nature* of Christian perfection is in exact accordance with that of Wesley.

"What," says he, "is then the perfection of which man is capable, while he dwells in a corruptible body? It is the complying with that kind command; 'My son, give me thy heart.' It is the 'loving the Lord his God with all his heart, and with all his soul, and with all his mind.' *This is the sum of Christian perfection:* it is all comprised in that one word, *love.* The first branch of it is the *love of God:* and as he that loves God loves his brother also, it is inseparably connected with the second; 'Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself:' Thou shalt love every man as thy own soul, as Christ loved us. 'On these two commandments hang all the law and the prophets:' *these contain the whole of Christian perfection.*"*

And the conclusion which we draw from the peculiar nature of this work thus set forth, viz., that none of our natural sensibilities are either destroyed or necessarily suspended in their action, by its influence, is clearly affirmed by the same writer, where he says:—"God would not have us stocks and stones. He would have our affections regulated, not extinguished."†—Thus, however we vary our view of this great subject, the general conclusion at which we arrive is the same. The lamp of truth casts no unsteady light.

It only remains to inquire, how these views apply to the temptations of our Saviour. And to make the application, we need in the first place to see how, in his human nature, he differed from us. He possessed, in the language of the reviewer, "all our natural appetites and passions;" and we do not perceive that his temptations can differ from those of the good man, except so far as depends on the single consideration, that he was free from all morbid and irregular sensibility arising from the depravity of our natures and from our sinful habits. Without denying, then, that they have any analogy with the temptations which are common to men, I see not how they can differ in their *nature* from the temptation of our first parents, or from those of the perfect Christian.

But how is this matter set forth in the strictures? We cite the entire passage attributed to Professor Upham, which it seems had been published in the Guide to Christian Perfection, and which is quoted with approbation by the Herald:—

"Temptations, it will undoubtedly be conceded by those who have paid attention to the subject, are objects which are presented by the intellect to the sensibilities and the will; and are of such a nature that they have a tendency to induce or cause in those sensibilities, (that is

* Sermon on Perfection: Works, vol. ii, p. 169.

† Sermon on Heaviness through Temptation, vol. i, p. 421.

to say, in the appetites, propensities, and affections,) and also in the will, an inordinate, excessive, or perverted action. The incipient, and what may be termed the *innocent* stage of the temptation, is when the object which is the medium of temptation is first presented to us intellectually; that is to say, in our mere thoughts or perceptions. Our Saviour was tempted by having the kingdoms and wealth of this world presented before him as objects of desire; but the temptation went no further than the thoughts. It had no effect upon his desires or will; but was immediately rejected. It was necessary that the object of temptation should exist intellectually; in other words, that it should exist in the thoughts, or be perceived and thought of. Without this, viz., the perceived or intellective presence of the object, it is entirely clear that there could not possibly be any such thing as temptation. But the temptation may exist to this extent without sin. The temptations, for instance, to which the Saviour was subjected, were in every instance entirely without sin; for the simple reason that they did not go beyond the thoughts; they did not enter into the emotions and desires; they excited no favorable or assenting feeling; they caused no accordant action of the will; but were instantly and fully repelled. They were not like sparks thrown upon tinder, and kindled into a blaze; but rather like sparks thrown upon the ocean, and instantly extinguished."

Here "temptations" are first defined as "objects which are presented *by the intellect to the sensibilities and the will*," &c.; while immediately afterward it is said, the temptations to which our Saviour was subjected "went no further than the *thoughts*,"—"they did not enter into the *emotions*,"—"they had no effect upon his *desires* or *will*."—While the first proposition seems clearly to affirm the leading doctrine of the reviewer's theory touching the nature of temptation; it must be admitted, that the subsequent statement in regard to our Saviour's temptation seems as clearly at variance with it.

Now this statement must be explained on one of two hypotheses:—Either, from the nature of our Saviour, his emotions and desires were incapable of excitement by temptation; or, the suggestion being made to his mind in the usual way, the temptation was arrested before it proceeded beyond the "thought," and thus all excitement was cut off.

In regard to the first of these hypotheses, we have seen that it does not seem to be sustained by the nature of the case. It also obviously conflicts with the declaration that "he was in all points tempted like as we are;"—the addition, "yet without sin," meaning only, as Dr. Clarke supposes, "without *feeling* or *consenting to* sin."* And to these considerations we might add, that if this

* See his notes on this passage:—Heb. iv, 15.

was the case, the tempter evidently did not know it. For the temptations are as well arranged, for the excitement of the *appetite* in one of the cases, and of a *propensity* in another, as they could have been, had they been addressed to an ordinary man. The "judicious" arrangement of these temptations has attracted the special attention of Dr. Clarke.*

But the latter seems to be the hypothesis of the quotation. It is said, the temptations having reached *the thoughts*, "were immediately rejected"—"were instantly and fully repelled."—This presents a point of great interest; for if this could be done by our Saviour, we cannot wonder if others as well as the author of the strictures should conclude it might be done by good men.—Much that we have already said, bears directly on this question, but we are willing to look at it in another point of view. And for this purpose, let us paraphrase one of our Saviour's temptations, according to this hypothesis, and see what it is.—Being on the pinnacle of the temple, the "thought" was presented to his mind, to cast himself down,—trusting to Providence to prevent his destruction.—This is all that can be made of it. There is evidently nothing remarkable in this,—nothing, in fact, which in the experience of an ordinary man would be considered worth recording. This thought may indeed have been suggested to the minds of thousands when standing in a similar situation; and if it never has been before, it will be likely to enter the mind of the reader, the next time he shall be in such a place. But what man—what holy man even —ever considered this a temptation, or gave it a moral character, so as to feel bound to hasten its expulsion from the mind;—unless, perchance, some Christian man, borne down by sorrow and affliction, in heaviness through manifold temptations, and whom (to make the cases in this respect parallel) Satan had been permitted grievously to afflict and torment—*unless* some such man *may*, in a similar situation, have had the horrible temptation thrust into his mind, there to test, by so fearful an experiment, the care which God had for him! And as this horrid suggestion entered into his very soul, and clung to him in spite of resistance, till he shuddering retired from the scene of danger; we apprehend it would have been a hard thing, on this hypothesis, to make him *feel*, that his Saviour had been tempted *in all points* as he was tempted; and that by his temptations he had become fully "able to succor those who are [*thus*] tempted!"—We know not how far our sentiment may be responded to; but, for ourselves, we believe our Saviour was tempted *more sorely* than man has ever been tempted. Who can

* See his notes on these scriptures.

tell the full import of the apostle's declaration, "HE SUFFERED, *being tempted!*"

As the temptations of our Saviour seem to be referred to by the Herald for the purpose of illustrating "the *innocent* stage of [ordinary] temptation," we deem it important to add, that we believe it can be shown, that the explanation here given is unphilosophical, and incapable of a practical application by the Christian.—The moral bearings of our "thoughts" cannot be known even to ourselves, till they have time to develop their character. A "thought" which has been in the mind a thousand times, without giving us any trouble, may suddenly, and by means entirely beyond our control, become invested with the character of a *temptation*. As we know not the place where we may not be tempted, so we know not the "thought" which may not, in some of its possible associated relations, be developed into a temptation. As a mere *thought*, it may threaten no danger,—till invested with some other element, it may possess no moral character—nothing which could even suggest the propriety of its expulsion from the mind. Here, then, we arrive at the conclusion irresistibly, that temptation, as such, can never be arrested with the mere "thought;" but implies, in its very *existence*, something superadded to the thought, of which we can often have no knowledge or conception. And this *something*, the reader need not now be told, is the "*excitement*" of some of the sensibilities. Thus, in whatever way we come up to this subject, we find the general doctrine of the reviewer clearly and unequivocally affirmed.

We offer to the reader no apology for having thus revolved this subject, and set it in all the various lights which it would bear; though we have, by this means, extended the discussion far beyond the limits originally assigned to it. The immortal author of the Analogy, and both the reviewer and the writer of the strictures,—all agree that this subject takes hold on the highest interests of man; and for ourselves, we are never more delighted than when we find philosophy and Christianity harmonizing in the adjustment of those great principles which determine man's relation to his God.

C.

Dickinson College, Nov. 9, 1841.

Art. X.—CRITICAL NOTICES.

1. *Christian Baptism: its Mode, Obligation, Import, and Relative Order.* By Rev. Freeborn G. Hibbard, of the Genesee Conference. 1 vol., 12mo., pp. 218. New-York: published by G. Lane & P. P. Sandford. 1841.

On reading the above title-page some readers will be likely to exclaim, What, another book on the vexed question of baptism! Who can give any new light upon this exhausted topic! To such we simply answer, Procure the book and read it carefully, and if you are not satisfied that the author is entitled to be heard, we are mistaken in our estimate of the character of his book. Indeed, we hesitate not to say, that it is the best thing upon *the mode of baptism* we have yet seen.

And here we would express a hope that without unnecessary delay the author will complete his plan by presenting us with his work upon *infant baptism*. Such a work, executed with the ability which characterizes the one before us, would greatly subserve the interests of truth.

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2. *The History of Christianity, from the Birth of Christ to the Abolition of Paganism in the Roman Empire.* By the Rev. H. H. Milman. With a Preface and Notes. By James Murdock, D. D. 8vo., pp. 528. New-York: Harper & Brothers.

It is important the reader should clearly understand what he has to expect from this work. It is, as its title declares, a history of Christianity; but then a history peculiar in its character and design. The author observes in his preface, that "Christianity may be viewed either in a strictly religious, or in a temporal, social, and political light." "A candid and dispassionate survey," he says, "of the connection of Christianity with the temporal happiness, and with the intellectual and social improvement of mankind, even to the religious inquirer, cannot but be of high importance and interest; while with the general mass, at least of the reading and intelligent part of the community, nothing tends so powerfully to the strengthening or weakening of religious impression and sentiment, nothing acts so extensively, even though perhaps indirectly, on the formation of religious opinions, and on the speculative or practical belief or rejection of Christianity, as the notions we entertain of its influence on the history of man, and its relation to human happiness, and social improvement. *This latter is the express design of the present work.*"

That it is written with distinguished ability, is universally admitted. Still, we can by no means agree with the author in all his sentiments. The German critics he has consulted with so much advantage in many respects, have evidently imparted not a little of their rationalistic bias to some of his religious views. Thus he is disposed to seek for a mythic or allegorical meaning to explain in some cases the plain declarations of Scripture; as in demoniacal possessions, angelical apparitions, &c. It is doubtless necessary to caution the reader against these views. But the book is generally sound in regard to the great vital doctrines of the gospel; and its entire freedom from every thing of a controversial character; its rigid impartiality; the elegance and fervidness of its style; and the vast amount of deeply interesting matter it contains, will cause it to be most extensively read.

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3. *A Treatise on the Church, designed chiefly for the use of Students in Theology.* By the Rev. William Palmer, M. A., of Worcester College, Oxford. With a Preface and Notes. By the Right Rev. W. R. Whittingham, D. D., Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the diocese of Maryland. From the second London edition. In two vols., pp. 529, 557. New-York: D. Appleton & Co., 200 Broadway. 1841.

Among the many works upon *the Church* with which the press is constantly teeming, the one whose title-page is given above occupies a high rank. The author exhibits much learning and research, and has doubtless succeeded in presenting to our high Churchmen a work which heretofore has been considered a desideratum.

In the present edition we have added to the labors of Mr. Palmer the critical skill of Bishop Whittingham. The bishop presents the work to American readers in no

faint notes of praise, considering it "as the first complete treatise on the subject in our language, so the best in any." The work may consequently be considered as constituting the best authority with Churchmen. The present edition is handsomely executed.

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4. *Remains of Rev. Joshua Wells Downing, A. M., late of the New-England Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church.* With a brief Memoir. Edited by Elijah H. Downing, A. M. 12mo., pp. 329. New-York: G. Lane & P. P. Sandford. 1841.

This work consists of the writings of one who was cut down early in life—to quote the beautiful language of the Memoir prefixed to these Remains—"Just at that age when the painter would have wished to fix his likeness, and the lover of poetry would delight to contemplate him, in the fair morning of his virtues, the full spring blossom of his hopes—just at that age hath death set the seal of eternity upon him, and the beautiful hath been made permanent."

The larger part of the volume consists of sermons and notes of sermons, prepared by the author during the brief period of his ministry. All of these are of a high character, and display a beauty of language and maturity of judgment seldom met with in writings of this class. We would particularly notice the one on Job xxxv, 6, as possessing in a high degree the essentials of a well-digested, systematic discourse. There are others in the work which are superior to it in beauty of diction, but none excel it in depth of thought.

Among the miscellaneous articles is a lecture on Intellectual Improvement, delivered before an association of sabbath-school teachers, which we wish might be read by every sabbath-school teacher in the land, not only on account of its literary merit, but from the correct views which it gives of their responsibility and of the obligations they are under to improve their intellectual faculties.

The letters are beautiful specimens of composition, and they display the riches of the author's mind, his fervent piety, and the deep sense of responsibility he felt in his holy calling—and we think they will be peculiarly interesting to the young.

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5. *The Early English Church.* By Edward Churton, M. A., Rector of Crayke, Durham. With a Preface by the Right Rev. L. Silliman Ives, D. D., Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the diocese of North Carolina. From the second London edition. 12mo., pp. 344. New-York: D. Appleton & Co., 200 Broadway. 1841.

This is, upon the whole, an interesting volume. The views taken by the author of some of the heroes of the early English Church, and of the monasteries and the monastic orders, will be considered by many as much too favorable. And though we incline to this opinion ourselves, yet we have been profited by the perusal of the work, and, as a whole, are not disposed to condemn it.

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6. *Fulfilment of Scripture Prophecy, as exhibited in Ancient History and Modern Travel.* 18mo., pp. 352. New-York: G. Lane & P. P. Sandford. 1841.
7. *Conversations on the South Sea Missions. No. IV.—Island of Rarotonga.* By the author of "Conversations on the Life of Carey." Revised by the Editors. 18mo., pp. 320. G. Lane & P. P. Sandford. 1841.
8. *The Traveler; or, a Description of various Wonders in Nature and Art.* Revised by the Editors. 18mo., pp. 226. G. Lane & P. P. Sandford. 1841.
9. *Memoirs of John Frederick Oberlin, Pastor of Waldbach, in the Ban de la Roche.* 18mo., pp. 200. G. Lane & P. P. Sandford. 1841.

The four little volumes, whose titles are last given, are all well written, and calculated to afford both pleasure and instruction to the reader.

TALES FOR THE PEOPLE.—10. *Dining Out.* 18mo., pp. 174.

11. *Somerville Hall.* 18mo., pp. 174. Both by Mrs. Ellis, and published in New-York by D. Appleton & Co. 1842.

THESE works are upon the subject of temperance, and contain more truth than fiction. They deal with the sin of intemperance as it exists among the higher classes of society.

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12. *The Ladies' Repository, and Gatherings of the West: a Monthly Periodical, devoted to Literature and Religion.* Edited by the Rev. L. L. HAMLINE, A. M. Volume I. Cincinnati: J. F. Wright & L. Swormstedt. 1841.

WE have received the last number of the first volume of this important and useful periodical. We heartily congratulate our brethren of the west upon the success which has attended the enterprise. In addition to the talents, industry, and fidelity which have been exhibited on the part of the editor, the work evinces that he has been able to call to his help a corps of able contributors. We are happy to learn that the Repository is well received in the west: we wish it might have an extensive circulation among our people and friends east of the Alleghanies. Such a periodical has long been a desideratum in our church; and now that we have one, we hope it will be sustained in a manner answerable to its literary and moral worth.

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13. *The Classic; or, College Monthly.* Middletown, Conn.

WE have only space to say of this literary miscellany, that it is conducted with spirit, and is filled with interesting and useful matter. Commanding, as it does, the contributions of the literati of the Wesleyan University, it will doubtless act as an efficient agent in the improvement of the taste and the literature of the rising generation. We commend the work to the patronage of the friends of learning.

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14. *The Boston Quarterly Review*, No. xvi. 1841.

IN our number for January, 1841, a pamphlet written by Mr. Brownson, editor of the Boston Quarterly Review, and which he originally published in that work, was reviewed by one of our correspondents. In a private note to us Mr. B. complained that injustice had been done him by the reviewer. In our April number we had barely space to state what we understood as his correction; but an ambiguity in his language, it seems, led us into an error in our construction of it. The following very courteous notice taken of the whole matter by Mr. B. we now insert as a matter of justice to the reviewer of Carlyle on the laboring classes. Whether he has been consistent with himself throughout we do not now inquire.

"*The Methodist Quarterly Review*, Vol. I, Nos. 1, 2, 8vo. New-York.—This Review contained an article in its January number reflecting very severely upon ourselves, and most grossly misconceiving and misrepresenting our views. Among other things it charged us with contending that all laws on matrimony should be abolished. Holding as we do the marriage institution sacred, and regarding the family as the social unit, we wrote the editor, requesting him to correct the mistake into which he had fallen; which he promised us he would do, by inserting in his April number our letter contradicting the charge. But not having room to insert the letter itself, he undertook to give its substance. In doing this, he fell into another mistake, and presented us to his readers, not as denying the marriage institution, but as denying its religious character—as holding it to be a civil contract rather than a sacrament. We trust the very able and pious editor will do us the justice to tell his readers what he is now aware is the fact stated in our letter to him, that we *do* hold marriage to be a religious institution—a sacrament rather than a civil contract, and that it is in so holding that we differ, if we differ at all on this subject, from our countrymen generally.

"Of the Methodist Quarterly Review itself we can speak very highly. It is conducted with spirit, ability, and liberality, and we are pleased to find our Methodist friends sustaining a journal of so much positive merit. It may one day or other change its opinion of the Boston Quarterly. The original spirit of Methodism is a spirit with which we have great sympathy, and are always happy to meet it. We owe the principal part of our own early religious education to the Methodists."

REV. CHARLES P. MCILVAINE L.L.D.

President of the Kenyon College Gambier O.

Published by the Methodist Book Room 200 Mulberry St N.Y.

THE

METHODIST QUARTERLY REVIEW.

APRIL, 1842.

EDITED BY GEORGE PECK, D. D.

ART. I.—1. *Introduction to the History of Philosophy.* By VICTOR COUSIN, Professor of Philosophy of the Faculty of Literature at Paris. Translated from the French, by H. G. LINBERG. 8vo., pp. 458. Boston: Hilliard, Gray, & Co. 1832.

2. *Elements of Psychology, included in a Critical Examination of Locke's Essay on the Human Understanding, being a Translation from the French of ten Lectures of Volume II. of Cousin's History of Philosophy in the Eighteenth Century. Translated from the French, with an Introduction and Notes.* By the Rev. C. S. HENRY, D. D. Second edition, prepared for the use of Colleges. 12mo., pp. 423. New-York: Gould & Newman. 1838.

3. *Philosophical Miscellanies; translated from the French of Cousin, Jouffroy, and B. Constant, with Introductory and Critical Notices.* By GEORGE RIPLEY. Contained in Vols. I. and II. of Specimens of Foreign Standard Literature. 12mo., pp. 383, 376. Boston: Hilliard, Gray, & Co. 1838.

THE philosophical writings of Cousin have for several years been rapidly gaining favor in this country; but the public mind seems not yet to have decided upon their merits, nor determined what rank to assign them among the productions of the master spirits in philosophy. We are not surprised at this tardiness, when we reflect with what suspicion every metaphysical system, originating in France, is received on this side of the Atlantic.

It is undoubtedly true that the opinions of Cousin are not to be received without due allowance for French enthusiasm and French prejudices. Allowance is to be made, too, for the peculiar forms of expression and style of thought, incident to the views of the French upon morals and theology; nor should we forget the mysticism in which papal superstition has shrouded the pure and sublime truths of Christianity. And, indeed, after we have made

all the allowance that philosophical candor would require, we may find opinions expressed by him to which we cannot subscribe. Some things, too, we may find vaguely expressed. But these, though they may subject him to severe, and, in some instances, to deserved criticism, will by no means justify that wholesale butchery of his philosophy, in which certain sanguinary critics seem to glory. They are only the excrescences which an exuberant and fertile genius, incessantly goaded to action by a determined spirit, will here and there shoot out. Apply to these the pruning knife, lop them carefully from the main trunk; and much that is really grand and beautiful will remain. But some can see nothing but the deformities, the excrescences of Cousin's philosophy; upon these they "lay too might and main," and after rendering themselves ridiculous by an exhibition of their ignorance of what they would fain oppose, they arrogate to themselves the honor of giving him a signal overthrow. A closer inspection, however, might have shown them, that while the true elements of his philosophy remained untouched, they have wasted their energies in demolishing a spectre, conjured up by their own shallow divinations.

In writing a former article on this subject, we expressed some of the convictions which had arisen in our own mind from an attentive perusal of Cousin's works; without reference to the views that were entertained by others respecting them. Indeed, we had devoted but little attention to the criticisms with which almost every review in the country has teemed. We found too much satisfaction in the general scope of his metaphysical discussions, and in the frank, and, in general, the clear elucidation of his principles, to feel much solicitude in knowing what flaws "penny worth of criticism might beetle in the edges of his philosophy." Since then, however, our attention has been called to some of these specimens of criticism; and we must confess our surprise at the manifest injustice that is done to the French philosopher, whatever may be his faults; and the assiduity with which some seek to fasten upon him opinions which he has nowhere avowed, and which are deducible by no fair criticism from the general tenor of his works. It will be our object in the present article to consider some of these points of attack, and the "far-fetched" criticism by which it is endeavored to bring odium upon a work whose wide circulation, we have no doubt, would have an influence to excite philosophical inquiry, and thereby greatly subserve the cause of truth; but we shall not hesitate to apply the pruning knife, for we are smitten with no "*lues Boswellina*," wherever it may be required.

In our former article, to which we have already alluded, we confined ourselves mainly to the criticism upon the system of Locke. It had been our original plan, after noticing that criticism, to comment upon some of the leading features of Cousin's philosophy; but we soon found that a very hasty review of the criticism upon Locke, and a few remarks upon the eclecticism of Cousin, would require all the space for which we could venture to ask. We shall now return, and undertake to carry out our original plan. It may be well to premise, however, that we shall devote but little, if any, attention to those purely speculative notions which have no direct or assignable bearing upon the moral and religious faith of man. And we hope we shall be able to show that a sound and rational theology has nothing to fear from the prevalence of eclecticism, using the term as it is now applied.

In order to understand the true nature of Cousin's philosophy, it is necessary to consider the state of metaphysical science in France at the time of his appearance; what were the prevailing systems; and what the systems which he combated. Much of the vagueness which exists in the minds of those who have with any attention studied the doctrines of Cousin, has resulted from inattention to these data. The school of French philosophy had pushed sensualism to its last result, and become incorrigible supporters of materialism and infidelity. But what is sensualism? It is that system which makes sensation the only principle and source of knowledge. Its fundamental maxim is:—*Nihil est in intellectu, quod non fuit prius in sensu.** But what are the logical consequents of sensualism; or what is sensualism pushed out into its last results? In the first place,—All sensation is passive, consequently all its products must be passive. If, then, all the mental phenomena result from sensation, they must be passive, and there can be no such thing as a *free* or *voluntary* action. Thus, one of the logical results of sensualism is *fatalism*. A second result, or logical consequence, is, materialism, which regards the soul, not as a separate principle in our nature, a real existence; but in some sort, as an abstract idea, "which represents, in the last analysis, the diversity of our sensations." Thus the soul is reduced to a mere product of our nervous system. "Sensibility is the property of the nerves; and sensibility explains the moral faculties, the intelligence, the will; in fact, the whole inward nature of man. Man is a moral being, because he is capable of sensation; he is capable of sensation, because he has nerves; the nerves make the

* Leibnitz has the following modification of this maxim:—"*Nempe*, nihil est in intellectu, quod non fuerit in sensu, *nisi ipse intellectus.*"

man. The brain secretes thought as the liver secretes bile."* But it stops not here: having produced fatalism, and annihilated personality, the *me*, the soul; it advances but one step further to negate the divine existence. "As this system regards the soul of man as the result and combination of our sensations, it is also compelled to regard the Deity only as the possible result, the combination, the last generalization of the phenomena of nature. God is a kind of soul of the world, which sustains the same relation to the world, as the soul which is admitted by the sensual philosophy does to the body." "But such a being is not the God of the human race; he is not a God distinct from the world."

Through all these stages had the sensual philosophy of France been pushed, till the whole nation sat down in rank atheism. Such is the system against which Cousin has leveled all his powers of reason and analysis; and against which his whole philosophy wages unreserved and unrelenting war. Would it not then be strange, anomalous, if Cousin himself, after all, is discovered to be nothing more than a disciple of the pantheist school of Germany? If he has intrenched himself in the pantheism of Germany, to batter down the kindred pantheism of France? There is an air of ridiculousness about the very supposition; but we will not pursue the subject here.

We have said that such was the system against which he waged war. It was a system dark, and full of enigmas; but in no feature so dark, so hideous, so revolting, as in its moral character and tendencies.

"Monstrum horrendum, informe, ingens, cui lumen ademptum."

That its main pillars of support have been knocked away, is, to every lover of virtue, every friend of humanity, a cause of gratulation. That it should be succeeded by a system more revolting in its character, or ruinous in its tendency, need not be apprehended.

But what is the system which Cousin purges to popular favor, in the place of the exploded systems of sensualism and infidelity? Is it infidelity remodeled, reconstructed, and placed on a firmer basis? Is it atheism dressed up in a garb more befitting modern philosophy? Has he denounced pantheism in one form, that he may exalt it in another? I look beyond all these questions, and think that I discover some glimmering rays, betokening the dawn of a brighter day to those that have long "sat in darkness," when I hear the champion of this "new philosophy," on all occasions,

* See Mr. Ripley's remarks of Cabanis's Physical and Moral Relations of Man, in his "Introductory Notice," vol. i, Spe. For. Lit.

distinctly, and without reserve, acknowledging and proclaiming "the reality of our instinctive faith in God, in virtue, in the human soul, in the beauty of holiness, and in the immortality of man, and advocating the immutable distinction between right and wrong." These are sublime, glorious truths, and lie at the foundation of all true philosophy; and are in themselves essential elements of the Christian faith. M. Vincent, one of the pastors of the Protestant Church at Nismes, in his work entitled *Views on Protestantism in France*, speaks thus of the eclectic philosophy:*—

"The moment in which I am writing these pages presents an interesting spectacle to the friends of philosophy. After a long interval of repose, during which the philosophical schools which had governed the world of thought for two or three generations have peaceably ended their career, tranquillity has awakened again the spirit of meditation. The mind, repulsed from without, has turned upon itself. Disgusted with affairs, it has gone back to man." "Philosophy, itself, has changed its direction. It is no longer a material philosophy. It has become essentially spiritual and moral." "The introduction of this philosophy into France gave a mortal blow to the philosophy of sensation; and marked the revival of spiritualism among us. The soul held an independent place in that philosophy, as an essentially immaterial and thinking force."—Vol. ii, pp. 223, &c.

"It is evident that religion is inconsistent with every material system, under whatever form it may be presented. Religion is the acknowledgment of a moral order, of a spiritual world, which the eyes cannot see, nor the hands reach; the recognition of a Ruler of this universe, of intelligence, and conscience; the desire to regulate life, in view of this order, of this universe, of this Ruler. What have these ideas in common with corpuscles, organs of secretion, or transformed sensations? Religion gains or loses, lives or dies, in the human mind, in proportion as these systems obtain more or less authority. It cannot co-exist with them. If this were not proved by speculation, we might appeal to experience. Wherever the opinions of the materialists have prevailed, religion has receded before them; and within our own notice, we never see them combined within the same mind.

"In this respect, the return of opinion to spiritual systems, the popularity, no less general than unforeseen, of the philosophy taught by M. Royer Collard and M. Cousin, are of immense advantage to religion. They have opened the path for it. They have dissipated the prejudices, without appearing to attack them, which were hostile to its progress. Without professing to be its champions, they have prepared the way for its triumph. They have pointed out in the soul those powers which the senses did not give, and which terminate in religion. They have brought to light, in humanity as a mass, something besides the physical wants which are provided for by industry. They have separated, in some sort, from the chaos of complicated historical fact, a vast spirit of humanity, which directs and animates it in all its mani-

* Quoted in Spe. For. Lit., vol. i, pp. 238, et seq.

festations; and this spirit has nothing in common with material interests; it resembles religion more than any thing else. *The new movement of philosophy is, therefore, as favorable to religion as the preceding was disastrous to it.*"—Vol. ii, pp. 237–239.

But how are these truths reached? Not by overlooking the fact that a large portion of human knowledge is developed through the senses; (for so far sensualism is founded in truth;) but also by not forgetting the other sources of knowledge, that the soul opens within itself fountains of thought of equal, if not greater validity and importance. Sensualism overlooked some of the most important elements of knowledge; but true eclecticism overlooks no source, no element of human thought. All the phenomena of consciousness are brought within its compass and subjected to its scrutiny. In a word, it introduces spiritualism upon the basis of experience; and thus opens the widest possible field for the most rigid analysis and induction. Its fundamental maxim is, that "after having gained a secure footing in the world of consciousness, we must make a profound and wide-reaching review of all the phenomena which it comprises; we must be sure that we have omitted no element, that we take no fact for granted, that we do not receive the phantoms of the imagination as the phenomena of consciousness; we must be sure not only that we have omitted no real element, that we have introduced no foreign element; but also that we have seen all the real elements under their true aspect, and under all the aspects which they can present."* And while, so far as it relates to ontology, the dim lights of sensualism lead us from activity to *nothingness*, from phenomena to no substantial cause; eclecticism claims that in the phenomena of activity are developed personality, the world, and their cause; or, in other words, humanity, nature, and God. "Now in point of fact," says Cousin, "human knowledge embraces both the external world, and the soul, and God."†

The *me* is revealed to us in the character of force or cause, and that too in every instance, in the very first instance,—of activity. Cousin claims that we arrive at the consciousness of *self*, by acting as a cause; and we act as cause whenever we exercise a volition. Thus the *me* is manifested, personality is revealed; but it is revealed in its relation to the *not-me*.‡ There is not a single fact of con-

* Preface to the first edition of the Philosophical Fragments.

† Psychology, p. 200.

‡ The *me*, and the *not-me*, are phrases used to express personality and its opposite, the soul and that which is not the soul, or rather nature. The introduction of these words into our own language, obviates the awkward, and,

sciousness possible without the me; and, on the other hand, the me cannot know itself without knowing the not-me; neither the one nor the other can be known with the reciprocal relation which characterises them, without the conception, more or less distinct, of an infinite and absolute Being, to whom they must be referred.

"Reason accordingly arrives at beings as well as phenomena; it reveals to us the world and God with as much authority as our own existence, or the least of its modifications; and ontology is no less legitimate than psychology, since psychology, which, by enlightening us as to the nature of reason, conducts us itself to ontology. Ontology is the science of being. It is the knowledge of our own personal existence, that of the external world, and that of God. It is reason which gives us this three-fold knowledge on the same authority with that of the smallest knowledge we possess."—*Psychology*, pp. 405, 406. Also *Specimens Foreign Literature*, vol. i, pp. 68, 69.

The reasoning of Cousin on this point is so clear and satisfactory that we cannot forbear presenting it somewhat in detail:—

"Can there be a single fact of consciousness without a certain degree of attention? Let attention be weakened or entirely destroyed, and our thoughts become confused, they are gradually dissipated in obscure reveries, which soon vanish of themselves, and are for us as if they were not. Even the perceptions of the senses are blunted for want of attention; and degenerate into merely organic impressions. The organ is struck, often, perhaps, with force; but the mind, being elsewhere, does not receive the impression; there is no sensation; there is no consciousness. Attention, therefore, is the condition of all consciousness.

"Now is not every act of attention more or less voluntary? Is not every voluntary act characterized by the circumstance, that we consider ourselves as the cause of it? And is it not this cause whose effects vary while it remains the same itself? Is it not this power which is revealed to us only by its acts, but which is distinguished from its acts, and which its acts do not exhaust? Is it not, I say, this cause, this force, which we call I, me, our individuality, our personality—that personality of which we never doubt, which we never confound with any other, because we never refer to any other, those voluntary acts which give rise to the inward feeling, the immoveable conviction of its reality?

"The me, then, is revealed to us in the character of cause, of force. But can this force, this cause which we are, do every thing which it wishes? Does it meet with no obstacles? It meets with them of all kinds, at every moment. A sense of our feebleness is constantly united with that of our power. A thousand impressions are at all times made upon us; take away attention and they do not come to our

sometimes, perplexing circumlocution that, without them, would be necessary to give the true signification of the equivalent phrases in common use in the philosophical language of continental Europe.

consciousness; let attention be applied to them, the phenomena of sensation begins. Here, then, at the same time that I refer the act of attention to myself, as its cause, I cannot, for the same reason, refer to myself the sensation to which attention has been applied; I cannot do this, but I cannot avoid referring it to some cause, to a cause necessarily other than myself, that is to say, to an external cause, and to an external cause whose existence is no less certain to me than my own existence, since the phenomena which suggests it to me is no less certain than the phenomena which suggested my own, and both the phenomena are presented to me with each other."—*Psychology*, pp. 406, 407. Also *Specimens of Foreign Literature*, vol. i, pp. 69, 70.

Here is an explicit admission of the distinct existence of both the soul and the external world; and the ground of our faith in them is laid on the firm basis of the simple perceptions of the human mind. And we may add, that this faith finds firm footing on no other ground. The moment we attempt to change this ground, to hand this faith over to the subtilties of logic; the moment we attempt to prove that which is so perfectly simple, so perfectly rational to the instinctive perceptions of the human mind, that moment we give to truth an up-hill course, while skepticism vaunts itself with favoring wind and tide. It is one of the essential features of the eclectic philosophy that it places these simple, yet indispensable elements of human knowledge, on this firm basis. But we might add, that this is not original with the eclectic philosophy, for eclecticism is undoubtedly indebted for it to Dr. Reid more than to any other person. He clearly apprehended and set forth this principle in his successful effort to stem the downward tendencies of the school of Des Cartes and Locke.

The attempt of Des Cartes to demonstrate the existence of a material world will be recollected, and also the fate of his celebrated argument—Cogito, ergo sum—which he considered incontrovertible. The disciples of the Cartesian school felt it incumbent on them to prove the existence of a material world, and this task they repeatedly attempted. The maxim of the master and of the school was, that we ought to admit nothing concerning it but what by just reasoning can be deduced from our sensations. Berkeley demonstrated the utter futility of their arguments; but as the fundamental error of their system did not occur to him, he was left with no middle ground, and rushed into the opposite extreme, denying the existence of the material world.* His acute

* It is related of Pyrrho, an ancient skeptic, that he carried his faith in the non-existence of a material world to such a degree of perfection, that if a cart ran against him, or a dog attacked him, or if he came upon a precipice, he would not stir a foot to avoid his danger, pretending to give no credit to his

mind perceived that the same arguments he had made use of to demonstrate the non-existence of a material world, were as valid against the existence of a spiritual world. Yet, it seems not to have lessened his confidence in the legitimacy of his conclusion. The good bishop, perhaps, thought that the material world could be spared without any great disadvantage; but he does not give up the spiritual world so easily, and, to retain it, leaps fairly out of the traces of his own system. He contrives to evade the consequences of his system, rather than contemplate the horrid spectre of universal skepticism. But Hume shrinks not from the utmost consequence. Following in the steps of Berkeley, he first reduced the whole frame of nature, the material universe, to ideas; but this was only the beginning of his work. Thence, he boldly pushed on to the ultimate result of the system, and reduced the soul also to ideas. Here, then, we have both nature and the soul fairly excluded from existence, reduced to ideas; but what is to become of those ideas, where shall they find a "local habitation and a name?" Alas, for them! they are left, "like Epicurus's atoms, to dance about in emptiness."*

"Des Cartes and Locke take the road that leads to skepticism, without knowing the end of it. They stop short for want of light to carry them further. Berkeley, frighted at the appearance of the dreadful abyss, starts aside and avoids it. But the author of the Treatise on Human Nature, more daring and intrepid, without turning aside to the right hand or to the left, like Virgil's Alecto, shoots directly into the gulf:—†

> 'Hic specus horrendum, et sævi spiracula Ditis,
> Monstrantur, ruptoque ingens Acheronte voraga
> Pestiferas aperit fauces.'"‡

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senses. He contrived, however, to retain the "mortal coil," in which he had so little faith, till he had numbered his fourscore years and ten. On one occasion, however, to the great scandal of his philosophy, he so far forgot its principles that he got into a great passion with his cook (forgetting that no cook existed) for not roasting his dinner to his mind, and with the spit in his hand, and the meat upon it, pursued him into the market-place. It is from Pyrrho that we have the word Pyrrhonism. See *Diogenes Lærtius.*

* Dr. Reid thinks it quite humorous in Hume to set out in his introduction, by promising, with a grave face, no less than a complete system of the sciences, upon a foundation entirely new, to wit, that of human nature; when the intention of the whole work is to show that there is neither human nature nor science in the world.—*Reid's Inquiry*, p. 12.

† "No man knew better, or owned more frankly, than Mr. Hume, that to this answer there is no serious reply. Universal skepticism involves a contradiction in terms. *It is a belief that there can be no belief.*"—*Mackintosh on Ethical Philosophy*, p. 220.

‡ "Reid's Inquiry," p. 257. London, 1823. Tegg & Cheapside.

Dr. Reid does not attempt to prove the existence of personality, nor of matter; but assumes their existence as an axiom which cannot be proved, because there are no simpler truths into which these may be resolved—the one being revealed in consciousness, the other in sensation and perception. He rightly affirms that there are distinct and original kinds of evidence, equally grounded on our constitution; none of them depends upon or can be resolved into another. "To reason against any of these kinds of evidence is absurd; nay, to reason for them is absurd. They are first principles; and such fall not within the province of reason, but of common sense."*

Many other elements of the eclectic philosophy might be found in the writings of Dr. Reid; but eclecticism has drawn out those ideas and demonstrated their validity in the rigid forms of science. If Condillac adapted the metaphysics of Locke to the latitude of Paris, it is no less certain that Cousin has adapted the philosophy of Reid to the latitude of France.†

"We have then two kinds of distinct causes. The one personal, placed in the very centre of consciousness; the other external, and placed beyond the sphere of consciousness.‡ The cause which we are is evidently limited, imperfect, finite, since it constantly meets with bounds and obstacles among the variety of causes to which we necessarily refer the phenomena that we do not produce; the phenomena purely effective, and not voluntary. On the other hand, these causes themselves are limited and finite, since we resist them to a certain degree as they resist us, we limit their action as they limit ours, and they also continually limit each other. It is reason which reveals to us these two kinds of causes. It is reason, which, developing itself

* Reid's "Inquiry into the Human Mind," ch. ii, sec. 5.

† This indebtedness is frankly acknowledged by Cousin. "Far from pretending that I have not had masters, I avow that I have had many, both in the past and in the present, both in France and out of France."—See *Preface to Philosophical Fragments.*

‡ "We must, therefore, be content to embrace the whole system, and admit the existence of mind and matter as ultimate facts, of which we can give no account, (otherwise they would not be ultimate,) and as therefore referable alone to the sovereign will of Him who commanded all things to be as they are. It is sufficient that we know the existence of our own minds by consciousness, and the existence of the external world by perception. Of these two points we are absolutely certain, if there is any certainty in human knowledge; if there is not, it is equally in vain to argue on one side or the other. This seems to be the conclusion to which Hume would wish to reduce us; and it is the conclusion of one who ought to be denounced as the assassin of human happiness. To the authors of all such attempts, the words of Seneca are peculiarly applicable:—'Non facile dixerim, utrum magis irascor illis, qui nos nihil sciere voluerunt, an illis cui ne hoc quidem nobis reliquerunt, nihil scire.'" —*Edinburgh Encyclopædia*, vol. xxv, article, *Metaphysics.*

in our consciousness, and perceiving there at the same time attention and sensation, as soon as these two simultaneous phenomena are perceived, suggest to us immediately two kinds of distinct causes, but correlative and mutually limited, to which they must be referred. But does reason stop with this? By no means. It is a fact, moreover, as soon as the notion of finite and limited causes is given, we cannot but conceive of a superior Cause, infinite and absolute, which is itself the first and last Cause of all others. The internal and personal cause, and external causes, are incontestibly causes in relation to their own effects; but the same reason which reveals them to us as causes, reveals them as limited and relative causes, and thus prevents us from stopping with them as causes sufficient to themselves, and compels us to refer them to a Supreme Cause, which has made them, and which sustains them, which is in relation to them what they are in relation to the phenomena that are peculiar to them; and which, as it is the Cause of all causes, and the Being of all beings, is sufficient in itself, and sufficient to reason, which seeks and which finds nothing beyond." —*Psychology*, pp. 407, 408. Also *Spe. For. Lit.*, p. 71, et seq.

I have made this long extract, because it presents the fundamental principle of this "new philosophy." At the very starting point, at the very outset, Cousin acknowledges the *substantial* existence of the *me*, or of personality; he as distinctly recognizes the *not-me*, or nature, as distinguished from the me, that is, he acknowledges the substantial existence of both spirit and matter. But independent of both, and from both, he distinguishes the me absolute, or "the Cause of all causes."* How perfectly absurd, then, to affirm that he confounds God with nature, when the very first principle, the fundamental element of his philosophy, proclaims their immutable distinction! This is his very starting point, and the watch-word of his philosophy. Schelling started with the principle that God and the universe, knowing and being, were identical, and he was thus led to make God the only Being, and the universe of mind and matter mere modes of his manifestation. But Cousin starts with the opposite principle, and thus is his philosophy, in its fundamental principle, for ever emancipated from any kindredship or alliance with the pantheist philosophy of Germany.†

* After describing the process by which we arrive to a knowledge of these two existences, the *me* and the not-me, the soul and the material universe, Cousin says,—"We are led by similar processes to the Cause of all causes, to the substantial Cause; to God, and not only to a God of power, but to a God of justice, a God of holiness."—*Preface to Philosophical Fragments.*

† Cousin speaking of Schelling and Hegel, says,—"But while I love to announce the resemblance which connects the philosophy I profess with that of these great masters, I owe it also to truth to avow that I am separated from them by fundamental differences, even in spite of myself."—*Preface to Philosophical Fragments.*

But there is another idea to which we wish to call attention in this connection, and that is, the immutable basis that is here given, drawn out, and demonstrated in the most rigid formulas of science —to the instinctive faith of the human race. "Every fact of consciousness is psychology and ontology at once, and contains already the three great ideas which science afterward divides or brings together, but which it cannot go beyond, namely, man, nature, and God. But man, nature, and God, as revealed by consciousness, are not vain formulas, but facts and realities."*

"If every fact of consciousness contains all the human faculties, sensibility, free activity, and reason, the me, the not-me, and their absolute identity; and if every fact of consciousness be equal to itself, it follows that every man who has the consciousness, of himself possesses, and cannot but possess, all the ideas that are necessarily contained in consciousness. Thus every man, if he knows himself, knows all the rest, nature and God at the same time with himself. Every man believes in his own existence, every man, therefore, believes in the existence of the world and of God; every man thinks, therefore every man thinks God, if we may so express it; every human proposition, reflecting the consciousness, reflects the idea of unity and of being that is essential to consciousness; every human proposition, therefore, contains God; every man who speaks, speaks of God; and every word is an act of faith and a hymn. Atheism is a barren formula, a negation without a reality, an abstraction of the mind which cannot assert itself without self-destruction; for every assertion, even though negative, is a judgment which contains the idea of being, and, consequently, God in his fullness. Atheism is the illusion of a few sophists, who place their liberty in opposition to their reason, and are unable even to give an account to themselves of what they think; but the human race, which is never false to its consciousness and never places itself in contradiction to its laws, possesses the knowledge of God, believes in him, and never ceases to proclaim him."—*Psychology*, pp. 400, 401. Also *Spe. For. Lit.*, vol. i, pp. 147, 148.

Here we have placed upon a substantial basis the universal faith of man in a God; and also a reason for its universality, viz., it springs up as the spontaneous conviction of the mind; the simplest elements of reason extend to and comprehend it. In fact, this is the office, the proper vocation, in one sense, of all genuine philosophy. "A philosopher who makes war upon this is guilty of the same absurdity with the artist who should make war upon natural beauty.

* The four great propositions which the moderns, almost universally, concede to natural religion, as integral parts of it, are, "1st. That there is one God; 2d. That God is nothing of those things which we see; 3d. That God takes care of all things below, and governs all the world; 4th. That he alone is the great Creator of all things out of himself."—*Gregory's Letters on the Christian Religion, Let. III.*

Of this fact, Cousin is not only fully aware himself; but he takes unwearied pains to explain its origin, to justify its importance, and to urge its consequences upon the attention of the reader. Every primitive belief of humanity is invested in his eyes with a character of peculiar, I may say, indeed, of awful sanctity. In following the process of his investigations concerning the essential elements of reason, the absolute foundation of faith, the instinctive convictions of our race which are found, to a certain extent, in every mind, and manifested, in a certain form, in every epoch of the world, we are led to forget the impulses of merely intellectual curiosity, and to yield ourselves up—if I may so express it without temerity—to a solemn emotion of religious reverence. He gives us the true key to the meaning of those remarkable expressions, which in almost every language indicate the conviction that the voice of God is uttered in the heart of man, that the light of the soul is a light from Heaven."

We should be glad to pursue this part of our subject further, and show the important results of the principles here advanced; but we have time only to refer the reader to the "Introductory Notice to the Philosophical Miscellanies," from which the above extract was taken; and also to the two Prefaces to the Philosophical Fragments, in which the subject is drawn out at large. We would also refer the reader to the recapitulation in Lec. vi, *Cours de l'Histoire de la Philosophie*, Linberg's Translation, pp. 171–180, where theoretical atheism is demonstrated to be contrary to nature, and consequently inadmissible. Where the author declares that "all thought implies a spontaneous faith in God, and natural atheism has no existence;" has the scholar denied the existence of God? "Hear the man; ask him, take him at unawares, and you will see that all his words imply the idea of God; and that faith in God is, without his knowledge, at the bottom of his heart."

Pantheism of Cousin.

It may be thought singular, that after all we have said hitherto, touching upon this subject, we should still devote a distinct portion of this article to a consideration of the charge of pantheism which is preferred against Cousin; rather, I should say, against his philosophy; for it is the *philosophy*, and not the *man*, with which we have to do. But let it be recollected with what pertinacity the charge has been made, and how often it has been reiterated; and that, too, as we fully believe, after a most attentive perusal of his works, without any just or adequate cause. We would preface to our remarks on this subject, that we, by no means, indorse every

crudity broached by Cousin; and also repeat what we before intimated with reference to the mysticism in which the dogmas of the Catholic Church have enveloped the truths of religion. The fact should also be borne in mind, that Cousin discusses *philosophy* and not *theology;* and whenever opinions have been expressed on religious subjects, they were expressed only because of their connection, as antecedents or as consequents, with his philosophy; nor are they ever made with the cautious and guarded style of the theologian; but thrown out with that frankness which ever characterizes a mind so deeply imbued with the love of truth that it can act and speak without respect to the petty squabbles of sect and party. Nor do we expect to find him propounding religious dogmas, or proclaiming God as he is exhibited in revelation; but as he is revealed in the consciousness, *the thought of man.* The only question, then, that remains for us to discuss, is, whether the God revealed in the consciousness of man, according to Cousin, corresponds with the God made known in the Holy Scriptures; or whether we may say of him as Cicero has, somewhere, said of Epicurus:—*Verbis reliquit Deos, resustulit.*

Let us come to the point. If Cousin advocates pantheism, that is, either the God-universe or the Universe-God—the former of which is ideal, the latter sensual pantheism—then, of course, the point is settled, and we have only to give his own views, in his own language, for the conviction of all. But, if his atheism is not expressed or avowed in his works; and yet we find that this is the legitimate result of his system, then while we convict the *philosophy,* we may acquit the *man;* the charitable inference would be that he did not see the consequences of his system. It is on this ground that while we reverence Locke, as a man, a philosopher, and a Christian, we cannot but discard the material tendencies of his system. To accuse Locke of being a sensualist, or a materialist, because his system led to this, would be doing him injustice; for perhaps he never discovered the tendency of his doctrine of the origin of knowledge; and, again, to say Locke's system did not tend to sensualism and materialism, because Locke was a Christian, would be committing a logical blunder of at least equal absurdity. The utmost caution then is to be used in applying this principle of *inference,* lest we attach to the *system* or to the *author* what does not belong to either; and are guilty of an error no less absurd than that of the naturalist who enumerates the properties of the mistletoe in his analysis of the oak. But again, should there be some passages from which we imagine the inference may be legitimate; but others in which the principle inferred is not only

disavowed, but another widely distant from it is distinctly and explicitly set forth, then certainly, on every principle of common courtesy and philosophical honesty, we should suspect the legitimacy of our inference, rather than question the integrity of our philosopher.

These principles lie at the foundation of all just and proper criticism, and we hesitate not to apply them to the subject before us. Is it pretended that Cousin has, himself, identified his philosophy with the "pantheism of Germany?" or with "the atheism of Spinoza?" No such charge is preferred; but Cousin is condemned, and his philosophy ostracised by *inference*. He has neither avowed nor promulgated pantheism or atheism; yet certain drivelers in philosophy, who are accustomed to raise the hue and cry of transcendentalism and pantheism, and whose pertinacity rises with their ignorance, are wonderfully suspicious of him; nay, they already denounce him. They forget that it will be time enough to denounce a man traitor when he is *convicted*, and not when he is *suspected* of treason. The usual course pursued by such critics is to select those fragmentary passages from his works, in which he has endeavored to imbody and express his conceptions of God; and after exhibiting them in a form well calculated to mislead, especially when unexplained by their connections, or by the expressed opinions of Cousin, or even by the fundamental principle of his philosophy, as if they were doing a work of peculiar sanctity, they cry out lustily, *Pantheism, pantheism*. We think, if we may judge from the general tenor of such criticisms, that this cry is often raised by persons who have no very distinct conception of what the term means, or what pantheism is; and in what sense it is to be applied to him. Certain it is that the grounds on which the charge is made are as insufficient as the nature of the thing charged is vaguely understood, being mostly (as we have already intimated) the glowing and metaphysical expressions, into which almost every writer, who seeks to express his conceptions of God, naturally falls. Such expressions frequently occur in the sacred writings. They frequently occur in the eloquent sermons of our most orthodox Christian divines; indeed, almost every elevated and fervid prayer abounds with them. We are naturally led to the use of such expressions for the want of suitable terms in which to imbody and express our conceptions of God, just as the philosopher who discourses of our mental faculties finds the use of material terms indispensable. And if not interpreted by the known opinions, and express and formal statements, and by the general *system* of the writer,—any body and every body may be

convicted of pantheism upon, for aught we can see, equally good grounds as Cousin. But still it has become a common-place charge against him, so that almost every school-boy who has learned to lisp the word philosophy, feels himself authorized to reiterate it. Dugald Stewart's remarks, in his digression upon Spinoza, in his Dissertation upon the Progress of Metaphysical, Ethical, and Political Philosophy, are not inapplicable to this subject. After attributing to Spinoza "the revival of the old theory which represented *God as the soul of the world*," he says,—

"I am particularly anxious to direct the attention of my readers to this part of his system, as I conceive it to be at present very generally misrepresented, or, at least, very generally misunderstood; a thing not to be wondered at, considering the total neglect into which his works have long fallen. It is only in this way that I can account for the frequent use which has most unfairly been made of the term *Spinozism* to stigmatize and discredit some doctrines, *or rather some modes of speaking which have been sanctioned, not only by the wisest of the ancients, but by the highest names in English philosophy and literature;* and which, whether right or wrong, will be found, on a careful examination and comparison, not to have the most distant affinity with the absurd creed with which they have been confounded. I am afraid that Pope, in the following lines of the Dunciad, suffered himself so far to be misled by the malignity of Warburton, as to aim a secret stab at Newton and Clarke, by associating their figurative, and not altogether unexceptionable language, concerning *space* (when they called it the *sensorium* of Deity) with the system of Spinoza, as I have just explained it:—

> 'Thrust some mechanic cause into His place,
> Or bind in matter, or *diffuse in space*.'

How little was it suspected by the poet, when this sarcasm escaped him, that the charge of Spinozism and pantheism was afterward to be brought against himself, for the sublimest passage to be found in his writings!

> 'All are but parts of one stupendous whole,
> Whose body nature is, and God the soul.
> * * * * * * *
> Lives through all life, *extends through all extent*,
> *Spreads undivided*, operates unspent.'

Boyle was, I think, the writer who first led the way to this misapplication of the term Spinozism; and his object in doing so was plainly to destroy the effect of the most refined and philosophical conceptions of the Deity which were ever formed by the unassisted power of human reason.

> 'Jupiter est quod cumque vides, quocumque moveris.'
>
> '——————————— Behold around,
> How all thou seest does with the God abound,
> Jove is alike to all, and always to be found.'—*Rowe's Lucan.*

"Who but Boyle could have thought of extracting any thing like Spinozism from such verses as these!

"On a subject so infinitely disproportioned to our faculties, it is vain to expect that language will bear a logical and captious examination. Even the sacred writers themselves are forced to adapt their phraseology to the comprehension of those to whom it is addressed, and frequently borrow the figurative diction of poetry to convey ideas which must be interpreted, not according to the letter, but the spirit of the passage. It is thus that thunder is called the voice of God; the wind, his breath; and the tempest, the blast of his nostrils. Not attending to this circumstance, or rather not choosing to direct to it the attention of his readers, Spinoza has laid hold of the well-known expression of St. Paul, that 'in God we live, and move, and have our being,' as a proof that the ideas of the apostle, concerning the divine nature, were pretty much the same as his own; a consideration, which, if duly weighed, might have protected some of the passages above quoted from the uncharitable criticisms to which they have frequently been exposed."—*Stewart's Works*, vol. vi, pp. 278, 279.

That Spinozism is predicated of Cousin's philosophy, on the grounds above specified, will appear evident from a slight examination of the detached passages that are usually cited to sustain the charge. The insufficiency of such grounds, we think, has been fully exhibited. We will not say that many of these passages are not in themselves objectionable; but it is a forced construction that makes them approbate either Spinozism or pantheism. Some of them, indeed, contain bold and striking conceptions of the divine nature, elevated as they are rational, and Scriptural as they are philosophical.

In his further defense, we will let Cousin speak for himself, for his own language is not foreign or inapplicable to the subject:—

"What can be the quarrel between the theological school and myself? Am I, then, an enemy to Christianity and the church? I have made many lectures, and far too many books; can a word be found in one of them inconsistent with the reverence due to sacred things? Let a single light or doubtful expression be pointed out, and I will retract it; I will disclaim it as unworthy of a philosopher."—*Spe. For. Lit.*, vol. i, p. 92.

Have we not here the utmost reverence expressed for Christianity? "But," continues Cousin, "perhaps, without my knowledge or wish, the philosophy which I teach tends to weaken the Christian faith. This would be more dangerous, and, at the same time, less criminal; for he is not always orthodox who wishes to be so." He challenges the exhibition of a single dogma of the Christian faith which his philosophy would peril; and says,—"Let it be declared, let it be proved, let the attempt be made to prove it; there will then, at least, be a serious and truly theological

discussion. I accept it in advance, I solicit it." But Cousin makes a formal reply to the charge of pantheism which had been repeatedly urged by the sensual school against him.

"This system, which pretends to restore spiritualism by establishing it on the basis of experience, is nothing, after all, in its last conclusions, but the celebrated system of Spinoza and the Eleatics, pantheism, which completely destroys the received notion of God and providence.*

"It is in reply to this accusation which has found so many echoes even beyond the sensual school, that I have written a special dissertation on the Eleatic school, in which I fully explain myself on the subject of pantheism, its philosophical and historical origin, the principle of its errors, and also on that element in it which may be called good, and even useful.

"Pantheism, properly speaking, is the ascribing the divinity to the All, the grand Whole, considered as God, the Universe-God of the greater part of my adversaries. It is in its essence a kind of genuine atheism, but with which may be combined, as has been done, a certain religious vein, by applying to the world, without the slightest authority, those ideas of the Good, and the Beautiful, of the Infinite and of Unity, which belong only to the Supreme Cause, and are not to be met with in the world, except in so far as, like every effect, it is the manifestation of all the powers contained in the cause."

"Would it be thought that it is the sensual school which brings against any one the charge of pantheism, which brings it against myself? To accuse me of pantheism, is to accuse me of confounding the First, Absolute, Infinite Cause with the Universe, that is to say, with the two relative and finite causes of the me and the not-me, of which the limits and the evident insufficiency are the foundation from which I rise to the knowledge of God. In truth, I did not suspect that I should ever be called upon to defend myself from a charge like this. But if I have not confounded God and the world; if my God is not the Universe-God of pantheism, neither is he, I confess, the abstraction of Absolute Unity, the lifeless God of the scholastic theology."—*Spe. For. Lit.*, vol. i, pp. 76, 77.

Again, so far from confounding God with the universe, or the universe with God, he says,† "God is in the universe, as the cause is in its effect; as we ourselves, feeble and bounded causes, are, in so far as we are causes, in the feeble and bounded effects which we produce." Here, then, we see in what sense God is in the world, or the world in God, according to Cousin, viz.:—as "the cause is in its effect," or as "the effect is in its cause." And again,

* Newton in his Scholium, at the end of the Principia, says,—"Deus sine dominio, providentiâ, et causis finalibus, nihil aliud est quam *Fatum* et *Natura*." Cousin repeatedly propounds the same doctrine; and not unfrequently approbates "the received notion of God and providence."

† Hist. Phil., pp. 142, et seq.

he explicitly declares,—"We must, therefore, regard in two different points of view, the manifestation of God in the world, and the subsistence of its divine essence itself; in order to see the true relation between the world and God." But perhaps some would like to know what this cause, of which Cousin speaks, is in his view. He says distinctly and emphatically, and we find nothing in his philosophy that would throw the least shadow of doubt over this faith,—"A spirit, an infinite spirit, as we judge."*

"Are we permitted to hope—since we are not now inquiring into either nature or humanity—that this theory may escape the accusation of pantheism? Pantheism is, at this day, the bug-bear of feeble imaginations; we shall, at some other time, see what pantheism is; in the mean time I hope I shall not be charged with confounding together the world and that eternal wisdom, which, prior to the world and to humanity, exists with that triple existence which is in its nature."—*Histoire de la Philosophie, Linberg's Translation*, p. 132.

Let it, then, be kept in mind that Cousin, in the *first place*, expressly and solemnly disclaims the imputation of pantheism, either in the *proper* or in the *improper* sense of the word; that is, he denies that he makes God to be the Great Collective All, in the proper sense of the word pantheism; or the All to be God, in the improper sense of the word. He neither confounds God with the universe, on the one hand, nor the universe with God, on the other; or, in other terms, he neither denies the *personality* and *distinct substantial* existence of God, making him nothing but το παν; the collective whole of things being the only substantial existence; (which is pantheism, properly speaking;) nor, on the other hand, does he deny the distinct substantial existence of the universe, of το παν, and make God the *only* substantial existence, (which is pantheism in the improper sense of the word,) and in which sense it is attributed to Cousin by writers in this country. But he expressly denies pantheism in either of these forms.

In the *second* place, it cannot be fairly deduced from any principle of his system; and it is contradictory to his fundamental principles, and to their most direct consequences. The whole tenor of his writings shows, that so far from doubting, he most strenuously maintains the *distinct substantial existence* of nature and of humanity; the personality, free-will, and moral responsibility of man; the absolute, essential, and immutable distinction of right and wrong;† and the unceasing obligation of the moral law. And, again, we would remark, let it be well borne in mind that his

* Psychology, p. 214.

† Quoted by Upham, § 119, in the Abridgment of his Philosophy.

system claims for the will the most absolute freedom; that it wages unrelenting war against the scheme of necessity in all its forms; in this we discover no faint indications of the real ground of the stern opposition his philosophy has met with in certain quarters.

We do not think it necessary to pursue this vindication of Cousin's philosophy from the imputation of pantheism any further We have given what we believe to be the proper exposition of those phrases on which the charge has been predicated; and have also let him speak in his own defense. Whatever opinions we have advanced, we believe to be amply sustained by the numerous extracts we have made from his works. We will not arrogate for our opinions any degree of infallibility; but we will claim for them that they have been candidly formed, after a most careful perusal of his works. And whenever we shall discover that we have mistaken the scope of his philosophy; or that atheism is the "kernel," covered over with the deceptive garb of professed reverence for the Holy Scriptures and the divine teachings, we shall be as ready and as frank to condemn as we are now, with our present convictions, to approve.*

Positive knowledge of the infinite.

We here approach the main fundamental peculiarity of the philosophy of Cousin, viz.: *that we can obtain a positive knowledge of the infinite in spontaneous or intuitive reason.* The outlines of this doctrine are shadowed forth, neither dimly nor obscurely, in various parts of his "Fragments;" but the "*filling up*" is not quite so clear, or so satisfactory. This is indeed a peculiarity, a novel feature of philosophy; but we opine that it is an easier task to shadow forth its *generalities*, than to demonstrate it in its *details*. The doctrine may be fraught with no dangerous tendency; it may involve no pernicious consequence; but, to say the least of it, it is of doubtful validity, and liable to many and weighty objections. With regard to ourselves, whether it results from obtusity of intellect, or some other cause, we are free to confess that our conceptions of the infinite are rather dim and shadowy. In reasoning on this subject, Cousin falls far below his usual perspicuity; indeed, his argument is as illogical as his theory is unphilosophical. He discusses the idea of the infinite in its relation to time and space; and after asserting that it "unquestionably exists in the human understanding," he says,—

* We would also refer the reader to the article on Xenophanes, in the Nouveaux Fragmens, p. 63, et seq.: a part of which may be found translated in a note.—*Spe. For. Lit.*, vol. i, p. 207, et seq.

"In respect to the origin of the idea of the infinite, recollect that if you had not had the idea of any body, nor of any succession, you would never have had the idea of space nor of time; but that, at the same time, you cannot have the idea of a body or of a succession, without having (necessarily awakened along with it) the idea of space or of time. Now body and succession are the finite; space and time are the infinite. Without the finite, there is for you no infinite; but, at the same time, immediately that you have the idea of the finite, you cannot help having the idea of the infinite."—*Psychology*, p. 107.

The theory seems to be, that, while body and succession fall under sensation and consciousness, space and time, that is, illimitable or infinite space and time, is revealed with equal distinctness and certainty by the reason. To our mind it is not difficult to conceive that we may form distinct notions of space and time without the attributes of illimitableness or infinity. Body involves the idea of space, we admit; and succession, whether in nature or in our own mental operations, involves the idea of time or duration; but that this space and this time are infinite is altogether a different question. And further, to reason because we have positive knowledge of the finite through sensation and consciousness, therefore we necessarily have through reason positive knowledge of the infinite, is spurring his Pegasus over a logical chasm too frightful for us to attempt. Take the infant that has never seen the "outside of the nursery," let its plaything be placed at a perplexing distance, or let it begin to notice its attendants moving round the confines of "the infant's world;" and will it not have some pretty distinct notions of body and of space? But how largely that idea shares in the attribute of infinity; or how distinctly and positively its reason, starting from these premises, grasps the idea of infinity; or rather, the positive knowledge of infinite space as its correlative, I leave the reader to judge. Consult whatever department of human science you please, and you will not fail to discover that all our *positive* knowledge in that science is limited to a few consecutive links that have been brought within the cognizance of the intellectual faculties. Go beyond this limited range, and all our ideas are vague and shadowy. We may have an idea that unexplored fields lie beyond this range, but they are as indistinct in our conceptions as their limits are conjectural. Locke affirms, b. ii, ch. 17, § 13, "We have no positive idea [knowledge] of infinity;" § 16, "We have no positive idea [knowledge] of infinite duration;" § 18, "We have no positive idea [knowledge] of infinite space." Various reasons might be urged to show that our *positive knowledge* is limited to the finite; but my limits will not admit of my pursuing the subject. The idea of the infinite is undoubtedly in the human mind; but if any one will

consult his consciousness, we think he will not fail to discover that his knowledge of space and time, and that of infinite space and infinite time, are widely different. Of the objective reality of the things answering to the two former, he has positive knowledge, but with reference to that of the two latter, he *believes*, (rather than *knows*,) because reason has given him the idea. He has the idea of space, for instance, and finds its corresponding reality in nature; he has the idea of infinite space, and *believes* (necessarily, if you will) rather than *knows* its corresponding reality.

Cousin reasons with more force, and with more seeming consistency of logic, when he comes to speak of the infinite in its relation to the Deity, as coming within the sphere of our positive knowledge; but still his reasoning is far from being conclusive or satisfactory to one who will take the trouble to penetrate within its specious exterior.

"There are men, reasonable beings, whose vocation it is to comprehend, and who believe in the existence of God, but who will believe in it only under the express condition that this existence is incomprehensible. What does this mean? Do they assert that this existence is absolutely incomprehensible? But that which is absolutely incomprehensible can have no relations which connect it with our intelligence, nor can it be in any wise admitted by us. A God who is absolutely incomprehensible by us, is a God, who, in regard to us, does not exist. In truth, what would a God be to us who had not seen fit to give to us some portion of himself, and so much of intelligence as might enable his wretched creature to elevate himself even unto him, to comprehend him, to believe in him? Gentlemen, what is it—to believe? It is, in a certain degree, to comprehend. Faith, whatever be its form, whatever be its object, whether vulgar or sublime—faith cannot but be the assent of reason to that which reason comprehends as true. This is the foundation of all faith. Take away the possibility of knowing, and there remains nothing to believe; for the very root of faith is removed. Will it be said that God is not altogether incomprehensible? That he is somewhat comprehensible? Be it so; but let the measure of this be determined; and then I will maintain, that it is precisely the measure of the comprehensibility of God, which will be the measure of human faith."—*Histoire de la Philosophie, Linberg's Translation*, pp. 132, 133.

And again he says,—

"Truth conducts then to substance in itself, to God, who, completely invisible in his essence, manifests or reveals himself to us by truth—the holy relation which unites man with God." "Since God is revealed only by truth, truth is God; it is all which it is possible for us to know concerning him."—*Spe. For. Lit.*, vol. i, p. 168.

I admit that to believe in God, to have faith in him, is to comprehend so much of the fact of his existence as is necessary to

produce this faith; but this is widely different from having positive knowledge of the infinite as constituting an element of the divine existence. Reason may comprehend the fact that God exists, without an absolute comprehension of the infinite as it exists in him.* That which comprehends must exceed, or at least equal that which is comprehended; hence to say that the finite comprehends the infinite is absurd.† The infinite only can comprehend, that is, have positive knowledge of the infinite. Cousin evidently confounds comprehending the fact that the thing exists, with comprehending the thing itself. Now, we apprehend that to comprehend the fact of God's existence is very different from comprehending God. We admit his definition, that "faith is the assent of reason to that which reason comprehends as true." But we think it would not be difficult to show that we comprehend many things "*as true*," when the things themselves are in a measure inexplicable. Adopt this principle, "that the measure of the comprehensibility of God will be the measure of human faith," in other matters, and it will lead to the most unbounded and incurable skepticism. Indeed, we might readily show that in almost every branch of science there are numerous incontrovertible propositions —propositions which command the full measure of human faith, but are, nevertheless, incomprehensible. In natural philosophy, for instance, it has been demonstrated that electric and magnetic attractions are inversely as the squares of the distances; that at certain determinate temperatures, many solids become liquids, and liquids are transformed into æriform fluids, &c. Every man of competent understanding must yield his assent to these propositions, *must believe in them*, and yet none can pretend to any positive knowledge of the real nature of the thing to which they relate.

But, that we may depart as far as possible from theology, and also from speculative philosophy, let us instance the science of mathematics. Will it be said, as it has often been, "that here

* Berkeley has somewhere remarked,—"My own mind and my own ideas I have immediate knowledge of; and by the help of these, do immediately apprehend the *possibility* of the existence of other spirits and ideas. Further, from my being, and from the dependency I feel in myself and my ideas, I do, by an act of reason, *necessarily* infer the existence of a God, and of all created things in the mind of God." Reid avails himself of the same distinction, and uses Berkeley's admission "that though we cannot have an idea of God, yet we can have a *notion* of his existence," to refute the so called demonstration of the latter, of the impossibility of the existence of material substances.

† Tertullian says,—"It is an established axiom, that which may be comprehended is less than the hands that grasp it; that which may be valued is less than the senses which rate it."—*Apol.* 17.

every thing is not only demonstrable, but also perfectly intelligible?" No proposition can be more absurd. Will any one pretend to comprehend how a curve can continually approach a fixed right-line without the slightest possibility of ever meeting it? Still the fact is easily demonstrated by the geometrician. We might instance hyperbolas, which continually approach their assymptotes, but can never reach them, unless an assignable finite space can become equal to nothing. Again, conchoids continually approach their directrices; yet they can never meet them, unless a certain point can be both beyond and in contact with a given line at the same moment.

If our faith must necessarily be limited or incomplete where we do not perfectly comprehend, how happens it that we can compare qualities satisfactorily, in some respects, while we know nothing of them in others? Thus we can demonstrate that "any two sides of a (plane) triangle are longer than the third side"*—by showing that angles of whose absolute magnitude we know nothing, are one greater than the other; and then inferring the truth of the proposition, from the previously demonstrated proposition, that the greater angle in a triangle is subtended by the greater side.† Again, we cannot possibly know all the terms of the infinite series:

$$\frac{1}{a^2} - \frac{2x}{a^3} + \frac{3x^2}{a^4} - \frac{4x^3}{a^5} + \frac{5x^4}{a^6} - \frac{6x^5}{a^7} + \text{&c., } ad\ infin.$$

because such knowledge implies a contradiction. Neither can we know all the terms of the infinite series:

$$\frac{1}{x^2} - \frac{2a}{x^3} + \frac{3a^2}{x^4} - \frac{4a^3}{x^5} + \frac{5a^4}{x^6} - \frac{6a^5}{x^7} + \text{&c., } ad\ infin.$$

Yet we can demonstrate that these series are equal. For the first series is produced by expanding the fraction $\frac{1}{(a+x)^2}$, and stands in the relation of equality to it. The second series is produced by expanding the fraction $\frac{1}{(x+a)^2}$, to which it is also equal. But these two fractions are equal; therefore the two infinite series are also equal. The demonstration is perfect, and commands our faith as invincibly as if we fully comprehended all the terms of each of the infinite series. For us to say then that we will believe only in that which we can absolutely comprehend, is absurd; and the principle, if rigidly adhered to in philosophical speculations, would effectually exclude us from some of the most valuable truths of science. Indeed, the adoption of such a principle, to guide and limit our investigations, would be to place before us an effectual bar against the advancement of mind; and one that could be productive only

* Young's Elements of Geometry, b. i, prop. 21. † Ib., b. i, prop. 19.

of evil. If, then, the principle will not bear the test when applied to those sciences which have been developed and cultivated by men; how can we expect for it validity and strength when applied to that divine science, *scientia scientiarum*, which embraces "the unsearchable God," and unfolds the relations we sustain to him?

Again,—"God reveals himself to us by truth;" "truth is God." But is it not preposterous to say that because the mind comprehends truth, a single element of truth, therefore it comprehends all truth? God is revealed to us by truth—then, let it appear that *all truth* is revealed to us, that we have positive knowledge of all truth, and we will admit that we comprehend God, and have positive knowledge of the infinite.* But till this is done, however wide-searching, or comprehensive the grasp of the mind, still would we say to it,—"Lo, these are parts of His ways, but how little a portion is heard of him? but the thunder of his power, who can understand?" Job xxvi, 14.

Consciousness and reflection.

On the subject of consciousness and reflection, we wish to offer a few thoughts, though our limits will not permit us to enter at large into the discussion of them. Consciousness has afforded matter for much subtil discussion among philosophers; nor do we expect to end the discussion. Locke, and, after him, his school, confound consciousness with reflection. The theory of this school seems to be that there is no immediate consciousness accompanying a mental act, independent of the act itself, that is, while the mind is thinking, the thoughts move on without the mind's having any distinct perception of any relation between the successive ideas and the thinking person. Opposed to this are two systems:—1. That which recognizes consciousness as a distinct faculty of the mind. As supporters of this theory may be ranked the Scotch philosophers, Reid and Stewart. Dr. Reid says, it "cannot be logically defined. The objects of it are our present pains, our pleasures, our hopes, our fears, our desires, our doubts, our thoughts, of every kind—in a word, all the passions, and all the actions and operations of our own minds, while they are present."† The specification of the objects and conditions of consciousness, given by Dugald Stewart, is precisely the same as the above.‡ 2. That which makes the mental state and the consciousness of it identical. Dr. Thomas Brown contends that we are not conscious of our

* See Chalmers' Nat. Theol., b. i, ch. 1; Collyer, vol. i, lec. 14; Locke's Essay, b. ii, ch. 17.

† Philosophy of the Human Mind. ‡ Stewart's Works, vol. ii, p. 35.

mental states apart from those states, but that they, whatever they are, constitute the consciousness of the moment. "Sensation is not the object of consciousness different from itself, but a particular sensation is the consciousness of the moment; as a particular hope, or fear, or grief, or resentment, or simple remembrance, may be the actual consciousness of the next moment."*

Against the theory which confounds reflection and consciousness there are serious and weighty objections. We can do no more than indicate them here. *It denies to man a present knowledge of what is going on within him.* According to it, when once he is "set a thinking," he runs on till stopped by accident, or till he runs down, like a clock; and then it is only that the mind doubles back (that is, reflects) and connects the thoughts with the *me;* then it is only that I find out that I have been thinking. Let us educe the consequences of this theory: first, it negates the possibility of any such thing as a voluntary action; for how can we determine to continue, to break off, or to change a train of thought, when we cannot even know that it is *me* that is thinking, till after the train of thought has passed through the mind and it doubles back upon its experience in reflection? In fact, according to this theory, thoughts must swell the intellectual canvass, just as the wind sets the expanded arms of the windmill in motion, and one of the machines is as conscious of it as the other; only, indeed, the mind is permitted to "double back" afterward and know that it has been in motion. But we shall, with the license given us by this theory, take away even this privilege, and educe, as a second legitimate consequence, *that we can have no positive knowledge of our mental states whatever.* Apply its principles to reflection. This is an act of the mind, as well as the other; and it consequently follows that while this is occupied about our former thoughts, the mind can have no direct knowledge of the fact that it is *me* who reflects. This reflection must be the subject of another reflection, and that of another, and so on indefinitely.

With regard to the third theory, that of Dr. Brown, I think we need only to appeal to individual consciousness for its refutation. No one, it is presumed, confounds thinking with being, the mind's acts with the mind itself, or considers them identical. If this were so, the mind would consist only in activity; let there be a cessation of this activity and the mind would cease to be; let this activity be renewed and the mind would again be in the field of existence; and so it would be vibrating between entity and non-entity for ever. But we intimated that an appeal might be made to the individual

* Brown's Philosophy, vol. i, p. 111.

consciousness; and we think no one can fail to discover that the thought which he thinks is essentially distinct from himself, the me, the personality, who thinks; he will discover further, that there exists a certain relation between the thought and the me, that it is the me that thinks; the me is not merged and lost in the thought, but it stands out distinctly and independently as the cause, active in the production of its effect. But does not this suppose the mind to be existing in two states at the same time, that is, being in a state of activity, and at the same time taking cognizance of that activity? Dr. Brown, with that dogmatism peculiar to himself, has declared,—"To suppose the mind to exist in two different states, in the same moment, is a manifest absurdity." Yet we see no reason why the mind may not exercise more than one of its simple powers at the same time. In one sense, perception is a mental state; emotion is another mental state; and thinking is a mental state distinct from either. Now will it be said that the speaker cannot perceive his audience, and at the same time have his soul swayed with deep emotion and his intellect wrought up to the highest pitch of activity? Nay, we think it will not be contended that the mind may not put into activity at one and the same time, more than one of its faculties; for instance, perception, memory, imagination, relative suggestion. If, then, consciousness is one of the simple faculties of the mind, why may it not be exercised in conjunction with the other mental states as well as they in conjunction with each other?

We have not time to pursue this investigation further, and will only remark that Cousin's criticism upon Locke on the subject, seems to us, for the most part, valid; though we confess we should have been better pleased with a fuller and more critical development of the nature of consciousness. The translator of the Psychology has, in part, supplied the defect by an extended note on the subject.

There are several other points in the philosophy of Cousin which we intended to discuss, but must omit them on account of the length of this article. Into an examination of his analysis of the will, especially, should we have been pleased to enter; but omit it with less regret, as it is not improbable that some future speculations may recall us to the subject in another connection.

Here we close our remarks. The convictions of our own mind on a subject of such profound interest and importance, to both philosophy and religion, have not been presented without a degree of hesitation and diffidence; nor have they been penned without a deep sense of the mass of prejudice arrayed against those views which we have been compelled, in the main, to take. Not that we

have any great respect for, or fear of the criticisms of those purblind theologians who have no power to comprehend the reciprocal relations of philosophy and religion; and who measure every philosophical system, not by the standard of absolute truth, but by the peculiar dogmas of religious faith which they may have chanced to imbibe. The works of Cousin, we have no doubt, will have a tendency to excite a spirit of philosophical inquiry in this country. The great tendency of his philosophy is to produce *thinkers*, rather than mere disciples; yet it will meet with kindred sympathies, still more extensively, from the philosophical spirits of our country. A rigid theology would undoubtedly require that its terms be adapted to its own technicalities; but it is only a bigoted theology that would then say,—

"Odi profanum vulgus, et arceo."

Amenia Seminary, N. Y.

ART. II.—"*The Hope of Israel;*" *or, The Restoration of Israel identified with the Resurrection of the Dead.*

THE restoration of the Jews, so abundantly foretold by the prophets, is the doctrine also of the apostles. The New Testament harmonizes with the Old Testament. Israel, the seed of the house of Jacob, are themselves in the Bible but a shadow of the heavenly family in Christ, as their tabernacle, their temple, their ritual, their Jerusalem, their Canaan, their Joshua and David, were shadows of the heavenly patterns. And as the shadow is lost in the manifestation of the substance, so does the Jew vanish in the manifestation of the sons of God, and the Jew's Zion vanishes in the manifestation of the New Jerusalem, and his Canaan in the world to come, and his restoration vanishes in the resurrection from the dead. For all the sons of God will be restored in the likeness of their elder brother, Christ, the first fruits of the dead, at his appearing and his kingdom.

This is the true "hope of Israel:" a hope not seen in this world, a hope anchored within the veil, and to be realized when death is swallowed up in victory: at the same time we admit the inheritance of two and a half tribes on this side of Jordan. The word allows it: although we cannot explain how this part of the shadow corresponds with the substance.

The concord of the two Testaments is seen in that *the promise of the land,* (which is the promise of the LAW,) *and the restoration*

to the land, (which is the burden of PROPHECY,) and *the glad tidings of the kingdom*, (which is the GOSPEL of Messiah,) all meet and are fulfilled in "JESUS AND THE RESURRECTION." Their concord is further seen by observing how the most devout and learned rabbis hold by the law on the subject of the resurrection and restoration at Messiah's coming, and by observing the identity of the commonwealth of Christians and Jews in Israel, the oneness of their hopes, of their Deliverer, and of their promised land. Such are the views which we shall attempt to unfold in this brief article.

Both Moses and the prophets speak eloquently of Israel's return to their own land, to be cast out no more for ever; but Moses never, and the prophets rarely speak in plain terms of the resurrection of the dead. The New Testament discourses of the resurrection, and of the kingdom of God; but never says a word about the return of the Jews to Palestine. Moses and the prophets delight to speak of the land of promise, and of the glory of the son of David, and of the empire of the Jews; but of the world to come, and of the kingdom of heaven, they only stammer and faintly speak: while the gospel takes not the least notice of the Jewish empire in this world, but of the world to come it is full from beginning to end. Moses and the prophets did not teach one thing, and the gospel another. The law and the prophets veil the doctrine of the New Testament under the garb of Judaism. What the gospel declares, they only insinuate darkly. The Mosaic dispensation was a dispensation of types; the patterns were shown to Moses in the mount. The law was a shadow of good things to come; but the body is of Christ: the substance of the shadow is in the kingdom of heaven. The seed of the house of Jacob, the holy people, will return and come into possession of the substance in the resurrection of the dead, and in the kingdom of God.

Israel and his family names are the *types* of the chosen people of God in Christ, circumcised or uncircumcised, out of every age and nation; and Jesus is their exalted Prince and Saviour. Wherever this Prince and his people are spoken of, we may know them, although they are called in the Old Testament by the names of David, Israel, Judah, &c. We make no difficulty of understanding Christ in the prophets by the name of Joshua, or David, Zerubbabel, or the Branch; and we should also understand all his people by the name of Israel, Jacob, Ephraim, or Judah; else we mar the figure, and defeat the instruction given by the prophets. His peculiar people are neither called by their Christian name in the prophets, nor should they be mistaken by their appropriate family name, Israel: and when David is said to gather and to rule

over them in their own land *for ever*, we should consider not only that CHRIST is the David of prophecy, but that the celestial country is the seat of his throne, and the risen saints are his people gathered out of all nations, by the voice of the archangel and by the trump of God. This is the holy people whom our Joshua will lead into the heavenly Canaan, and over whom our David will reign for ever and ever.

The New Testament teaches of the coming and kingdom of Christ, in "the times of the restitution of all things which God hath spoken by the mouth of all his holy prophets, since the world began:" which is in remarkable coincidence with the doctrine of the learned and devout rabbis drawn out of the Old Testament. For the prophets with rapture, from the king on the throne to the shepherd in the fields, describe the *land*, and *people*, and *Prince* of the world to come, in names of this world; and to Christians it is plain that the Prince has burst the gates of death, and that his people follow him into the promised land by the way he went, through the grave; and to the Jewish rabbis it is plain that the country the holy people inherit is delivered from the curse of sin, and the plague of death, and is situated in the new heavens and earth wherein dwelleth righteousness.

MENASSEH BEN ISRAEL, in a treatise on the resurrection of the dead, teaches that it will occur in the days of Messiah, conjoined with Israel's deliverance and restoration to their own land in the world to come. He closes the fifth chapter of his third book in this sort: "What we have said here of the world to come, is not our invention, *but is the ancient and faithful tradition.* For, as I have before said, the rabbi Moses Gerundensis, *and all other men of learning*, by 'the last days,' (Isa. ii, 2,) understand the days of Messiah—and that *the resurrection of the dead will be joined with the gathering of the captives of Israel.*" This testimony to "the ancient and faithful tradition," maintained by all Jews "of learning," that the resurrection of the dead will be joined with Israel's deliverance in the days of Messiah, may be confirmed by quotations from the most renowned rabbis, to be found in the writings of the learned Mede, Dr. Gill, and others.

The rabbi Eleazer lived in the early days of the second temple, and taught with Jonathan, the Paraphrast, who lived also before the Christian era, that Israel's return in the days of Messiah will be accompanied with the resurrection of the dead. Also the Sadducees asked Gamaliel, Paul's teacher, whence he could prove by the law, that God would raise the dead. This demand would probably puzzle the learned of a more enlightened age, who would

be forced to give it up, we fear, and to yield to the creed of the unbelieving Sadducees; for the Sadducees allowed Gamaliel no rest until he quoted Deut. xi, 21, "Which land the Lord sware unto your fathers, to give THEM:" and, from their not having received the land, Gamaliel argued that they must be raised from the dead, or in respect to *them* the promise would fail, which is impossible. Many are the proofs of the sort quoted by Gamaliel, and besides these we know not any stronger in the five books of Moses, to convince us of the resurrection of the dead. And so far as these texts go to prove that doctrine, they identify it with "the hope of Israel," even their restoration to the promised land. Rabbi Kimchi on Isa. xxvi, 19, "Thy dead men shall live," says, "The holy blessed God will raise the dead at the time of Israel's deliverance." Another says, "When the King Messiah comes, the holy blessed God will raise up them that sleep, as it is written: He will swallow up death in victory."

The promises and threatenings of the Old Testament are usually addressed in the second person, *to you*, and not in the third person, *to them*, who may come after: and to be literally fulfilled, as all promises should be, those to whom they were personally spoken, *you*, of all generations, must live again. Of these promises, the restoration of Israel to their own land is among the most frequent and important, and if Gamaliel's and Ben Israel's interpretation be correct, it settles the question of their return, as an event of the world to come. This interpretation is spiritual, is personal, and it is of universal application, and of eternal moment to the faithful, whether Jews, Medes, Parthians, Greeks, Romans, or Americans; it conforms exactly to the doctrine of the New Testament; it repels the error of the Sadducees; and it preserves, in the highest degree, the testimony of Jesus in the spirit of the ancient prophecies. We cannot see any reasonable objection to it in the mind of a Gentile; a Jew born may object, that it allows him no pre-eminence; though if his faith and truth do not obtain him pre-eminence, it may be doubted whether his being a son of Abraham will.

A learned rabbi quoted by Gill on Matt. xxii, 31, says, "The holy blessed God promised to our fathers Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, that he would give *them* the land of Israel. Hence we learn that they will be raised, and that hereafter God will give *them* the land of Israel." But Paul is most explicit when he identifies "*the hope of the promise made of God unto the fathers*" with the hope of the resurrection from the dead, of which he was called in question by the Jews; and again with "the hope of

Israel," for which he was bound with a chain. Paul's interpretation did not satisfy his enemies, who pursued him as a ringleader of the Nazarenes; but it accords with Gamaliel's; it satisfied the Pharisees, who rose up in the council, and strove for him; and it should satisfy Christians.*

The promise of *the land* is the promise of the law: *the restoration* to the land is the burden of the prophets: and the *glad tidings* of the kingdom at hand is the gospel of Jesus Christ our Lord. In him all the promises, the prophecies, and glad tidings meet; in him they unite; in him they will be fulfilled together. He is the King of glory, who will recover his people from the land of their enemies, sin and death, and will lead them into the promised land of eternal life, and will give them rest; and he will rule over them with equity for ever. This is the law and the prophets; this is the gospel of Christ and of the kingdom of heaven; this is "the hope of Israel," a people to be manifested in the resurrection of the dead.

"All are not Israel who are of Israel;" and many are Israel who have not the blood of Jacob in their veins. We call on Israel's God as our God; we invoke his blessing, and expect the answer for the Christian *church*, the modern Israel, and heirs of the *promises*, as well as the *name*, of Israel. God is not the God of the Jews only; Christ is not the King of the Jews only; but of all the faithful: and what is a restoration to Palestine in the flesh to the faithful among the Gentiles? Let the natural seed have this Jerusalem: to the spiritual seed belongs the inheritance of the New Jerusalem, which has foundations, and Jesus her Lord. This is the spirit of prophecy. Let the natural seed take their

* "It was the opinion of the Jews that there should be a resurrection in the days of Messiah. The Chaldee paraphrast on Isa. xlix, 8, reads, 'I give thee for a covenant to the people, to raise the righteous that lie in the dust.' Kimchi on Isa. xxvi, 19, says, 'The holy blessed God will raise the dead at the time of deliverance.' And on Jer. xxiii, 20, 'In that he saith YE shall consider it and not *they* shall consider it, it intimateth the resurrection of the dead.' Aben Ezra on Dan. xii, 2, says, 'The righteous that died in the captivity shall revive when the Redeemer cometh'—and this was so far the opinion of the nation that they understood the term '*the world to come*,' of the days of Messiah."—*Lightfoot*, vol. v, p. 255: quoted by Vint, p. 298.

Vint also quotes as follows:—"They shall be gathered from their captivity; they shall sit under the shadow of their Messiah; and the dead shall live."—*Targum on Hos. xiv*, 8.

"The Jews call the world to come, the times of Messiah."—*Gill*, Heb. iv, 9.

From such testimony to the prevalent opinions of the Jews as is borne by Menasseh Ben Israel, Lightfoot, Mede, and Gill, the learned reader can make no appeal; for higher authorities cannot easily be found.

inheritance in this world, even the kingdom of this world: to the spiritual seed belongs the kingdom of heaven. Give Palestine to the natural Israel, and they will possess what Abraham did not: he only pitched his tent there; he sojourned in Palestine with a promise. So his seed, Christ, sojourned with the gospel; and his spiritual seed live as pilgrims, seeking a city, and dying in the faith of a better country, and in the hope of a better resurrection; Israel's hope according to the law and to the gospel. Give Israel *all the world*, and they could have it but a few days; they should despise it in the faith of the glory which is to be revealed in the celestial world to come. This is the spirit of the promises and of the prophecies; this is the gospel of Jesus Christ, and of his kingdom; this is "the hope of Israel."

Bring into one field of view the entire prophecies relating to "the hope of Israel," and the doctrine will be found upright in the resurrection, supported in all its connections by life from the dead; and unshaken by carnal views of divine favor to the natural seed of Abraham. To this the literalist objects: "The resurrection of the body is repeatedly used by the prophets to typify the political revival of Judah and Israel."—*Faber.*

We are also literalists, and as such we maintain the literal word of prophecy, *respecting the resurrection of the dead;* and as literalists, we protest against subverting the doctrine of the resurrection, and robbing it of its *heavenly* glory, to typify a scene of *political* glory in this transitory world: we protest against burying the holy doctrine of the resurrection, and of the New Jerusalem, under the carnal rubbish and dust of Jerusalem secular and political: for, if the Scripture passages concerning the resurrection, used by the literalists to typify the national return, and the political dominion of the carnal Jews, be turned from their literal interpretation, the Old Testament light of immortality is extinguished, its rays are quenched in the darkness and dreams of Judaism; its vital power is submerged in the dead sea of Sadducean unbelief: for the Old Testament does not speak of the resurrection, except it be in those passages which the learned, devout, and honored defenders of the literal interpretation usually quote for the political use and benefit of the natural seed of Abraham. They inadvertently rob the Pharisee of the staff of "the hope of Israel;" and they make a covenant with the Sadducees to overthrow the faith of the ancient Scripture doctrine of the resurrection of the dead. They are no longer *literalists*, when they turn plain descriptions of the resurrection into political types and figures of worldly glory; and when they interpret the prophecies which promise life from the dead,

chiefly for the revival of the national glory, secular power, and wide dominion of the natural Israel. They are not literalists, when they turn away from the literal interpretation put by the Holy Spirit in the New Testament on the letter of the Old Testament: "They which are of *faith*, the same are the *children* of Abraham." "If ye be Christ's, then are ye *Abraham's seed*, and heirs according to the promise:" that is, heirs *of the promised land*, given to Abraham and his seed. Gal. iii, 7.

Inexplicable Prophecies of Messiah and the Jews.

We neither know how to alter nor to amend the doctrine already taught; but we can add to it what we have no rational powers consistently to join; therefore, we attempt the junction, by the aid of a well-known fact for a sodering illustration.

The prophets foretold that Messiah would be a man of sorrows, and also the Saviour of Israel; that he would be despised and rejected of men, maltreated, and scourged; and also that he would be the King of glory; that he would be sold for money, and cut off, not for his own sins; and also that he would reign over his people on the throne of his father David for ever. Now, had we lived in the days of the Maccabees, and sought to know the whole truth relative to Messiah, we could never have reconciled these matters in any conception we might have formed. One prophecy would have so clashed with another, that we could not have imagined their union in one person. Had we described Messiah as glorious and renowned; Nay, one might say, he will be despised and rejected of men. Had we supposed he might be put to death as a malefactor; Nay, one might say, he will live and reign for ever; and so far from being put to death, he will slay all his enemies. Had we supposed his price would be counted out in silver, at the rate of a common slave, how could we reconcile it with his coming of the royal line of David, and swaying the sceptre of universal empire? We do not learn that the scribes, or rabbis, disputed on these points; though they could not tell how he should be David's Lord, and David's son. They steadfastly looked for him, and their eyes were dazzled with the promises of his glory, so they failed to recognize him in his humility, even when they saw the miracles which he wrought. The delightful theme of the prophets is the majesty of his wide dominion, the eternity of his throne, the righteousness of his sceptre, the perfection of his people, the splendor of his crown; and, overwhelmed by this display of glory, the believers of the prophets gave no heed to the mysterious notices of his sufferings, humiliation, and cruel death. We

should have fallen into the same error; we should not have known him; or walking with him, as his disciples did, we should have fled, when the high priest took him; and though our hearts bled, we should have given him up when the Romans nailed him to the tree between two thieves. We should have returned home in sadness, not only for the base death of the innocent Jesus, but also for the grievous disappointment of our trusted hope, that it had been he who should have redeemed Israel. Yet these things were revealed; and now they are fulfilled, we see them so distinctly that we wonder at the Jews' blindness, and hardly suspect that we might have fallen into the same dazzling error, or do fall into one still more glaring.

This is the fact: the illustration follows.

The restoration of the captive daughter of Zion, and the return of Israel to the land of promise, are no less magnificent themes of heavenly prophecy than the glories of the son of David, who will gather them from their dispersions, and lead them from Jerusalem to victory, and to empire over the conquered world. Indeed, the *two* themes are everywhere united in close relations, and, doubtless, they belong to the same time, as they do to the same Deliverer; and they are mainly one and the same great event; to wit: "The hope of Israel," the coming of Christ, the resurrection of the dead, the gathering of the chosen people out of all countries to meet the Lord in the air; while this world and its Jerusalem pass away, and the New Jerusalem comes down with new heavens to the new earth. This seems to be the great and glorious truth veiled, and yet revealed, in the promise of the Jews' return to Jerusalem; the great truth is "Jesus and the resurrection," and through Jesus the resurrection of the just, who are found worthy to obtain that world. From the name and character of the Prince, we must infer the name and character of the people; and from the nature of his coming, we must infer the nature of their return. He is not carnal, nor are the weapons of his warfare carnal, nor are his people carnal. But all this does not absolutely forbid a return of the Jews in the flesh. Many texts seem to require us to believe that they shall be gathered in Palestine of this world. The passage, Deut. xxx, 1–8, is of this number; and others are found hard to be understood, without a restoration of the *natural* Israel. These may, with improved and keener vision, all be consistently explained of the resurrection; or they *may* accurately describe a minor part in the grand drama of time, yet to be performed, introductory to the overwhelming scene of the resurrection and the judgment day. It is impossible for us always to discriminate between the restoration of the natural and of the spiritual Israel,

if they be two distinct and future events. We cannot understand how the race of the first Adam is to be continued in the world, after the present dispensation ends: how the race of the first Adam can be transferred in the blood to the new earth, and yet "flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God," 1 Cor. xv, 50. When the Lord comes, the graves are opened, he judges the quick and the dead, he gives to both small and great their reward, he changes the faithful, both living and dead, into the likeness of his own glorious body, he takes away the sins of his people, he cuts off all the ungodly race, and makes all things new, holy, and immortal; and in this state, it is impossible to conceive how any of the race of old Adam can be left, though they may be natural children of Abraham. But the words and ways of God are above our thoughts: men before the deluge could not tell how the flood should come; men before the birth of Christ could not tell how Messiah should come; and now the understanding is probably darkened relative to the manner of his second coming. Many illustrious particulars we know, but no man can sketch them in one fair group, giving its proper time and place, and due proportion to each one, sorting out every one which does not belong to the scene, and neglecting none that will appear conspicuous in that day. Especially are the prophecies relative to the natural Jews a tissue difficult to weave into the immortal picture, if they belong in it. A learned rabbi thanks Christians for allowing his nation all the evils of their dispersion literally, while denying them the benefit of a literal restoration. He would like to have the literal benefit, as well as the literal curse; which seems reasonable. The Jews are universally expecting such a restoration, and stand ready to march at Messiah's command.

But this political restoration is involved in impenetrable obscurity. They are not to constitute the fifth monarchy, though they think they are. That monarchy belongs to the saints of the Most High, and is the next great event to come in the order of prophecy, and in the succession of time, after the fourth, which is now upon the stage, has passed away. The hope of that monarchy is eminently the hope of the natural Israel. They believe Messiah will give it them; and they did believe John and the Lord Jesus meant that kingdom when they preached, "*The kingdom of heaven* is at hand." Even so "the promise made of God unto the fathers, unto which promise our twelve tribes, instantly serving God day and night, hope to come," is eminently the hope of Christian Israel, or "the saints of the Most High;" that Messiah will return and come with myriads of saints triumphant over death and the

grave, to reign on the earth. Paul cherished this hope: "Believing all things which are written in the law and the prophets." Paul had "hope which they (the Jews) themselves also allow, that there shall be a resurrection of the dead, both of the just and of the unjust," Acts xxiv, 14. For preaching this hope, *through Christ*, Paul felt himself accused by the chief priests at Jerusalem; and at Rome he declared to his countrymen, "For THE HOPE OF ISRAEL I am bound with this chain." These things persuade us, that Paul understood "the hope of Israel" to be "the kingdom of heaven" in the resurrection of the dead, which he labored through life with his might to attain: "If by any means," said he, "I might attain unto the resurrection of the dead," Phil. iii, 11:—and that he understood the ingrafting of Israel again to be nothing "but life from the dead."*

To this result all our demonstrations come with the same fidelity that the needle points to the pole, whatever way we turn the compass, or the figure. In the succession of prophetic empires the God of heaven has revealed the course of empire to the end of time. The fourth monarchy is now generally acknowledged to be

* *Tertullian* on the Resurrection says, (p. 408, A., Paris ed., folio, A. D. 1634,) "The apostles taught of the resurrection nothing new, except they preached it in the day of Christ's glory. The doctrine itself is familiar to the Old Testament. So Paul before the Sanhedrim said, I am a Pharisee, the son of a Pharisee; and of the hope, and of the resurrection of the dead, I am called in question before you. So, likewise, before Agrippa, he said, *he advanced nothing* BEYOND *what the prophets have taught:* therefore, he professed the doctrine of the resurrection, also, just as the prophets proclaim it. By Moses the Lord declared that he will require at the hand of every man and of beast, the blood of the slain; that is, he will restore the slain; he will recover them from the hand of their murderers. Nor did the Athenians understand Paul otherwise when they mocked; for they would not have mocked him only at hearing of the restoration of the *soul.* That was the prevalent doctrine of their philosophy."

St. Chrysostom says on Heb. xi, of the promises to the fathers, "To thee will I give this land (earth) and to thy seed:" "It is said not to thee *in thy seed;* but to thee *and thy seed;* and neither he, (Abraham,) nor Isaac, nor Jacob, obtained the promise; for it is said, 'All these died in the faith, not having received the promises; but seeing and recognizing them afar off.' Here a mystery is implied; to wit, that all this which was promised, they understood to belong to future times, the resurrection, the kingdom of heaven, and the other things of which Christ preached."

St. Irenæus says, "In that flesh in which they suffered, the saints will receive the reward of their labors; especially since the whole creation expects it, and *God has promised it to Abraham and his seed.*"—*Iren. Contra. Her.*, lib. 32.

"It is necessary that he should receive it with his seed (that is, they who fear God and trust in him) in the resurrection of the just."—*Ibid.*

in the extreme part of the last stage of its duration: and it is to be supplanted, not by the kingdom of the carnal Jews, we think; but by the kingdom of the saints and of heaven, which shall never pass away nor be destroyed. The Jews appropriate the promises and the prophecies to their own peculiar use, and among them this of Daniel the prophet, relative to the fifth monarchy: they suppose it will be a Jewish empire: but no Christian supposes any such thing, except with material qualifications. "*They which receive* abundance of grace and of the gift of righteousness, shall reign in life by one, Jesus Christ," Rom. v, 17. "*The saints* shall judge the world," 1 Cor. vi, 2. "We (Corinthians) shall judge angels," *ibid.* "When the Son of man shall sit in the throne of his glory, ye also shall sit upon twelve thrones judging the twelve tribes of Israel," Matt. xix, 28. It is not credible that the twelve tribes of Israel here mean the natural seed of Abraham only, any more than that Christ is the Saviour of those tribes only, or any more than it includes every individual of those tribes, both bad and good. "To him that overcometh will I grant to sit with me in my throne:—to him will I give power over the nations," Rev. ii, 26, and iii, 21. "And we shall reign on the earth;"—"and they shall reign for ever and ever," Rev. v, 10, and xxii, 5. "And the kingdom and the dominion, and the greatness of the kingdom *under the whole heaven*, shall be given to the people of the saints of the Most High, whose kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, and all dominions shall serve and obey him," Dan. vii, 27.

These and a multitude of similar passages: "Thy kingdom come, thy will be done *in earth*,"—prove there is to be a final or fifth monarchy, *in the earth*, universal and eternal, under the sceptre of *Messiah and the risen saints*, according to the New Testament, but of *Messiah and the restored Jews*, according to the Old Testament. Wherefore, plainly, these people with two names and one king may be one and the same people, as much as the English and the British are one: for they have the same Messiah, the same empire, and the same eternal reign. They are called in the Old Testament Jews and Israelites: and in the Gospel they are called saints and Christians: their empire begins in the coming of Messiah in his glory, and is called in the Law and the Prophets *Israel's return to the promised land;* and is called in the Gospel *the kingdom of heaven*, the abode of the risen dead: and of this kingdom there is to be no end. Agreeing in these particulars, in one king, in one universal and eternal empire, "under the whole heaven," it seems impossible but that the citizens of the empire should be one people, notwithstanding they are called by various names.

To carry out this mode of reasoning still further, we briefly notice some of the peculiar beauties of contemplating "the hope of Israel" in the identity of the promises made to the Jews and Christians; in the oneness of their hopes, their king, and their fellow-citizens; the country of their dispersion, their promised land, and restoration, and the time of their deliverance.* If we mistake not, Israel of the Old Testament embraces Christians of the New Testament; the promises to the former are promises to the latter; the hope of the promise, and the hope of Israel, are the same in both Testaments; and the promised empire and holy land are the same kingdom of Christ and of heaven in both Testaments:

* *Justin Martyr*, speaking of Joshua as a type of Christ, says: "He gave them a temporal inheritance; but this Jesus, after the resurrection, will give us an eternal possession. Whence, from whatever country, whether slaves or freemen, believers in Christ know that they shall be together with him in that land, and possess it for an everlasting and incorruptible inheritance."—With Trypho, sec. 113, 135.

St. Cyprian comments thus on the words of the Lord's Prayer, Thy kingdom come:—"We pray for the coming of that our kingdom, which has been promised to us by God, and was gained by the blood and passion of Christ, that we who have continued his subjects in the life below, may afterward reign in Christ's kingdom, according to his own promise and word, 'Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the beginning of the world.'" Thus he identifies the kingdom to come in the earth with the kingdom of the saints' inheritance in glory with Christ on his throne. The Assembly's Catechism interprets the prayer in the same manner. Likewise St. Jerome interprets it in the same manner, and adds this remark: "How much boldness and purity of conscience it requires to ask for the kingdom of God [to come] and not fear the judgment!"

St. Cyril of Jerusalem, A. D. 350, says: "This Jesus who hath ascended cometh again from heaven, not from earth: and I say *not from earth*, because many antichrists are now to come from earth: for, as thou hast seen, many have already begun to say, *I am Christ*. And, besides, there is to come the abomination of desolation, usurping the name of Christ: but *do thou look for the true Christ*, the Son of God, the only begotten, who is henceforth to come, not from the earth, but from heaven, appearing to all brighter than any lightning or other brilliance, with angels for his guard, that he may judge the quick and dead, and reign with a kingdom heavenly, eternal, and without end."—*Oxf. Trans.*, p. 41.

But what is more than all are the comments of the evangelist on the prophecy of Caiaphas: "And this spake he (Caiaphas) not of himself; but being high priest that year, he prophesied that Jesus should die for that nation; and not for that nation only, but that also *he should gather together in one the children of God that were scattered abroad*," John xi, 51, 52. The above follows the resurrection of Lazarus, and shows how the holy people will be gathered and restored to the promised land, "not of that nation only," but of all "the children of God."

the two Testaments being two witnesses whose *language* differs, while their *testimony* is the same; the future things spoken by the prophets to the Jews being preached by the gospel to the Gentiles. This seems to be "the testimony of Jesus" and "the spirit of prophecy," while the other doctrine, that the Jews in the flesh are to be the masters of the world, seems to be rank and intolerable Judaism.

The identity of the promise and the hope of Israel with Christianity.

Abraham, "the father of us all," Rom. iv, 16, was a type of Christ: his chosen seed and faithful are a type of Christians. The promise to Abraham and his seed, ("which is Christ,") is the inheritance of the land; "that he should be the heir of the world," Rom. iv, 13. And Christians have assurance: "If ye be Christ's, then are ye Abraham's seed, and heirs according to the promise." That *Abraham* should be the heir of the world seems to be too much, except through his seed, "which is Christ:" and whatever Abraham inherits through Christ, all true believers will: therefore, the Jews have no pre-eminence under the Christian dispensation: the promise to Abraham is a promise to all who believe; and peculiar to the true Israel, but not to the circumcised in the flesh only. The promise of Canaan to Abraham was typical: and he so understood it; for he died in the faith, hoping to receive it in a better resurrection. He did not realize the promise, except by faith; nor did Gideon, nor Barak, nor Jephtha, Samson, David, Samuel, nor the prophets, "of whom the world was not worthy;" though they ruled, reigned, lived, died, and were buried in Canaan, and through faith subdued kingdoms, wrought wonders, and obtained promises: "These *all*, having obtained a good report through faith, *received not the promise;* God having provided some better thing for us, that they without us should not be made perfect," Heb. xi, 39, 40. Therefore, *they must rise*, as Christ did, to receive their promised inheritance. As it was with Abraham and the patriarchs, Samuel and the prophets, and David and the kings, it will probably be with all Jews: were they restored to Palestine to-day, they could not have it more than Jephtha, Samuel, and David had it: but as *their* possession was not the *promised* possession; neither would the possession by the modern Jews be the *promised possession*. As those died in the faith, in order to come into the land of promise, so must the modern Jews, though they reigned in Jerusalem again, and all nations obeyed them; they must still die in the faith of a better resurrection, before they

could inherit the promised land. And as it was with Christ, it must surely be with all Christians. His *hope* was not in this world; and their promised inheritance belongs not to time. The promises to Abraham and to Christ are not paid in this world. Those who inherit with them will not expect it in this mortal life, but in the resurrection and eternal life. Except the present race of Jews have a promise different from their father Abraham, their king David, and their prophet Samuel, (which they do not pretend, and we do not believe,) they too must place *their* hope, where "the hope of Israel" lies, in the resurrection of the dead, and in the habitable world to come. Although they should be by a miraculous power brought back in the eyes of all nations, the pillar of cloud by day, and of fire by night, leading their march, they could not, they *could* not possess Judea more effectually than the judges and David did: they must have a new promise, or they have none in this world; for even such restoration would not give them more of Palestine than David had, who yet died in the faith. And Israel, though restored in the flesh, must still, like him, die in the faith, in order to come into their promised inheritance.

All who rightly practice infant baptism are wont to regard the promise made to Abraham and his seed as made to them also, and to their children. Therefore, the promises to Abraham and his seed ("which is Christ," and his faithful followers in all ages and nations) are one and identical; there is no difference: they belong not to this world of sorrow and death, but to the Canaan of joy and eternal life. The Old and New Testament church and covenant are one and the same, in Abraham and his seed.

The identity of "the true hope of Israel," whether in Jews, or in Christians, may be inferred from the identity of the promises on which that hope rests, and of the King who gave and who will redeem the promises. We seem to have demonstrated the identity of the promises to Abraham and his seed "which is Christ," and to his people called in the New Testament, Christians, but in the Old Testament, Israel. We next observe this

Identity in Messiah, the King of Jews and Christians.

Abraham, "the father of us all," saw Christ's day, and was glad; (John viii, 56;) because in that day he will receive his inheritance of faith, and Israel will realize his hope. The King on the throne will in that day reward all his faithful, from Adam to the last man changed at the Lord's coming. The Jews acknowledge Messiah to be their Deliverer, their Lawgiver, and their everlasting King;

but they do not confess Jesus to be the Messiah, albeit, when he comes again *they* will cry: "Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord."—Is Christ divided? Is he the King of the natural Jews only? Does he speak a gracious promise to the circumcised only, when he says: "I will surely assemble, O Jacob, *all of thee*, I will surely gather the remnant of Israel;—their King shall pass before them, and the Lord on the head of them?" Micah ii, 12, 13. "The Lord shall utter his voice before his *army*, his *camp* is very great; for he is strong that executeth his word: for the day of the Lord is very great and terrible; who can abide it?" Joel ii, 11. His army is not a carnal host of natural Jews; his camp is the camp of the saints; and the day of the Lord is the great day of judgment: who can abide it in the flesh?—"Behold, the days come, saith the Lord, that I will raise unto David a righteous BRANCH, and a King shall reign and prosper, and shall execute judgment and justice *in the earth:* in his days Judah shall be saved, and Israel shall dwell safely; and this is his name whereby he shall be called, THE LORD OUR RIGHTEOUSNESS. Therefore, behold, the days come, saith the Lord, that they shall no more say, The Lord liveth, which brought up the children of Israel out of the land of Egypt; but, The Lord liveth, which brought up, and which led *the seed of the house of Israel* out of the north country, and from all countries whither I had driven them; and they shall dwell in their own land," Jer. xxiii, 5.

Christians know who is "THE LORD OUR RIGHTEOUSNESS;" that he is the King of Israel, and "the Saviour of all men," not specially of the Jews, but "specially of them that believe," 1 Tim. iv, 10. And were Messiah to reign over the carnal Jews without including Christians, then the Jews' hope, and the King of the Jews, would seem not to be Jesus of Nazareth, our hope and our King. But who that believes in the New Testament can believe this? Christ is not the King of the natural seed of Abraham at all: they are Ishmaelites, children of the Egyptian Hagar, a bondwoman; and, except they be born again, they cannot inherit with the sons of the free woman, which is Jerusalem above, the true holy land. Gal. iv. To that land Christ will lead his chosen and faithful, "the seed of the house of Israel," and they shall dwell in their own heavenly land. He is the King of Israel, and "the hope of Israel."—"And we declare unto you GLAD TIDINGS, how that the promise which was made unto the fathers, God hath fulfilled the *same* unto us their children, in that he hath raised up Jesus again," Acts xiii, 32, 33. By this word the Holy Spirit stamps the promise made of God unto the fathers with the seal of the

resurrection, and crowns Jesus with the glad tidings, to the Jews first, and then to all people.

The identity of the people demonstrated; Israel and Christians one.

This has been done in passing; nevertheless, we show it also in its order. As the promise, and the hope and the King of Israel belong not to the flesh, and neither come of the flesh, nor follow in the line of the flesh; but come from the Holy Spirit of promise, and follow in the line of the spiritual seed, and will be fulfilled and realized in Jesus and the resurrection; it follows that the true Israel are a spiritual seed, as all true Christians are, Abraham being the father of us all. Rom. iv, 16. True Christians, like Christ, and true Jews, like Abraham, Samuel, and David, must live by faith, and die in hope, and rise from the dead to possess the promised inheritance. The Holy Spirit defines the meaning of the word Jew in the New Testament; and we may safely apply the same meaning to it in the Old Testament, in many places. "He is not a Jew which is one outwardly,—but he is a Jew which is one inwardly," Rom. ii, 28. "They are not all Israel who are of Israel," but only those who are circumcised of heart. They only can inherit the promise to whom the promise was made; and they are Jews inwardly. The promise was made to the spiritual seed, "which is Christ:" the natural children cannot inherit it. The Promiser will pay to the Promisee, and to no other, except through him. The Promisee is Christ, in whom Christians are Abraham's seed, true Jews, "and heirs according to the promise." He hath broken down the middle wall of partition between us, and made in himself of twain one new man, bringing the Gentile aliens and strangers into the commonwealth of Israel, and the covenants of promise by his blood.* Eph. ii. The identity of the people is therefore complete in Christ the Lord; and to say they are not one, is blasphemous: to say that the Gentiles are aliens still, that they are not in the covenants of promise, and are not entitled to "the hope of Israel," as free citizens of the holy Jerusalem, would seem to be a contradicting of the Holy Ghost.

* An alien, or a stranger, made a free citizen of the commonwealth, becomes a commonwealth's man, and takes the *name and privileges* of the commonwealth's people, whether Greeks or Jews. So the Gentiles, being made free of the commonwealth of Israel, take the name and privileges of Israelites; as a naturalized foreigner becomes an American citizen, entitled to inherit and vote as an American.

The country of Israel's dispersion.

The holy people, whether Jews or Christians, lie buried in all lands, especially in the northern hemisphere. The country of their dispersion is the wide world, and the narrow grave: but they are to be gathered and restored; this is their hope. "They shall see the Son of man coming in the clouds of heaven with power and great glory, and he shall send his angels with a great sound of a trumpet, and they shall gather together his elect from the four winds, and from one end of heaven to the other," Matt. xxiv, 30. "Then we which are alive and remain shall be caught up together with them in the clouds, to meet the Lord in the air; and so shall we ever be with the Lord," 1 Thess. iv, 17. All the elect, "the seed of the house of Jacob," are to be thus gathered under Messiah, in one body, never to leave him more. "His camp is very great;" "Their king shall pass before them, the Lord on the head of them." By the prophet Ezekiel the Lord expresses a similar purpose: "I will take you from among the heathen, and gather you out of all countries, and will bring you into your own land.—A new heart also will I give you, and a new spirit will I put within you, and ye shall dwell in the land that I *gave* to your fathers; and ye shall be my people, and I will be your God.—In the day that I shall have cleansed you from all your iniquities, I will also cause you to dwell in the cities, and the wastes shall be builded," Ezek. xxxvi, 24–33.

Having thus declared his purpose, promising *them*, not their descendants, a return to the holy land, a new heart, and a new spirit, when he had cleansed them from all their iniquities, the Holy Spirit, in the next chapter, unfolds the way of accomplishing all this at once to every generation of Israel, by the vision of the valley of dry bones: the most particular description of the resurrection found in the Old Testament, which, if understood in a figure instead of a fact, is less than the chaff to the wheat. The sublimest record of prophecy, describing the most glorious event of man's existence, his resurrection from the dead, is often taken for a sketch of temporal politics, covering the plain doctrine of the resurrection to eternal life with the fantastic triumph and reign of Judaism in mortality. Wherever else the doctrine of the resurrection is found, it is illustriously recorded in the thirty-seventh chapter of Ezekiel: "Thus saith the Lord God, Come from the four winds, O breath, and breathe upon these slain, *that they may live.* So I prophesied as he commanded me; and the breath came into them, and they lived, and stood up upon their feet, an exceeding great army. Then he said unto me, Son of man, these

bones *are the whole house of Israel.* Behold, they say, Our bones are dried, and our hope is lost; we are cut off for our parts. [They say: We are dying; our hope in Israel is cut off; we have no part in the promised inheritance of the land.] Therefore prophesy and say unto them, Thus saith the Lord God, Behold, O my people, I will open your graves, and cause you to come up out of your graves, and bring you into the land of Israel. And ye shall know that I am the Lord, when I have opened your graves, O my people, and brought you up out of your graves, and shall put my Spirit in you, and ye shall live; and I shall place you in your own land: then shall ye know that I the Lord have *spoken it,* and *performed it,* saith the Lord," Ezek. xxxvii, 9–15. Then follows a description of the mode of their habitation under David their king for ever in their own land, and the new covenant of everlasting peace.

Words cannot make this plainer. "Hath he *said,* and shall he not do it? or hath he *spoken,* and shall he not make it good?" Num. xxiii, 19. The country of Israel's dispersion, Jews and Christians, is this world, the realm of sin and death, the king of terrors: but a Deliverer is coming, who will assemble the dispersed of Israel, and lead captivity captive from the prison-house of death, and set his prisoners free. "Who hath heard such a thing?" exclaims Isaiah; "who hath seen such a thing? Shall the earth be made to bring forth in one day? Shall a nation be born at once? For as soon as Zion travailed, she brought forth her children," Isa. lxvi, 8.* Them that sleep in Jesus will God bring with

* *St. Irenæus,* in ch. 34 of his book against the heretics, discourses freely of the kingdom of the saints, in the new earth at the resurrection of the just, which that eminent divine of the second century unfolds in citations from Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Daniel, and the parable of the watchful servant to whom the Lord gave the government at his coming. He quotes from Isaiah xxvi, 19, "Thy dead men shall live:" from Ezek. xxxvii, 12, "Behold, O my people, I will open your graves." Also Ezek. xxviii, 25, "When I shall have gathered the house of Israel from all people among whom they are scattered;" which he takes to be all saints in the resurrection of the dead, exactly in the sense of this article.

St. Chrysostom, on the second chapter of Isaiah, claims the promises there made in the Jews' name for all Christians of the Gentiles, nothing wondering at the use of Jewish terms in that chapter: for, what was spoken was adumbrated by the use of the names, Jerusalem and the Jews, as David, in the name of Solomon, prophesies of a far greater than Solomon, and as Jacob, on his death-bed, addressed his son Judah by name, and in his name gave promise of Messiah: "To him shall the gathering of the Gentiles be." With many examples of this sort, what wonder if the names of Israel be used by the prophets to convey promises and prophecies appropriate to the Gentile church?

him. All the sons of God will be manifested, as their elder Brother was, by the resurrection: and the earth will bring forth in the great day of the Lord a nation at once, "a holy nation, a peculiar people:" sifted among all nations, like wheat, but not one grain shall be lost. These things are otherwise understood by the many; but when the Lord, who has spoken it, has also performed it, he will open the graves of *his people*, and bring up his people out of their graves, and he will put a new heart and a new spirit in them, and will bring them into the land which he *gave* to Abraham and his seed; and he will be their King for ever. If this be not the resurrection, language fails to teach that doctrine: it accomplishes the fullness of both Jews and Gentiles, when "all Israel shall be saved" from the land of their dispersion, which is this land of death.

The land of promise to Israel.

The land of their captivity and dispersion being "this present evil world," the people of God have the promise of "a better country, even a heavenly,"—which is the world to come. Their captivity is the state of death; their deliverance is from mortality and the grave; and their restoration is to immortality and the paradise of God. All the prophets expatiate on the glories of the promised land, and the triumph of Israel's return to it. The imagery is earthy, and cannot fail to blind the eyes which look not through the drapery of clouds to "the testimony of Jesus" in the clouds. But when we read, as in Isaiah lx, 20, "The Lord shall be thine everlasting light, and the days of thy mourning shall be ended," we perceive that the description belongs to the world to come, eternal joy and light not being promised to any condition of this world. "For in their land they shall possess the double: everlasting joy shall be upon them: all that see them shall acknowledge them, that they are the seed which the Lord hath blessed," Isa. lxi, 7, 9. Now, the seed which the Lord hath blessed is not the *natural* seed of Abraham: not to them belongs everlasting joy; or, if it does, the saints possess it with them, and that not in this world's Jerusalem, but in the New Jerusalem. Ezekiel describes the city with much particularity, and calls it "THE LORD IS THERE." Waters flow from its temple in a swelling stream, which heals the waters of the sea: "and every thing shall live whither the river cometh," Ezek. xlvii, 9. Trees of fruit for food, and leaves for medicine, bearing monthly, grow on either side of the river, and it is the city and country into which Messiah will lead his restored people, and rule over them there for ever. It

appears to be the same city, river of life, fruitful banks, and blessed country, that John describes in the last chapter of Revelation. "The hope of Israel" is the hope of all the spiritual seed, both Jew and Christian, to attain to the promised land, which appears to be the same heavenly country where Messiah is their King for ever. He will gather them from the land of their dispersion and captivity, and will lead them to a state of eternal rest and blessedness, in that world of which the great Creator says, "Behold, I make all things new." This is the hope of Israel, even

Their restoration.

Magnificent descriptions of this are repeatedly given in the prophets, too resplendent for this present evil world. All the terrors of the Lord's person are arrayed against the enemies of the holy people; he comes with power and great glory; he takes vengeance on all that oppress them; he leads them manifestly; he rules them personally; he plants them in their own land, and they shall no more be pulled up out of their land: the sinful kingdom he will destroy from off the face of the earth; evil doers he will cut off; the thing that hurts, defiles, or makes a lie, shall not be in his kingdom; but "*thy people shall be all righteous,*"—every one. Isa. lx, 21; iv, 3; Rev. xxi, 27.

If the carnal Jews must have a restoration in order to fulfil the Scriptures, it is apparent that the restoration of which the prophets delight to speak embraces all the chosen and faithful in Christ; and any peculiar promise to the carnal Jews, compared to the literal promise of the resurrection, is no better than a pine torch compared to the sun: suitable for a type, and withal a most useful and necessary thing to guide the traveler in a land of darkness: but when the sun is once risen, the pine torch is no longer of use; it is a troublesome incumbrance, and every wise traveler will dispense with it. The almighty and blessed God is able to drown the world, and to save one family; is able to burn the world, and to save one nation; is able to destroy all the kingdoms of the world, save only the natural Jews—and they are very confident he will do it. "Lo, I will save *thee* from afar, and thy seed from the land of their captivity; for I am with thee, saith the Lord, to save *thee;* though I make a full end of all nations whither I have scattered thee, yet will I not make a full end of *thee,*" Jer. xxx, 11. Intimations of this sort abound in the prophets; and if the natural Jews are "the holy people," the Gentiles are "the sinful kingdom;" and if the Jews have a restoration in the blood of old Adam, the Gentiles may never see it: the return of the

Jews is the signal for the extermination of all other nations; and our carnal race is sealed with the stamp of death, so sure as their carnal race is sealed with the stamp of an *everlasting* inheritance in this *transitory world.* But it is impossible to our view, that they should have an *eternal* inheritance in this world of mortality, whose heavens and earth pass away. Taking their restoration to be "the hope of Israel," as doubtless it is, the New Testament reconciles all difficulty, by showing this promised restoration to be the resurrection of the dead in Christ. This is the restitution of Israel and "of all things, which God has spoken by the mouth of all his holy prophets since the world began," Acts iii, 21. This is the hope of Israel, for which creation waits with groans and travailing pains; to wit, "the redemption of our body," Rom. viii, 23, "in Jesus and the resurrection."

The time of the true Israel's restoration.

The Old and New Testaments harmonize on this point, as they do on the others preceding. Their language is different, as becomes *independent* witnesses: but the fact is made out by both alike, as becomes *faithful* witnesses. The time is, "when God shall send Jesus Christ, which before was preached unto you," Acts iii, 20. "The day of the Lord's vengeance, and the year of recompences for the controversy of Zion," Isa. xxxiv, 8. It is when "he will utterly destroy in this mountain the face of the covering cast over all people, and the veil that is spread over all nations: he will swallow up death in victory: and the Lord God will wipe away tears from off all faces; and the rebuke of his people shall he take away from off all the earth, for the Lord hath spoken it. And it shall be said in that day, Lo, this is our God; we have waited for him, and he will save us: this is the Lord; we have waited for him, we will be glad and rejoice in his salvation," Isa. xxv, 7. This wonderful passage portrays "the hope of Israel,"—"a feast of fat things, a feast of wines on the lees well refined."

In 2 Cor. iii, 16, the Holy Spirit assures us "the veil is done away in Christ," and "the veil shall be taken away" from the Jews. In Heb. x, 20, "the veil" is expressly declared to be "the flesh," which veil was manifestly done away in Christ, by his resurrection: and the same veil will he remove away from the Jews, and from covering the face of all nations, when "*he will swallow up death in victory:*" that is, in the resurrection of the dead. 1 Cor. xv, 54. Then, and not before the resurrection, the Lord God wipes away tears from off all faces, and the rebuke of *his people*

he takes away from off all the earth; and "the ransomed of the Lord," (they are his people, ransomed with his precious blood,) "the ransomed of the Lord shall return, and come to Zion with songs, and everlasting joy shall be upon their heads; and they shall obtain joy and gladness, and sorrow and sighing shall flee away," Isa. xxxv, 10. This is the hope of Israel: "Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of man, the things which God hath prepared for them that love him," 1 Cor. ii, 9.

In Daniel xii, 2, it is written, "At that time (the time of the restoration) shall Michael stand up, the great prince which standeth for *the children of thy people;* and there shall be a time of trouble, such as never was since there was a nation, even to that same time; and at that time thy people shall be delivered, every one that shall be found written in the book: and many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt."—The Jew understands this *deliverance* and this resurrection to belong wholly to his own people, and the scene to be laid in this world, where Daniel and the holy dead are to stand in their lot among the restored of Israel in Palestine: on the contrary, the Christian understands by the people who are delivered, all believers in Jesus Christ; and the scene of their deliverance is the end of the world, when the judgment will sit, and the books be opened, and Daniel, with the holy dead out of every kindred and nation, will sit down with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob in the kingdom of heaven. The time in these two interpretations concurs in the coming of Messiah in glory: and the difference lies in the carnal and exclusive spirit of Judaism on one side, and the universal and heavenly spirit of Christianity on the other. The former takes hold of this natural world and natural heart; the latter discards this world, and requires a new creation, to fit the holy people to see God and to enjoy him for ever. Jews and Christians agree in this Deliverer, that he is Messiah: and in the time of his deliverance, that it is at his coming: but they differ in their name of the Messiah, and also of the subjects of this deliverance; save that he is *Messiah*, and *Israel* are his people.

The almanac-maker sets out the four seasons of the year in their order, and describes their character, that men may note the progress of time, and prepare for winter. So Daniel the prophet has noted the progress of time in four divisions of the world's great year, from his day to the end of time, when "many that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake." Four great monarchies give

their names to the four prophetic seasons: and the last of the four has three grand divisions, marked in Daniel's image, and noted in the book, that men may take warning: these three divisions are known by the legs of iron, the feet of iron and clay, and the subdivision of the toes. Similar divisions are noted in the life of the fourth beast by his time without horns, his time with ten horns, and his time while one horn came up among the ten, displacing three, and ruling over the residue unto the end. Christians and Jews agree that we are living in the last division of the fourth season of the great year of prophecy, and have run ten or twelve hundred years toward the end of that: but men do not take warning: the world does not regard it. Because the time is mercifully prolonged, it were folly to conclude it has no end. And what follows the last term of the fourth monarchy, and the last season of prophetic times? Is it a *Jewish* monarchy in the blood of old Adam? Is it a kingdom of the *carnal* Israel? Is it an empire of *mortals?* Read Daniel vii, 7, to the end, and see if the coming of the King of the fifth monarchy is not like unto him described by Enoch, the seventh from Adam, accompanied by myriads of saints, to execute judgment upon all the ungodly for all their ungodly deeds. See if there be any limit to that empire, whose King will have "dominion and glory, and a kingdom that all people, and nations, and languages shall serve him." Mark, and see whether it is the carnal Jews, or "the saints of the Most High, shall take the kingdom and possess the kingdom for ever, even for ever and ever." And consider whether time and this world will endure long enough for such an empire!—See, when "the judgment shall sit," whose kingdom they shall take away, "to consume and to destroy it unto the end;" whether it is any dominion now upon the face of the earth, and the name of it. And whether the succeeding one is not given to an immortal race, even "to the people of the saints of the Most High, whose kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, and all dominions shall serve and obey him."

As a man, he is of the seed of Abraham and David; and he is "the King of the Jews," crucified with mockery and derision in this world, but having an eternal throne of power and great glory in the world to come. Before Pontius Pilate he witnessed a good confession, (1 Tim. vi, 13,) to wit, "Thou sayest that I am a King; to this end was I born, and for this cause came I into the world, that I should bear witness of the truth," John xviii, 37. That truth is: He is the King, not of the Jews only, but of all in every nation who believe on his name. His kingdom is not of this world, or of time; but of the celestial world to come, where lies the city and

country which Abraham sought; and into which "the hope of Israel" is to enter in the resurrection of the dead. This appears to be the testimony of Jesus, and the spirit of prophecy: this is the gospel of Christ, and of the kingdom of heaven. This is the promise made in Eden, The woman's seed shall bruise the serpent's head: and the promise made to Abraham, That he should be the heir of the world. This is the end of the law, and the perfection of grace, "Jesus and the resurrection."

The astronomer could never devise the solar system.

It was a full match for the highest human skill to discern and to demonstrate the laws which govern the various motions of the heavenly bodies: nor could the theologue invent this perfect fitness of the Jewish and Christian economy in all their prominent parts; it is enough for man to discern and to demonstrate it; to admire and to adore the heavenly hand which wrought the work, and gave it to the world. We have briefly sketched some of its outline, which volumes cannot fill; and the harmony of the parts is good witness to the perfection of the whole scheme. No frame ever came together with less hammering, each tenon to its mortise. The ingenuity of the wood-carrier did not invent so glorious a device; but only the divine Master who framed the universe, and prepared the plan of salvation, and gave to each part its due proportion, and its living form: to his name be all the praise.—The law of gravitation is not more universal in the material world than the testimony of Jesus in the prophecies: and the apparent motions of the heavenly bodies conflict with the law of gravitation, even as the apparent return of the Jews conflicts with the constant "looking for and hasting unto the coming of the day of God:" but astronomy does not open to the natural eye a more beautiful exhibition of divine wisdom, benevolence, power, and love, in the exact movements and changes of the starry frame, than revelation unfolds to the eye of faith in the harmony, and precise accord of the promises, the prophecies, and the gospel, in the testimony of Jesus and the resurrection. Some of the stars *appear* to stop and to retrace their course; some *appear* to start out of their places and fall to the earth; and a great majority to encircle the earth, immovably fixed: but it is demonstrated that these contrarieties of appearance are the necessary result of one uniform law of gravitation, and they owe their being, not to any exemption from that law, but solely to the relative positions of the beholder and of the luminaries. So, promises in the Bible *seem* greatly to conflict one with another, and some to fail altogether, and others to make no pro-

gress toward a consummation; while to the well-instructed they open a luminous system of glorious holiness, perfect order, and illimitable extent, and it is demonstrated of nearly all that no contradictions exist; but all are consistent in JESUS, and will be consummated in the resurrection of the dead.

Remarks on the practical influence of this doctrine.

The interpretation of the promises to Israel in favor of the natural Jews is proper Judaism, which is, and ever was a national, sectional, temporal, proud, selfish, and unchristian form of doctrine. From Constantine to Napoleon, from the mission of Paul and Barnabas, to inquire of the apostles and elders about this same *doctrine of Judaism*, to this day, it has been the source of "no small dissension and disputation," whether any but the circumcised can inherit the promise made of God unto the fathers. "Some which went out from us have troubled you with words; subverting your souls, saying, Ye must be circumcised and keep the law; to whom we gave no such commandment," Acts xv, 24. Our Judaizers trouble the church with the leaven of the same doctrine. They do not enjoin circumcision; they repudiate it; but, at the same time, they admit it to be a most salutary ordinance; for, while it is nothing worth, separate from Christian baptism, *joined with that* it is a great thing, giving the subjects of this rite the sure prospect of high pre-eminence among their Christian brethren whose circumcision is of the heart only, even entitling them and their circumcised offspring to all the rights, privileges, and immunities of the rising empire of Judaism for ever, over and above the privileges of Gentile Christians. This is the spirit of the doctrine, if we understand it. It teaches that the Jews are a superior people; that they have loftier claims to the divine favor; that they have peculiar and valuable promises, not common to the Gentiles; and that they have very flattering hopes and prospects *in this world*, even the universal dominion of it—all others being vassals of the circumcised.

It is worth while for *worldly* Christians to inquire the way for them and their offspring, to inherit a share of the honors of the Jewish empire to come; especially since the times of the Gentiles seem to be almost accomplished, and the times of the Jews ready to begin. It is no small benefit for a *worldling* to gain, by adding to his Christian profession that of Judaism, and keeping what he can of the law of Moses. He need not have a Jewish father or mother to entitle him to inherit the Jews' promises. It is probably enough for him to make an honest profession of Judaism, put the

bloody seal to the covenant, abstain from certain meats, keep sabbath on Saturday, and he may go forth in all the pride of the Jews' prospects, and in the confidence of being an heir of Abraham with "certain which trusted in themselves that they were righteous, and despised others." (See the parable of the Pharisee and publican, Luke xviii, 9.) If the convert should not himself live to go up to Jerusalem, and have dominion there, his children may; and their interests should not be neglected. Even the children of Edomites and of Egyptians were allowed to enter the congregation in the third generation; and that is one which soon comes on. Deut. xxiii, 3. "And when a stranger shall sojourn with thee, and will keep the passover to the Lord, let all his males be circumcised—and then let him come near and keep it, and he shall be as one born in the land," Exod. xii, 48.

This seems to be the spirit of Judaism, a self-righteous doctrine, which lifts up itself against the cross of Christ in this world, and proffers to its followers a crown; a carnal doctrine, which counts the riches of faith too poor, and seizes on pottage with the appetite of Esau; which lightly esteems the blood of Christ, by which those are made nigh who were afar off; a doctrine that does not honor him who broke down the middle wall of partition, and introduced strangers and aliens into the commonwealth of Israel, making foreigners to become "fellow-citizens with the saints, and of the household of God," Eph. ii, 19; for it implies that Jesus our Lord *would* have done this, he *would* have made them fellow-citizens, of equal rights with the saints; but the Jews' promises are a main part of the wall not yet broken down; the Jews' promises still separate them, and make them an aristocracy in the church; make them lords, rather than fellow-citizens in Christendom. Judaism yields something to Christ, and something to his baptized church among the Gentiles; it does not mean to rob them; but it has something more, and, if any thing, better for the circumcised church. It allows the Gentiles to be "fellow-heirs and of the same body," but not exactly "partakers" of the same promises "in Christ by the gospel;" or, if of the same promises "*in* Christ," then the doctrine offers the Jews some promise *out of* Christ, which is not common to the Gentiles.

Either the natural Jews have promises peculiar to themselves, or they have not. If they have not, we are all fellow-citizens on a level. If they have promises peculiar to themselves, as a nation, those promises are in Christ seemingly; which would destroy their Jewish peculiarity, and open them to all Christians alike; or those promises are not in Christ, and then a Christian will never envy

them to a Jew, or to any other; but to his brethren, who cherish unchristian hopes for the Jews, he may exclaim with the apostle, "O foolish Galatians, (Judaizers,) who hath bewitched you, that ye should not obey the truth, before whose eyes Jesus Christ was evidently set forth crucified among you? Are ye so foolish? having begun in the spirit, are ye now made perfect by the flesh? Know ye, therefore, that they which are of faith, the same are the children of Abraham. There is neither *Jew* nor *Greek*, there is neither bond nor free, there is neither male nor female; for ye are all *one* in Christ Jesus. And if ye be Christ's, then are ye Abraham's seed, and heirs according to the promise," Gal. iii. From the first promise in the Bible of bruising the serpent's head, to the last, "Behold, I come quickly," all the prophets testify of the restitution and of the glorious reign of Christ over his restored and chosen people, in a world without end, which is a world to come, "the land of the living and not of the dead;" and notwithstanding these prophecies were revealed to Jews, and are always understood by them to belong only to their nation; Christians know that the same is the gospel of the kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ, preached unto all nations; and that it will be fulfilled, not to the natural Jews in this world, but unto all them that believe in the kingdom of heaven.

The practical influence of the interpretation, which explains the law and the prophets in the light of the resurrection, is spiritual, personal, and strictly conformable to the *discipline* of our Father in heaven. His providence and his word agree to warn and to instruct us, that in this world his people "shall have tribulation;" neither a certain dwelling place, nor abiding crown, nor treasure that is secure against corruption and thieves, nor friend invincible to pain and death, nor hope of an eternal inheritance beneath the sun. Holy writ and daily experience unite to teach us, "The fashion of this world passeth away," 1 Cor. vii, 31. The faithful and true Witness assures us, "Heaven and earth shall pass away," Matt. xxiv, 35. And the Holy Spirit by the apostle demands, "Seeing then that all these things shall be dissolved, what manner of persons ought ye to be, in all holy conversation and godliness, looking for and hasting unto the coming of the day of God, wherein the heavens being on fire shall be dissolved, and the elements shall melt with fervent heat," 2 Pet. iii, 11, 12. The Scriptures give Israel hope in his death, that he shall live again; and hope of new heavens and a new earth, when these heavens and earth pass away: but they forbid, and experience forbids, any sure and abiding hope on this side of the grave; unless the promises to the Jews form an

exception; and, if they do, we have no part in them; the exception extends not to us Gentiles, unless we, "having begun in the Spirit," are now ready to be "made perfect" by the circumcision of the flesh—which is foolishness.

The holy soul loathes the doctrine of a temporal, carnal, earthly crown, the same which Satan in the temptation offered to Jesus our Lord. The holy soul loathes the doctrine of respect of persons, and of the circumcision. The holy soul turns away from the love of all this world can give, and delights in the testimony of Jesus, "the hope of Israel," and the love of heaven. In this view of divine revelation, we are ready to exclaim with Mary, "My soul doth magnify the Lord, and my spirit hath rejoiced in God my Saviour," Luke i, 46; who extends to us his holy covenant, "the oath which he sware to our father Abraham, that he would grant unto us," says Zacharias, "that we, being delivered out of the hand of our enemies, might serve him without fear," Luke i, 73. In him is the hope of Israel; in him is the resurrection of the dead; in him is the promise to Abraham and his seed made free to all believers. In him is the law fulfilled; in him the prophecies centre; in him the Jews are to be gathered; in him the "chosen generation" are to be restored, when he swallows up death in victory. In him the partition wall *is* thrown down; the veil of the temple is rent; *the veil of the flesh is taken away;* mortality is swallowed up of life. In him his people are all one Israel, as the rays of the sun are one: the very least of them contains all the primitive colors, together with the magnetic and caloric properties common to the sun. In him is the faith of Israel, during all their journey through this wilderness of trial; in him they catch from Pisgah sometimes a distant view of the holy land; in him they go over Jordan dry shod; in him they come to their everlasting inheritance: "Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world." Think you it was never *promised* them, so long prepared? And to whom was it promised? To ISRAEL, who have the oracles of God, who keep the faith, who have crucified the flesh with its lusts, and are dead to this world; but, in the resurrection with Jesus, are gathered from their dispersions, and endowed with the promised inheritance of the holy land in eternal life, and in the holy city: "THE LORD IS THERE," which Abraham sought; the New Jerusalem which John saw, where God will tabernacle with men: "And he will dwell with them, and they shall be his people, and God himself shall be with them, and be their God; and God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes, and there shall be no more death, neither

sorrow nor crying, neither shall there be any more pain," Rev. xxi, 3, 4.

This is "the hope of Israel:" is it not also a faithful interpretation of the Scripture doctrine of the return of the Jews? Surely, they shall inherit the holy land for ever.

Child of Adam, "son of God," shun the example of profane Esau, who indulged his appetite at the price of his birthright. Lay hold of eternal life. Sanctify your body, and expect your birthright in the resurrection of the dead. Of this inheritance no earthly father, though a rich Jew, can endow his offspring; no base father, though a poor slave, can deprive them. All its heirs cry in the spirit unto God: "Doubtless, thou art our Father, though Abraham be ignorant of us, and Israel acknowledge us not," Isa. lxiii, 16. "And a great multitude, which no man could number, of *all nations, and kindreds, and people, and tongues,* stood before the throne, and before the Lamb, clothed with white robes, and palms in their hands, and cried with a loud voice, saying, Salvation to our God, which sitteth upon the throne, and unto the Lamb. Amen: blessing, and glory, and wisdom, and thanksgiving, and honor, and power, and might, be unto our God for ever and ever. Amen." Rev. vii, 9, 10, 12. H. D. W.

New-York, December 18, 1841.

Art. III.—*Prize Essays on a Congress of Nations, for the Adjustment of International Disputes, and for the Promotion of Universal Peace without resort to Arms; together with a sixth Essay, comprising the Substance of the Rejected Essays.* Pp. 700. Boston: published by Whipple & Damrell, for the American Peace Society. 1840.

In 1828 the American Peace Society was organized at New-York. Similar associations exist in the principal countries of Europe. Their object is "permanent peace by persuasion, not by force." "Universal peace without resort to arms." This has, a thousand times, been called Utopian, is still called so, and doubtless will be for some time to come. It may be so regarded by some, whose attention may be turned to the subject by this article. But we ask such to give the subject an examination. We ask them but to read the publications of the American Peace Society, and we believe they will espouse its cause. The peace cause, however, is not alone in being regarded Utopian. Indeed,

there is scarcely a philanthropic or benevolent enterprise of the present age that has not been so regarded. So have the Bible and missionary enterprises been considered by many, and still are by some. But the friends of these enterprises know that this does not render them so; though, to their regret, they are aware that they are retarded just in proportion as they are so considered, inasmuch as those, who look upon them as ideal, are restrained from acting in their favor. The friends of religion believe that the gospel is destined to be preached among all people, that the church is to be instrumental in this work, and that it is now gloriously in the way of being accomplished by missionary movements. They believe that the Bible is destined to be read in every language, and they are making efforts with a fair prospect of bringing it to pass, before many years more shall pass away. The friends of religion and humanity have long mourned over the widespread and destructive ravages of intemperance; but they have eventually discovered that there is a way by which the evil, great and extensive as it is, may be overcome; and their efforts to accomplish this great work have been crowned with most encouraging success. So has it been with other philanthropic enterprises that might be mentioned. The friends of religion, of humanity, and of peace, have long mourned over the dismal ravages of war, but only of late have they discovered—from what they have seen of the success that has attended other benevolent enterprises—that wars may be terminated, and lasting, universal peace established. And further, they are of the sentiment that this is destined to take place, and that man is to be instrumental in this work. While they believe that the gospel of peace is to be "preached in all the world," and "the mountain of the Lord's house established in the top of the mountains, and all nations flow unto it," they believe, also, that the time shall come when "nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more." Any one, who carefully examines the subject, must, as we think, come to the conclusion, that not one of the objects contemplated in the great moral enterprises of the present day is more feasible than that with reference to which the friends of peace are laboring.

They rely, for the furtherance of their cause, on the dissemination of light; and expect as this shall be done, that the attention of men will be secured, their minds informed, their sentiments corrected, and public opinion, "the queen of the world," turn in their favor. When this shall be fully accomplished, the work is done; for, in this age of the world, when power and government are

falling, where they should, into the hands of the people, public opinion is only to demand the accomplishment of any work, and it is done. In the dissemination of light, they regard themselves as aided by every other moral movement; particularly by the spread of the Bible, the gospel, and liberal principles. They regard the various religious and benevolent movements of the present day as mutual helps to each other. Such they truly are, and he who takes an enlarged view of things, rejoices at the progress of any and all of these. And every friend of humanity must rejoice to know that there is a portion of the human race whose thoughts are turned on peace, on permanent, universal peace. That their object is good, all must acknowledge. Whether they shall be able to accomplish it, we know is doubted. But with the blessing of Heaven, it is believed, their object will eventually be accomplished. For the purpose of contributing to this end, the American Peace Society has issued the work under consideration. The following is the history of its origin, as condensed from the preface.

A congress of nations has been a favorite plan with the American Peace Society, ever since its first organization. Two gentlemen of New-York, in the year 1831, offered five hundred dollars for the best essay on a congress of nations, and one hundred for the second best; and the Hon. Joseph Story, William Wirt, and John M'Lean were appointed as the committee to award the premium. About forty essays were handed in for this prize. The committee of award could not agree on any one of the essays as superior to the others, but recommended that the premium should be divided among five of the best, which they designated. The gentlemen who offered the premium rejected this plan, and raised the premium to one thousand dollars for the best essay only, and appointed the Hon. John Quincy Adams, Chancellor Kent, and Thomas S. Grimke, the committee of award. Mr. Grimke having died before the essays were examined, the Hon. Daniel Webster consented to take his place. But the second committee were no more successful than the first, and separated without coming to any agreement. After this the society authorized its president, together with such other persons as he should choose out of the executive committee, to select five of the best essays to be published in a volume, together with a sixth essay, composed by the president, and containing all the matter relevant to the subject which was elicited by the rejected essays.

It is expressed in the preface as the intention of the American Peace Society in publishing the work "to present a copy of it to the president of the United States, the heads of departments, the

governors of every state in the Union, to every foreign ambassador in Washington, to every crowned head in Europe, and to the executive of every republic in America." This has already been done. The work has been favorably received, even among the crowned heads of Europe, from some of whom encouraging answers have been given. But the work was not designed alone as a present to the leading spirits of the age; but also as a means of diffusing light among the generality of men, and of turning their attention to the great plan proposed in it.

It is an octavo volume of seven hundred pages, got up in the first style. The paper is of the fairest quality. The type is large and open; and the impression admirable. As to the style, it is such as we should expect the style of the ablest and best writers to be on a momentous and fruitful subject. The work, throughout, is fraught with important matter, and the information belonging alone to either essay is sufficient to compensate for the expense of the purchase.

The first essay, in the order of the volume, may be regarded, principally, as introductory to its leading subject, rather than as a full dissertation upon it. In endeavoring to give some idea of this essay, we shall principally use the author's own words, as given in a brief recapitulation at the close. In the outset he has "endeavored to show the reasonableness of the expectation that wars shall eventually cease; that their frequency may, at no distant period, be greatly diminished; and that the friends of peace are thus furnished with a broad and solid basis of good sense and sound philosophy, for their philanthropic efforts and expectations." He has "shown that the imagination of the poet has loved to dwell in the bright visions of a peaceful age; that philosophers have delighted to muse upon the theme of a race living together in harmony; and that the eye of the prophet, penetrating the veil of futurity, has discerned the advent of an era when men shall learn war no more." He has endeavored to prove, and we think has proved to the satisfaction of any one who carefully reads his essay, "that the very nature of man revolts at the evils of war; that his humanity recoils from the contemplation of its miseries and curses, and that his intellect denounces the scheme of warfare as one of gross prodigality—as an absurd mode of procuring security and quiet, and as the most fruitful source of political mischiefs." He has exhibited "a simple view of the rules of conduct and modes of intercourse, by which nations are now directed, in both peace and war;" and has made "manifest the superior advantages of a congress of nations for adjusting nice and

delicate points in national relations." He has then "considered in what manner the projected tribunal could be called into being;"—"what subjects shall come within its cognizance;"—"and what shall be the nature and extent of its powers, and the sanctions attached to its decisions." He has finally shown, by reference to history, "that the proposed international tribunal bears no resemblance, in constitution, powers, or purposes, to any of the councils, leagues, unions, alliances, or congresses of ancient or modern times, and is not, therefore, liable to any objections which may be made to them, but can be fairly advocated or assailed only on the abstract principles of expediency, justice, and humanity." The author closes with the following sentiment:—

"Whenever, in the course of human events, under the direction of a merciful and benignant Providence, a considerable number of the leading commercial states shall, by treaty stipulations, establish a commission for the compilation of a uniform system of international law, and thus remove, as between themselves, one fertile source of discord; and still more, whenever such nations shall covenant one with another, that in no case will any two of them have recourse to the bloody arbitrament of war, but will refer the decision of all exciting disputes to a congress of delegates chosen from the other associated powers, and composing either a standing and permanent board of arbitration, or a special and temporary commission—whenever that period shall arrive, the bright visions of prophetic philanthropy shall be more fully realized, and shine forth in living beauty before the eyes of a delighted world; then shall the strong and figurative language of Isaiah become familiar and true as household words; and then shall the 'golden era' of the poets return under the auspices, not of a heathen Saturn—a fabulous divinity—but of that Saviour, Christ the Lord, whose highest title is, 'PRINCE OF PEACE'—and whose advent was announced in Judea as the coming of 'peace on earth and good will to men.'"—P. 91.

The second essay is not without its faults. There is too much of obscurity, and somewhat of abruptness in the style; but its greatest fault is a want of arrangement, from which results considerable repetition. But if faults it has, it has more of excellences; and the reader will readily excuse the former while he contemplates the latter. The author has studied Burlamaqui, Vattell, and Martin, and has drawn largely from Azuni. This we learn from his fidelity in giving credit. He is, however, capable of thinking for himself, of thinking profoundly, and there is much valuable originality in this dissertation. There is also in it much of conciseness; owing to which, and the want of arrangement, it is difficult to give an abstract or synopsis of it, and do it justice.

In the commencement, in treating of the unlawfulness and injustice of war, the author uses the following language :—

"Neither in a moral nor a national point of view can war be lawful, except as being *indispensable* to acquire or defend some right, or redress some wrong. It must be unlawful to seek justice in the mere conflict of physical forces. Justice and violence are not consequences of each other, and as clearly have no connection authorizing an inference that national disputes can be rightly adjusted by force of arms. A common international tribunal of justice and equity is the new system proposed. This is to supply the place of war, which has been a system, in effect and in operation, of force—of chance—adverse to national and natural rights, and to none more than the right of *protection* of life and property. The choice between life and death, happiness and misery, is not more important than the choice between these repugnant systems." —Page 98.

In a subsequent paragraph, a prophetic sentence, closely allied to what we have here inserted, seems incidentally to drop from his pen :—

"Contrary to reason—the law of nature and justice—the moral and divine laws—and the great interests of men and nations, it will cease, and its vain glory will soon perish with it."

He meets the objection of novelty, urged against the proposed congress, and shows that all which is designed to be accomplished in it, or the greater part of it, is in the constant process of being accomplished in negotiations, arbitrations, mediations, congresses, and alliances. On this topic he remarks,—

"If it (the proposed congress) were entirely a novelty, it would not on that account appear inexpedient. We shall presently inquire how much and fast, of late years, *public opinion* has favored it. Besides, the objection of novelty, should it be pressed, does not attach to the institution, which substantially is nothing more than the *creation of an agent;* but rather to the civilized world, meriting as it does the reproach of not having *earlier* founded such an institution. This congress is in form only novel, but in principle it is an *improvement*, a term of marked significance in this 'age of improvements.'"—P. 130.

The writer has an able paragraph on the "science of war," "falsely so called," and treats the matter with becoming severity. He shows that, "as a science, war is unlike every other science; in its influences, positively injurious; in its effects, absolutely destructive."—P. 113.

Other topics of equal importance are treated in this essay which we cannot notice for want of space. For the same reason we must pass by many passages fraught with beauty and excellence, which we should be glad to insert.

The third essay, in order to be appreciated, must be read. Lest we may unduly prepossess the reader in its favor by our encomium, should we pass any upon it, we will insert the following from the preface :—

"The third essay is very beautiful in its language, and its style is perspicuous; but it does not enter deeply into the subject of a congress of nations, nor take so practical a view of it as is desirable; there is too much of a general nature in it. There is also in it some confusion of ideas on the subject of adjudication. This must ever be the case with all those who make no distinction between the legislative and judicial functions of a congress and court of nations."*

In the beginning of his dissertation, the writer confines his investigations

"to the modern nations of Europe, and to the changes which have therein taken place since the earliest period of their known history. We have done thus because we have more authentic and minute accounts of those changes, and because the history of one nation in these particulars is the history of mankind. Without proceeding further, therefore, we may safely conclude that there is some innate principle of the human constitution drawing us into a state of peace, and friendship, and social order, and inducing a consequent acquiescence in wholesome legal restraint, whenever this can be done without submitting to encroachment and indignity, but never otherwise."

The author here goes in opposition to the sentiment of Cicero, that "war is the natural state of man,"† and labors to show, "that a state of friendship and social union is the great governing desire of the whole human family," and proceeds to prove that "this *desire* has not been answered because other principles" (some of which he enumerates) "have, heretofore, in a great degree counteracted the effect of this pacific propensity." This sentiment will appear novel to some, and be doubted by many; but the reasonableness of it will appear to any one on reading the essay and retrospecting the annals of history. It will be seen, to be sure, that the world has ever been a theatre of war and bloodshed; but it will also be seen, that it has been steadily approximating "a state of peace, and friendship, and social order." To show this is one of the leading designs of the writer. In doing which he goes back to the earliest times reached by authentic history, and shows how, from the marriage contract, and the organization of families, there first arose clans and tribes; how they became blended and enlarged by unions and conquests; and how, in the process of

* This distinction is clearly made in the sixth essay.

† Cicero, Oratio pro P. Sextio, cap. 42.

centuries, these separate and belligerent bodies politic became consolidated and formed into the ancient Oriental empires. From these early times he carries the reader on to Greece, to Rome, to feudal times. He glances, in an expressive manner, at the history of the principal nations that have figured on the theatre of the world, and shows that mankind have ever been tending to a state of permanent, universal tranquillity. After tracing the progress of civilization among individuals and smaller communities, he follows up the steps by which they have advanced to a species of conventional civil government, and remarks as follows respecting the mutual dependence and present regulations of the intercourse of nations:—

"They have already, though perhaps unconsciously, formed a species of social compact, which is almost matured into an effectual civil government. They have abolished the most glaring features of savage licentiousness; they have formed a federal republic; they have adopted a code of by-laws; they are provided with the means of enacting others; and they have the effective ability of enforcing all their regulations. We are now endeavoring to obtain the enactment of a great national statute, abolishing for ever a barbarous and bloody institution, and substituting a system founded on the principles of reason and humanity, at present professed by all the civilized nations of the earth."—P. 243.

We now leave this essay and proceed to the fourth; in commendation of which nothing more need be said than that it was written by Thomas C. Upham, Professor of Mental and Moral Philosophy in Bowdoin College, Maine. Professor Upham's reputation as a writer will secure to his essay respectful attention. The essay is divided into eight chapters. In the first are given historical notices of the different councils or associations that have existed in the world, which bear some analogy to the plan proposed. In the second, he notices some of the objects that would engage the attention of such a council. The objects noticed are: inalienable rights; crimes against humanity; improvements in the law of nations; commercial intercourse; naturalization and allegiance; contracts in relation to different nations; majority, evidence, and law of domicil; retaliation; measures for the relief of suffering nations; interpretation of treaties; military regulations in time of peace; the entire and permanent extinction of war. The third is devoted to the consideration of weights and measures, and the fourth to that of the slave-trade. In the fifth the writer treats of the insufficiency of the present modes of national redress; in the sixth, objections to the proposed congress are considered;

in the seventh, circumstances favorable to its establishment are noticed; and the eighth closes with appropriate remarks.

Of the slave-trade the writer justly remarks, "If there is any discussion, in which the whole human race could properly be concerned, it is in relation to this insufferable traffic." Much appalling information is given on this subject. We have only room for the following:—

"It is not easy to state with perfect precision, but the average number of enslaved Africans, violently torn away each year from their native country, may be estimated with probability at not less than seventy-five thousand. Many persons, who have been favorably situated to form a correct estimate, have placed the number as high as one hundred thousand." "What king, what legislator, can be found who will not raise his voice against this horrid wickedness, till it shall reach all lands, all nations! *And yet this traffic, with all its dreadful attendants, has already measured a pilgrimage of more than three hundred years; it has already consigned to slavery and all the horrors of slavery, forty millions of persons; and still lives and flourishes.*"—Pp. 385, 387.

The essay thus concludes:—

"Let us indulge the inspiration of so great a theme. Let us place before us this universal parliament, which contains in itself the extract and the essence of the wisdom of all climes. And how gloriously it strikes upon the sense, and amplifies and fills the imagination! When the rude Gauls entered the city of Rome, and saw the venerable senators seated in silence to receive them, they were filled with admiration at the dignity of their appearance. They read, in their staid countenances and motionless lips, and marble brows, a stern integrity, and a patriotic devotedness to their fallen country; and the hearts of the barbarians were strongly moved.

"But the congress of nations is not a silent assembly; it speaks to the sight, but it speaks to the ear also. And in what a voice! With what depths of research and learning! With what profound and harmonious eloquence! England sends her Fox and Pitt, her Cannings and Broughams; France, her Foys, and Manuals, and Constants; Prussia, her Hardenberg; regenerated Spain, her Arguelles; and our own beloved America, her Franklins and Jeffersons, her Madisons and Marshalls. Would not such an assembly command the attention of the world; that broad, deeply interested world, which they would have for their audience! Would not the voice of war, always ready to break out in threatenings and blood, grow silent at their frown! Would not wisdom emanate from their lips, which would enlighten the obscurities of public law, and spread effulgence over the too long perplexed and darkened pathway of nations! As in ancient times, distinct and powerful communities resorted to the senate of Rome for the settlement of their difficulties, we should now see nations, powerful in arts and in arms, resorting to them for their advice; but they would come

to a purer and more exalted tribunal. Their jarring differences are settled; their drawn swords are returned to the scabbard; and they go back to their hills and valleys, their vines and their fig-trees; and beside the cool fountain and the overarching shade, and around the domestic hearth, no longer visited by sudden and cruel alarms, they celebrate the dominion of peace and the triumph of universal justice." —Pp. 425, 426.

No one of the essays ought, perhaps, to be more highly esteemed than the fifth. There may be too much of denunciation in some of its parts, and something eccentric in the style, in some places; but its defects, if it has any, are few. We will endeavor to present the reader with a succinct digest of this essay, which can be done with tolerable ease, as it is written with clearness and arrangement. In the first place two propositions are established "on an immovable basis:" First, "That the most probable way of ascertaining which is the aggrieved party in an international, as well as in an individual dispute, is, to refer it to a third party." Secondly, "That nations, as well as individuals, being fallible and frail, can, consistently with true dignity, refer their disputes in this manner." Another point is then established, viz.: "That nations should not only refer their disputes to arbitration, but they should have a regularly organized tribunal for that and other kindred purposes." Then is discussed, with much ability, *the only real question* at issue, viz.: "Will mankind, depraved as they are, consent to such an arrangement?" The affirmative of this question is conclusively maintained. It is objected, the writer notices, that though mankind have gone so far in civilization, "that war still continues; thus proving that the principle which has accomplished so much, is unequal to the task now proposed." This objection is swept away by considering some of the changes that have been wrought in the abolition of barbarous customs; such changes as would lead us to expect the abolition of the custom of war.

After disposing of the question, whether mankind will ever consent to the proposed arrangement, the writer shows the practicability of it, and the manner in which it may be commenced. Objections are considered; and it is shown in what manner the decisions of this congress may be enforced; and it is conclusively shown, that "the want of a plausible excuse" to do otherwise than observe them, in other words, "*the point of honor*," (the same principle that in most cases moves to war,) would in most, if not all cases, insure their enforcement. Then are considered the law of nature, the customs of nations, public opinion, and the improvement of nations in these respects. It is shown that war is not

only unchristian, but unworthy of civilized men; and that as civilization and true Christianity advance, war must decrease, and some pacific tribunal for the settlement of international disputes be instituted in its place. As it draws toward a close, the essay makes some powerful appeals to Christians, to philanthropists, and to men; and denounces war in terms too severe, perhaps, (though it tells nothing but the truth,) to render it the most useful to some for whom the work was designed. A single extract and we are done with this essay:—

"No wonder that the Messiah is called the Prince of peace. No wonder that it was predicted as the distinguishing blessing that was to signalize his reign, that 'nations should learn war no more.' How could the benign character of his religion be better represented than by showing that it was calculated to overthrow this hydra evil? Thrice blessed gospel! by thy hallowed influence all these commotions, all these heart-burnings, all these divisions and contentions, shall end; man stand erect in the enjoyment of his unshackled rights, and roam unrestricted to the ends of the earth; nation commingle with nation, divested of jealousy, rivalry, and prejudice, their interests no longer conflicting; and the whole race of men constitute one general brotherhood, one immense and happy community!

"Shall these blessed anticipations be realized? What prevents? Where is the friend of human kind that will not do what in him lies to produce this glorious consummation? And where the wretch who, for pelf or fame, for obstinacy or revenge, would dare throw obstacles in the way? Breathes there so vile a recreant the air of Heaven? Or if, indeed, such wretches can be found, will men permit them thus to do?

'War is a game,
Which, were the people wise,
Kings would not play at.'

Heaven knows it to be a wanton, wicked waste of life. Heaven knows that, unless made the last resort, in reality it is murder—wholesale murder. And Heaven, too, knows, that it cannot be called the last resort, till the plan which we propose shall at least have been proved impracticable, by a fair and an honest trial."—P. 505.

We have now noticed the prize essays. The sixth was written by the late and much lamented William Ladd, Esq., president of the American Peace Society, than whom no one was more capable of writing on this subject. His mind, cast by nature in one of the finest molds, was, in early life, highly cultivated by a liberal education, afterward extensively stored with valuable reading, and treasured with useful and extensive knowledge of a commercial and national kind, from following a maritime life. He finally settled down in independent circumstances, and turned his attention to the cause of peace, which engrossed his mind, almost ex-

clusively, for the last twenty years of his life. For its promotion he has given profusely from his purse, and traveled and lectured extensively.* Together with some other leading spirits in the enterprise, he was instrumental in getting the subject before several of the state legislatures, and also before congress. The cause has not been much noticed in the leading papers, either political or religious; nor has it engaged the attention of many of the leaders, comparatively speaking, in either church or state; yet it has several times been brought before the Massachusetts legislature, by which body it has been favorably noticed and encouragingly reported on. It has also been brought before other state legislatures. Twice, or more, it has come before congress by way of petition, and one long and very able report has been made on the subject before the House of Representatives by the committee on foreign relations.

In his preface Mr. Ladd remarks,—

"The author has endeavored to comprise all the thoughts on a congress of nations contained in the rejected essays worth preserving. He differs from all the other essays, either accepted or rejected, in dividing the subject into two parts, viz.: a congress of nations, for the purpose of settling the principles of international law; and a court of nations for the adjudication of cases submitted to it by the mutual consent of two or more contending nations. He has studied brevity, perspicuity, and arrangement, rather than a fine style of writing. His essay consists chiefly of a statement of facts, the general history of former attempts at a congress of nations, and of the peace enterprise in this country and in Europe, so far as it relates to a congress of nations, together with a copious appendix, containing many of the petitions to legislative bodies, and all their reports and resolves on them."

Thus we have a condensed view of this essay in the author's own words. We will only add that he enters largely into the organization and practical operations of his proposed schemes. The appendix is of much value, containing, as it does, the arguments of petitions, and the thoughts of some of our first legislators on this subject, as given in their reports and resolves; and we have in them the sentiments of some who are not entirely in favor of the plan proposed, so that we have some of the reasons which may be presented on the other side of the question.

Some may suppose, perhaps, that there must be considerable repetition in these essays; but, though there be some, there is not so much as to be at all objectionable to the work. Should it

* The last three years of his life he was a regular licensed minister of the Congregational denomination, and regularly preached on the subject.

be duly noticed and appreciated, the present edition would be speedily taken up and another called for. It should be in the hands of every enemy of war; and it may be recommended to them who are not such, if any of that class there be, as a book well worthy of their attention—as a book from which they may derive much valuable information, though it might have no effect in changing their sentiments. After all that is done; after these essays are published and circulated, and reviewed and read, there may be doubts in the minds of many, possibly in the minds of most people, as to the practicability of the projected scheme. Though this be so, the scheme receives the approval of many of the leading spirits of the age, and by some is advocated and urged. This is fully as much so as could be expected, considering its novelty. The distinguished Thomas S. Grimke, who died of cholera in 1834, was a full and decided friend of the peace cause, and we believe an advocate for a congress of nations. The Hon. John Quincy Adams, though he does not indorse all the principles of the American Peace Society, strongly advocates this plan; and it is believed that most of the leading men of this nation, and many of other nations, are its friends, and believe in its feasibility. The legislature of Massachusetts, a body distinguished for its wisdom, is decided and ardent in recommending measures for the promotion of peace and the establishment of a congress of nations. It is given as the opinion of the senate, in a report adopted by that body in 1837, that such a tribunal

"*is neither visionary in theory, unimportant in character, nor unattainable in result:* but, on the contrary, is well deserving the countenance and cordial support of every friend to the stability of the social compact, the increase of national wealth, the advancement of civilization, the promotion of the arts and sciences, the extension of freedom, the security of constitutional government, the improvement of public morals, the extension of the Christian faith, and thus to the general welfare of mankind."—*Appendix*, p. 651.

But whatever may be the result of efforts for such an establishment, the efforts of peace men are not unavailing. It will be recollected that, within half a dozen years last past, there was some prospect of a war between the United States and Mexico. In 1837 petitions from some of the peace societies went up to congress, praying our government to accede to the proposition of the Mexican congress, viz., to submit the matters of dispute between the two nations to the decision of a friendly power. Ex-president Adams, in a letter to the corresponding secretary of the New-York Peace Society, declares that congress was indebted to those

petitions for the knowledge that this proposition had been made by Mexico; and, says he,—

"This removed all immediate danger of a war with Mexico; and if the petitioners of the peace societies had never rendered to their country any other service, they would have deserved the thanks of the whole nation for this."—*Mr. Ladd's Essay*, p. 594.

The leaven is working. A change is evidently taking place in the minds of men on the subject of war; and there are plain indications among men that some *radical change*, from "brute force" to peaceful remedies, must ere long be effected. Pacific sentiments, measures, and results, are more prevalent than they have been in any former age of the world; and they are on the advance. France, to be sure, is armed, and a part of her population are madly clamoring for war; and some of the other nations of Europe have, of late, been increasing their military preparations, having, doubtless, been moved to it by the more than ordinary belligerent attitude which France has of late assumed. But the almost universal peace which prevails shows conclusively, that the thoughts of the governing portion of mankind are averse to war; and this further appears from the fact, that there is, of late, little blood shed in the collisions of nations, compared with what there used to be, and in that wars are of comparatively short duration. This has been the case in all the wars in which Christian or civilized nations have recently been concerned. The happy age, which prophets have predicted, and of which poets have sung, seems to be at hand, an age in which our world shall cease to be

> "One wide extended field of blood,
> Where men like fiends each other tear,
> In all the hellish rage of war."

These essays, it is hoped, will contribute something toward the establishment of a congress of nations. But should they not; should one never be established, they will, doubtless, help in diffusing pacific sentiments. The following is the opinion of John Quincy Adams, as expressed in a letter to the president of the American Peace Society:—"The publication of the five dissertations, and the distribution of them among the princes and rulers of nations, will awake and keep alive the attention both of Europe and America to the subject." Ought not, will not, every friend of religion, every lover of mankind, lend a helping hand to this cause? May we not hope that "the great family of nations," as expressed in the report from which we have before quoted, "shall yet meet in a friendly council—an august assembly!—to consult together

for the common good, to promote the general welfare of mankind, to cause the sword to be sheathed, the bayonet to be unfixed, and to bid the iron-tongued artillery no longer cause the nations to quake before its thunder. Not that peace men contemplate the total discharge of navies, the entire dismantling of forts, the immediate disbanding of militia. The sword of justice must be uplifted still. The armed police of nations must remain on the alert. The court-room does not supersede the necessity of the watch-house. Yet the trial by jury has superseded, and may well supplant the trial by combat; and arbitration, or a court of nations, may be made the final resort instead of an appeal to arms."

Nassau, New-York, 1841.

Art. IV.—*The Life of Wiclif.* By Charles Webb Le Bas, M. A., Professor in the East India College, Herts; and late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. 18mo., pp. 395. New-York: Harper & Brothers. 1832.

Though the name of Wiclif is well known to the student of ecclesiastical history, yet the important part he took in the grand work of the Reformation is not generally understood. His life, to be sure, has been written by *Lewis* and *Vaughan*, and more recently by *Le Bas*, but it seems not to have attracted that attention which the importance of the subject would appear to demand. Mosheim also notices Wiclif in a very cursory manner, without attributing to him the merit which he deserves as a pioneer in the great work of purifying the church from its defilements. This defect in Mosheim, his translator, Murdock, has attempted to supply by giving in a copious note the outlines of his character, of his labors and sufferings in the cause of his divine Master.

To *Charles Webb Le Bas*, however, we are indebted for a very full and satisfactory account of this holy and intrepid man of God. It is, therefore, from this interesting piece of biography, published by the Harpers, as one of the series of their Theological Library, that we shall extract the principal facts in relation to the life, labors, and sufferings of Wiclif, as well as of the effects which he produced on society, referring to Mosheim for some items respecting the general state of the church at the time he made his appearance. It is, indeed, hardly possible for us, living as we do in the midst of so many high and distinguished blessings and privileges, to make a just estimate of the obstacles which were

thrown in the way of Wiclif—obstacles arising from the general corruption which prevailed among almost all orders and ranks of men, both in the church and state. To be convinced of this, let us take a brief review of the condition of things at the time he appeared upon the stage of action.

In the year 1378, after the death of *Gregory XI.*, the cardinals who formed the electoral college proclaimed *Bartholomew de Regnano* to be duly elected pontiff, who assumed the name of *Urban VI.* It is stated that they were driven to this measure by the clamors of the people of Rome, who, fearing that a Frenchman would be elected, who would continue the pontifical seat at *Avignon*, in France, with furious threats demanded that an Italian should be placed at the head of the church.

This new pontiff, by his uncourteous conduct, the severity of his temper, and his haughty demeanor, soon alienated the affections of all from him, and even the cardinals to whom he was indebted for his elevation became disgusted with his conduct. So intolerable was his tyranny, and pernicious his dissipations, that the cardinals withdrew to *Fondi*, a Neapolitan city, and there elected another pope, *Robert*, a count of Geneva, who assumed the name of *Clement VII.*, and, in order to quiet the people of Rome, alleged that Urban was elected only in pretence. Thus the Latin branch of the church was blessed, or cursed, with two heads at the same time, both, according to their own doctrine, infallible, though at open war with each other.

Urban continued at Rome, while Clement exercised his functions at Avignon, in France, and thus these rival pontiffs divided the patrimony of St. Peter between them and their respective followers. This constituted what has been called *the great schism of the west.* For during not less than fifty years the church had two or three heads, assailing each other with the utmost virulence, hurling at one another the thunders of excommunication, and the anathemas of St. Peter and all the holy apostles.

In this state of things, what could be expected other than that the church should become deluged with crime, while torn to pieces by such furious antagonists. Hence it is said by the historians of those days, that the clergy, before awfully corrupt, now laid aside even the appearance of piety and godliness, and rolled in luxury and licentiousness, while the people were thrown into perplexity and doubt.

Many fruitless attempts were made by kings, princes, bishops, and theologians, to heal the breach, and restore peace and union to the church. The schism, however, was continued; for on the

death of *Urban VI.*, which took place in 1389, the Italian cardinals, who had adhered to his interests, and still cleaving to their principles, elected for his successor at Rome *Peter Thomacelli*, a Neapolitan, distinguished as *Boniface IX.* And on the death of *Clement VII.*, in the year 1394, the French cardinals appointed as his successor *Peter de Luna*, a Spaniard, who took the name of *Benedict XIII.* Thus was the lust of dominion, the pride of office, and a haughty contempt of all rule and order, made the instruments of temporal aggrandizement, to the destruction of peace and harmony. All means failing to remove this scandal from the church, the French Church withdrew from the dominion of both the pontiffs, in a grand council held at Paris.

In the mean time the vices of that devouring army of ecclesiastics, called *monks*, arose to such a pitch, that even those wicked and debauched pontiffs, and more especially Clement, held them in abhorrence. So inveterate were they, that all labor to reform them proved vain. Yet such influence had they, more particularly the *Dominicans* and *Franciscans*, that every thing of much consequence was transacted under their supervision, both in ecclesiastical and civil courts, both in Rome and the cabinets of princes. The vast influence which these monks acquired on account of their apparent sanctity, caused the hatred of the higher and lower orders to become inflamed against them. Hence, they became the objects of general reproach, and various methods were resorted to to abridge their influence, and finally to put them down. In England, the university of Oxford resisted them manfully. But among all those who set themselves against these begging monks, none was more conspicuous than *John Wiclif*, nor was any better qualified for the task.

He was born near Richmond, in Yorkshire, about the year 1324, and received his education at Oxford, where he was a commoner in Queen's College, and afterward of Merton, in which he became a fellow. He early evinced a comprehensive mind, and applied himself to study with all his might, and became a profound scholar, more especially in philosophy, metaphysics, and theology.

Beholding the corruptions of the mendicant monks, their haughtiness, and the innovations they were making upon truth and righteousness, his spirit was stirred within him, and, in 1360, he distinguished himself by becoming the powerful advocate of the university against their infringements of its laws and usages. He was eminently qualified for this work. Possessing an intellect naturally strong and vigorous, acute and penetrating, and a mind expanded and disciplined by education, he saw through their

corrupt designs, and applied himself with admirable skill and assiduity to unveil the hypocrites before the world.

They writhed under the lashes of his pen and tongue, for he not only wrote against them, but also disputed with them publicly; but the more they winced and writhed, the more severe were his strokes; until finally the archbishop of Canterbury took up the cause against him, and ejected him from his wardenship; for such were his attainments and his celebrity, that he had been made master of Baliol College, and, four years after, warden of Canterbury Hall.

From this decision of the archbishop, Wiclif appealed to the pope, who, to give himself time for due deliberation on so grave a matter, delayed deciding for three years, during which time Wiclif continued his stripes upon the backs of the monks and the corrupt clergy, nor did he spare the pontiff in his animadversions. For this audacity he was made to feel the vengeance of pontifical hatred; for in 1370, Cardinal *Andruynus*, the papal commissioner, decided the cause against him, and deprived him of his office.

This stroke, however, by no means damped the ardor of his zeal, nor deprived him of the means of exemplifying it in opposition to the errors and corruptions of the times. Through the favor of the duke of Lancaster, soon after his ejection from his wardenship, he obtained the rectory of Lutterworth, in the diocese of Lincoln, which he held till his death, faithfully discharging the duties of a pastor.

But Wiclif had bearded the lion in his den. He could not, therefore, retreat with honor, nor with a good conscience. Having looked into the den of corruptions, and beheld the moral pollution with which it was stained, he could not rest without doing all in his power to cleanse it. He, therefore, attacked the vices and the errors of the pope, the clergy, and more especially the monks, with renewed zeal and fresh courage. His friends, however, did not forsake him. In 1372 he took his degree of D. D., and he read lectures on theology with distinguished ability, and great applause. Being thus encouraged, he renewed his assaults upon the prevailing errors of the times, deriving his doctrines from the Holy Scriptures, which he now began to examine.

In 1374, such was the confidence inspired in Wiclif's talents and integrity, that the king of England sent him as his ambassador to Rome, to remonstrate with the pope against the papal *reservations* of churches. It could not have been very agreeable to his holiness to recognize a man as an ambassador from a foreign court who had waged a war against him in so fearless and independent a

manner as Wiclif had done. He was forced, however, to submit to this apparent degradation.

This journey to Rome, however, only inflamed the mind of this intrepid reformer still more against the reigning abominations of the age. Here he saw crime personified in the pope and his obsequious cardinals. His righteous soul was, therefore, vexed still more "with the filthy conversation of the wicked," and he dare not hold his peace. Accordingly, on his return he lifted up his voice like a trumpet against the pope in his theological lectures, calling him, without disguise, "*antichrist*, the proud, worldly priest of Rome, the most cursed of clippers and purse-cutters." Nor did he forget his old friends, the mendicant monks, but poured upon their heads the denunciation of divine wrath.

It could not be expected otherwise than that this conduct, however justifiable in the sight of God, should provoke the wrath of those miserable beings. Accordingly, in 1376, the monks drew up nineteen articles, extracted from his writings, and sent them, as so many specifications against their assailant, to his holiness the pope. The principal of these allegations were the following :—

"1. That there is one only universal church, consisting of the whole body of the *predestinate*.

"2. That the eucharist, after consecration, was not the real body of Christ, but only an *emblem*, or *sign* of it.

"3. That the Church of Rome was no more the head of the universal church than any other church; and that St. Peter had no more authority given him than the rest of the apostles.

"4. That the pope had no more jurisdiction, in the exercise of the keys, than any other priest.

"5. That if the church misbehaved, it was not only lawful, but meritorious to dispossess her of her temporalities.

"6. That when a prince, or temporal lord, was convinced that the church made an ill use of her endowments, he was bound, under pain of damnation, to take them away.

"7. That the gospel was sufficient to direct the Christian in the conduct of his life.

"8. That neither the pope nor any other prelate ought to have prisons for the punishment of offenders against the discipline of the church."

Here, so early as 1376, long before Luther arose in Germany, did Wiclif advance all the essential doctrines of the Reformation; and in the doctrine of the eucharist was much clearer than the German reformer, for the latter never could rid himself of the popish dogma of transubstantiation, giving it but another name, namely, *consubstantiation*, implying that Christ was, in some

mysterious way, united with the bread and wine. Those, therefore, who are thankful to God for the benefits of the Reformation, should not forget that Wiclif opened the way for those who came after him in the road of truth and righteousness; that before either *Huss* or *Jerome* lifted up his voice against popish superstitions and moral delinquencies, the voice of Wiclif was heard roaring like distant thunder against those abominations which had long made desolate the heritage of God, and which at that time were pouring a destructive flood over the land.

But how did the pope receive these denunciations? Why, on the second day of May, 1377, he issued five bulls, addressed to the archbishop of Canterbury and the bishop of London, who were directed to bring the delinquent to trial, and to the king, who was desired to assist the bishops in the ecclesiastical court, and to the university of Oxford, ordering them to deliver up the accused. Before the bulls arrived, the king died; and the university treated the order with the contempt it so richly deserved, throwing their arms around their favorite and highly gifted son. The prelates, however, were more obedient, and summoned Wiclif to appear before them in London, within thirty days.

During this interval, the parliament assembled, and deliberated whether they might lawfully refuse to send treasure out of the kingdom whenever the pope desired it to be sent. And as an evidence of the strong confidence they had in the judgment of Wiclif, the solving of this doubt was, by the king and parliament, referred to him. He answered with the same fearless intrepidity with which he had already denounced the errors and haughty demeanor of the pope and his adherents, that it was lawful, and undertook to prove it was so, by the principles of the law of Christ.

He afterward appeared before his judges to answer the accusations which had been preferred against him by the haughty and contaminated monks. He was attended by his faithful patron, the duke of Lancaster, and the lord marshal, Earl Perry. A vast concourse was assembled to hear the case impleaded. They were, however, disappointed—for some altercations ensuing between the bishops and the two noblemen who attended Wiclif, the assembly was in a commotion, and he was conducted off in safety by his patrons, and thus escaped from trial, and from the clutches of his adversaries. He was then cited to appear at Lambeth. He obeyed the citation, and explained the charges in such a satisfactory manner, that the bishops judged it advisable to accept his explanations, and set him at liberty.

The next year Pope *Gregory XI.* was summoned before a

more impartial tribunal. On his death, his commission to the two bishops to try Wiclif also expired, and he was left at liberty to pursue the path of duty, for a season, without being molested. In his lectures and sermons he embraced every opportunity to expose the vices and abuses of the court of Rome, and to lash the clergy for their luxurious indolence, their ignorance and venality. He also published sixteen theses against transubstantiation, in which he expressly denied the doctrine of the real presence, a point on which Cranmer afterward split with the Church of Rome. The vice-chancellor and eleven doctors of divinity now lifted up their voices against him and condemned his doctrine. He was, therefore, soon called to pass through another fiery ordeal. In 1382 *William Courtney* was translated from the bishopric of London to the archiepiscopal see of Canterbury; and being more zealous than his predecessor for the honors of the church, he proceeded against Wiclif, summoning him to appear before a commission in London to answer for his conduct. Through the advice of his friends, he declined to appear; but the university of Oxford sent a letter in his favor, bearing ample testimony to his learning, piety, and soundness in doctrine. Notwithstanding this strong testimony in his favor, and the able arguments of his counsellors, fourteen of his conclusions were condemned as either heretical or erroneous.

These repeated trials, together with his immense labors, no doubt so wrought upon his physical constitution as to hasten the termination of his mortal existence: for soon after he left Oxford, in 1382, he had a slight shock of the palsy. He continued, however, to preach until 1384, when he was seized a second time, while in his pulpit at Lutterworth, and shortly after expired, aged sixty years.

He left a vast number of tracts behind him, on doctrinal and practical subjects in theology, in which he refuted the errors, and exposed the vices of the age, and particularly of the clergy and monks. But that which gave him the greatest celebrity was his translation of the sacred Scriptures, the first ever made in the English language. This translation was a monument of his learning and industry.

He also left a great number of followers, both in England and elsewhere, who were denominated Wiclifites, and, as a vulgar term of reproach, *Lollards*, a word derived from the Latin *lallo*, which means, to *sing in a low voice*, to lull to sleep, whence the word *lullaby*.*

* This word was first applied as a term of reproach in the beginning of the fourteenth century to a sect of Cellites, because when they carried a person to

After his death his followers were everywhere persecuted by those blood-thirsty monsters, the inquisitors, and other cruel instruments of pontifical vengeance. In the Council of Constance, which was held in 1415, his doctrines and writings were condemned by a solemn decree; and such was the hatred excited against him, that, in 1428, his bones were disinterred, and publicly burned.

Such was the fate of this first of English reformers. Though he may have had his faults, it appears manifest that he was actuated by a holy indignation against the abominations of popery, and an ardent attachment to truth and righteousness. Nor were the effects of his labors confined to England. His writings were read upon the continent, and were consulted by Huss and Jerome of Prague, and no doubt contributed not a little to enlighten their understandings, and to inflame their zeal in the cause of God. It is pleasant, also, to behold, amidst the reigning errors and corruptions of the times, some small rills of truth flowing along the vale of human misery and degradation, from which a few, no doubt, slaked their thirst. During the darkest periods of the church's history there were not wanting some pious and faithful souls, who, sickened with beholding the moral pollutions with which all orders and ranks were tainted, lifted up their voices against them, and strove to wash them away. These, however, were treated as heretics, and their voices silenced by the clamors of those in authority, or by the mandate of the sovereign pontiff. But their labors and sufferings were not in vain. Their blood became "the seed of the church," and their writings were read with avidity by those who followed them. Thus it was with Wiclif. He courageously stemmed the torrent of iniquity which was overflowing the land, and sweeping away every vestige of truth and piety from among men. And though his enemies succeeded in procuring a sentence of condemnation against his writings, and evinced their malice by digging up and burning his moldering bones, yet they could not silence the voice of conscience, nor extinguish the light which he had lit up in the world.

Though we have no certainty that either Huss or Jerome was first moved to action by the writings of Wiclif, yet we are assured

the grave who had died with the plague, they sung a funeral dirge, probably in a soft and mournful voice. And the same term was applied to the followers of Wiclif, either on account of the humble offices of the original Lollards, or from their practice of singing hymns. Their enemies, no doubt, meant it as a term of reproach, and to describe them as poor melancholy creatures, only fit to sing psalms at a funeral.—See *Watson's Dictionary.*

that they afterward consulted them, and were much encouraged and strengthened in their resolute determination to resist the errors and corruptions of the rulers of the church, by the example of this intrepid man of God. And though Luther was indebted to the New Testament for the first ray of light which disclosed to his mind the abominations of popery, yet he doubtless was greatly excited to persevere in his work by reflecting upon the labors of such men as the English and Bohemian reformers.

But they were all both enlightened and strengthened by the numerous examples, as well as by the blazing truths found in the sacred Scriptures. Neither sinful indulgence, nor the abominations of popery, can bear the light of this volume of divine truth. Hence the efforts made by the Church of Rome to suppress it. Hence, also, the efforts made by the reformers to open its pages to the people, well knowing that all who read and understand its language will justify their proceedings. What stronger evidence do we need of the errors of popery on the one hand, and of the truth of Protestantism on the other!

But are we thankful to God for the light and privileges of the Reformation? Let us, then, not forget John Wiclif. He struck the first stroke at the monster of iniquity on English soil. He was the first to open the path to the knowledge of the Holy Scriptures to the English reader. And what were the times in which he lived? Kings, princes, and emperors were obedient to the Roman pontiff. To call in question his word was considered sacrilege. He, indeed, "sat in the temple of God," and claimed the prerogatives of the Most High. "All the world wondered after the beast." Wickedness was exalted to the highest places in the church. Licentiousness and every species of iniquity were sanctioned by the example of popes and their clergy, and they "made merchandise of the souls of men" by selling them an indulgence to commit sin. And yet, in the midst of all these abominations, Wiclif had the boldness to lift up his voice, and to show to the people the iniquity of their priests, and to denounce, in just terms of reprobation, their deceitful practices.

But what effect had the labors of Wiclif on the people? The manner in which he escaped from the malice of his persecutors proves that he made a favorable impression upon his countrymen, high and low. We have already seen with what confidence and respect he was treated by the king and parliament, and the favor which he received from some of the nobles of the land. The fact is, such were the oppressions, the extortions, the cruel exactions, and the vices of the popes and their clergy, their insolence in

demanding homage of princes, and their haughty demeanor toward the people generally, that a spirit of dissatisfaction, amounting almost to rebellion, existed throughout England, and the people were glad to behold in such a man as Wiclif an ability and a courage to expose and resist these perpetual encroachments upon their rights and liberties. Hence, the king, Edward III., as well as many of his nobles, favored Wiclif, protected him against the machinations of his enemies, and encouraged him in his work. It is stated that Johanna, the widow of the Black Prince, John of Gaunt, Anne of Bohemia, queen of Richard II., the Duke of Lancaster, and the Earl Marshall of England, Lord Cobham, who afterward suffered martyrdom, were all favorable to our reformer, and greatly aided him in his endeavors to purify the land from the pollutions of popery.

But what were the effects of his labors on the common people? Did he adapt his labors to their condition? He most assuredly did. Besides translating the sacred Scriptures into the vernacular language of the country, and thereby furnishing the people with an infallible test of the truth of his doctrine, he wrote and circulated numerous tracts, in a popular style, adapted to the capacities of all who could read, and thus instructed them in the knowledge of divine truth. He, moreover, commissioned what he called "poor priests," to itinerate through the land, who preached in markets, in the lanes and streets, as well as in private houses, the word of God to the people. Through these instrumentalities, it is stated that every part of the kingdom was visited, and a very general attention was awakened to the things of religion.

He was led to the adoption of this method of spreading his principles, from the example of the monks, who, to secure the triumph of their order, itinerated from place to place, preaching obedience to the holy mother, and infecting the minds of the people with their pestiferous doctrines. To counteract this influence, Wiclif, having also the example of the apostles and primitive evangelists before him, authorized those priests who were converted to God, and embraced his doctrines, to "go out into the highways and hedges," to itinerate through the length and breadth of the land, with a view to enlighten the people in respect to the errors of popery, and in the knowledge of the truth as it is in Jesus.

Many of these men continued their itinerating labors after his death. And though some of them apostatized, and thereby brought a reproach upon the cause, and others were bribed by the bishops of the church to abjure their faith and come back to the church,

yet some of them suffered death rather than relinquish the cause they had espoused. At length, however, through the persecutions of their enemies, the intrigues of courtly sycophants, and the want of system among themselves, the Wiclifites, or Lollards, became extinct, and the land was left to mourn under the burdens of a deceitful priesthood, until other lights arose to dispel the darkness of a fallen and corrupt church.

Yet the seeds which Wiclif planted were never utterly destroyed. Though the first-fruits were reaped before they were fully ripened, yet the roots remained in the earth, and in due time they germinated, and sprung up, bearing a hundred fold. We ought, therefore, to remember this same poor man, who labored so faithfully to deliver the city.

His courage was equal to his wisdom. Having dipped into the word of God, and tasted of the refreshing streams of redeeming love, he could not do otherwise than invite his fellow-men to come to the pure fountain of eternal life. And no sooner were his eyes opened than he beheld, with amazement, the depth of iniquity into which the church was sunk, and, with a fearless independence, he proclaimed it abroad, that others might fear and give glory to God. God honored his servant by making him instrumental in tearing off the mask by which the pope and his satellites had so long hid their enormities from human view. And though his writings were afterward condemned, and his bones committed to the flames, they could not extinguish the light which he had poured upon the world. So long, therefore, as we prize the word of God, and the blessings of the Reformation, we must be grateful to God for raising up such a man as JOHN WICLIF, whose potent voice shook the throne on which the pope had so long reposed with inglorious ease, and taught the infallible that he was as mutable as other men of like passions with himself.

Wesleyan University, Dec. 13, 1841.

Art. V.—*The Cultivation of Vocal Music.*

Music appears to have been coeval with the existence of man. A passion for it was woven into the very texture of the soul, ere the first pair were turned off from the plastic hand of the Creator. Probably, indeed, the highest order of dependent beings in the whole universe, not only relish music, but are singularly qualified for the execution of it. At the laying of the foundation of the earth, according to the book of Job, the "morning stars sang together, and all the sons of God shouted for joy." And at the occurrence of a still more auspicious event, "a multitude of the heavenly host" joined the angel, who announced the birth of the divine Redeemer, in singing, "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, and good will to men."

But our present business is rather with the inhabitants of our own sphere. The passion for music is, perhaps, as universal as it is ancient. No people have, we believe, ever yet been found, however rude and barbarous, who are practical strangers to the inspiration of musical sounds. The shivering Icelander and the sun-burnt Moor, the rude Esquimaux and the polished Greek, the barbarian, the Scythian, the bond, the free; all delight in expressing the passions and emotions of the soul, by pouring them forth in what is deemed appropriate song. Though in some instances utterly destitute of those attributes with which science has invested the art, yet when addressed to untrained organs—organs familiar with nothing more finished—the effect may be surprisingly great. The Indian war-song, though wild and inharmonious, is full of excitement, and admirably adapted to arouse and sustain the turbulent passions of a savage bosom. Even the wail of distress from the lips of the untutored child of nature, over the lifeless form of a near relative, or at the grave of departed friendship, though as unchastened as the wind that sighs through the tops of the forest trees when bereft of their foliage, may, nevertheless, be expressive of deep and absorbing emotion. The truth is, the soul, whether affected by joy or sorrow, has its own musical nomenclature, and, when it would speak, is seldom at a loss to employ the right terms.

Of the power of music to move the human passions, history furnishes us with many surprising instances. We are told the ancient Greek musicians, in particular, were able to excite whatever passion they pleased; to inspire love or hatred, joy or grief, hope or fear, courage or despair; to raise these one after another; and to vary the passion just according to the variation of the music.

When Persepolis yielded to the power of Alexander's vast army, that all-conquering general resolved on sparing a city distinguished by so many monuments of human art and genius. But one of his favorite musicians, Timotheus, wished for its demolition, and, striking up one of his most provoking airs, so enraged the mighty chieftain that he ordered its instant destruction; and soon the lofty towers and gorgeous battlements were wrapped in consuming flames!

We have a striking example at a still later period. A musician being brought to the king of Denmark, was asked whether he could excite any passion, to which he replied in the affirmative; and was immediately commanded to make trial on the king himself. Accordingly he had recourse to one of his most plaintive and touching airs, when the monarch was soon bathed in tears and dissolved in tenderness. The musician now adroitly changed his mood, and addressed himself to another class of passions in the royal bosom; when his majesty was roused into such a fury that, seizing the sword of one of his courtiers,—his own having been purposely removed,—he immediately slew the musician, and would have killed all in the room had he not been forcibly restrained!

It is, however, deeply to be regretted that modern music is, almost incomparably, less effective. The writer may not be sufficiently scientific to attempt a formal solution of this problem. Perhaps, indeed, the question might be almost as safely referred to unsophisticated nature as to the refinements of musical science. In truth, we believe the chief reason why the modern is not as effective as the ancient music, is to be found in the simple fact, that the latter departs more widely than the former from the dictates of nature herself. It has become too complex, involving point and counter point, almost *ad infinitum*. Thus melody, the very soul of music, is sacrificed at the shrine of an artificial harmony, that is, a contrast of various notes, opposite to and yet mutually blended with each other. Not that we would wholly condemn the latter by any means; but only the excess of it; the carrying it to an absorbing and injurious extreme; an extreme where harmony is every thing, melody nothing. In perfect music, it seems to us, these qualities are combined in fair and faultless proportions.

It is true that modern music has sometimes been observed to produce a most powerful effect; so that large assemblies have been seen in a flood of tears. But *when* has this been the case? Generally when a fine solo has been sung; when "the sound has

been an echo to the sense;" when the music has been extremely simple and inartificial, the composer having paid special attention to melody.* It was then that music, true to nature, took strong hold on the inmost soul, and made the passions ebb and flow at its own bidding. It is upon this ground that most persons are so much affected by Scottish and Irish airs. These are composed, not so much according to modern art, as under the impulses of nature. Being strikingly simple, they are, almost by consequence, strikingly melodious. One can hardly tell why, but the wild notes of the Highlander, or the soft echoes from the "Emerald Isle," often play upon the delicate sensibilities of the soul, until the heart itself seems melting away into liquid emotion!

It is no more than a simple act of justice for the writer to say, that by modern music is meant the music of the last century or two. The defect of which he has ventured to speak is becoming less frequent. The last twenty years have effected a most pleasing change. A perverted public taste is gradually yielding to good sense and sound philosophy. The complicated, we had almost said the impracticable, music of our childhood is giving way to a more simple, easy, and effective species of composition. Nature, long trammeled, tortured, and stifled, is permitted to speak out, and is beginning to hold her native empire over the world of song. Drawing in to her aid the true philosophy of musical sounds, she is carrying forward a most desirable reformation. Finally, in this connection, we would say, let the whole system of musical science undergo such modifications as will make it at once true to nature and consistent with its lofty objects, and then let it be carried to the highest possible state of practical perfection.

Having indulged in these preliminary observations, it seems proper for the writer now to say, that he is strongly in favor of a much more general cultivation of music—particularly of vocal music. He would be glad to have it made a constituent part of education everywhere. In this country, as in Germany, it should be incorporated into our system of common-school instruction. Or, at any rate, systematic and ample provision should be made for developing the musical talent and cultivating the vocal organs of the rising generation, "in the length and in the breadth" of our country. For this opinion a multitude of reasons crowd upon the mind, only a few of which will our limits permit us to mention, and these only in a very abridged form.

1. All can learn to sing. This statement may require a little explanation. A few instances occur, perhaps one in a thousand,

* See an excellent article on this subject by the late Rev. John Wesley.

in which the child seems to have no ear for music, and consequently is incapable of singing. Experiment has, however, fully demonstrated, that, in most of these cases, a latent talent for music was in actual existence; for persevering effort has developed it.

Instances are not rare in which persons, supposed to be wholly destitute of the faculty to sing, have, after their conversion to God, been able to take a very respectable and edifying part in conducting the devotions of the sanctuary. The natural defect was found to be merely imaginary. As soon as the *heart* was attuned to the songs of Zion, the appropriate vocal organs were at once commanded. Even the tongue of the dumb was made to sing. Now regeneration is not a physical change. We have the same faculties of body, and the same powers of mind, after we are "born again," that we had before. Neither the soul nor the body is invested with any new function. The change is purely moral, and yet it rouses the whole man, and develops talent that was before thought to have no existence.

But where the incapacity does *really* exist, it is chargeable not on nature, but on a negligent ancestry. The defect may be organic, and, consequently, hereditary; but like other hereditary physical defects, it may be gradually corrected; so that, in a few generations, the lost talent would be universally restored. To some this may be a new idea, and yet we are persuaded there is scarcely any other position in physics, the truth of which is supported by stronger or more unexceptionable evidence.

2. Singing will greatly improve the voice for conversation, reading, and public speaking, by giving smoothness, volume, and variety to its tones. It is a law of nature that it should be so, and certainly accords with universal observation, that proper exercise strengthens our animal no less than our mental faculties. For instance, those muscles which are specially put in requisition by any particular calling, are always observed gradually to adjust themselves to their special office, and, by use, to become larger and larger, stronger and stronger, or more and more elastic, as the particular case may require. Thus it is with the vocal organs. Like all other physical faculties, as well simple as compound, they may be greatly improved by proper use.

That man who, in profound silence, is ever poring over his books will soon ruin the organs in question, while he who accustoms himself to read aloud will greatly strengthen and improve them. The writer has a friend, a distinguished clergyman, who, at an early period in public life, had an exceedingly feeble voice, attri-

butable, no doubt, in part, to his college habits. To relieve his lungs, he adopted the practice of whispering—not speaking in a low tone, but actually *whispering*—during the whole week, to the end that he might have sufficient strength on the sabbath to proclaim to his people the great messages of divine mercy. As a natural consequence, his voice became weaker and weaker, till he was almost utterly unable to articulate. Fortunately he discovered the cause of his vital weakness, and reversed his habits. Instead of whispering, he adopted the opposite practice of speaking moderately loud, and of speaking frequently in the open air. The result was most salutary. He is now filling a station that requires him often to address large assemblies, and the ease with which he does it would astonish one who knew him only at the time first referred to. The philosophy of the thing is plain, and is strikingly illustrated by the genial influence of singing on the vocal organs.

The admirable vocal powers of our aboriginal inhabitants have often been matter of special observation. Their voices have a volume, a sweetness, a compass, a power with which those of their "pale-faced" successors would illy compare. Nor is the fact at all wonderful. Upon the principle just laid down it is easily explained. From childhood they are accustomed to speak in the open air, to mimic the owl and the panther, to respond to the parental summons from the deep glen and from the mountain top, to shout to their fellows amidst the raging tempest, to sing the war-song, and the like, all of which directly tend to expand the chest, to give elasticity to the vocal organs; in a word, to invest them with all that superiority of which we have just spoken.

3. The cultivation of vocal music in the rising generation greatly contributes to domestic harmony and felicity. It has a softening and hallowing influence on the whole family circle. Instead of angry collision between the children, they will be led by it to love one another, and to cherish toward each other the most kind and obliging feelings. And, having acquired the elements of the science, so far from seeking amusement in low and vulgar plays, they will delight to spend their leisure hours in "speaking to each other in psalms, and hymns, and spiritual songs"—thus sending a thrill of chastened pleasure around the whole family circle, and breathing into the little community something of the spirit of heaven.

4. The practice recommended exerts a good moral influence. Singing, in itself, when properly directed, is admirably adapted to control the wayward propensities of the heart, and to fill the bosom with pure and lofty sentiments. And then an

incidental advantage accrues, upon which we place a very high estimate. The practice of singing gives rise to innocent and improving associations. The social propensities of the young *will* find an outlet in some quarter. If those to whom Providence has committed their guardianship do not seize upon these propensities, and give them the proper direction, other agents will always be at hand to control and pervert them. The writer has been in circumstances to make somewhat extensive observation, and must say that he has rarely known the young man or young woman that loved sacred music, who has, cherishing this propensity, fallen into habits of gross immorality. On the contrary, he has been acquainted with some scores, if not hundreds, who have been led by their singing associations to the foot of the cross. This fact alone stands in the place of a volume of argument in support of our position.

5. Finally, and especially, we would have all learn to sing, because we would have a much higher character given to our church music. The importance of sacred song in the ancient Jewish worship is well known. Of its beauty and usefulness in the Christian church, when conducted in a manner suited to its lofty purpose, and not prostituted to levity, or perverted by ostentation, few are wholly insensible. "It is good," says one, upon whose experience we may confidently rely, "to sing praises; for it is pleasant, and praise is comely." Of joyful praise to the King of Zion, it may with great propriety be said, "It delights heaven, earth, ourselves: 'tis duty, glory, peace." But how often is it the case, even in a populous community, that there is extreme difficulty in commanding a sufficient number of trained voices to conduct, even in an indifferent way, this important part of our sanctuary service! The hymn is announced from the sacred desk, but the absence of a few individuals from the choir arrests proceedings, and the praises of God are postponed to a more favorable concurrence of circumstances! And why is it so? Is it because he who is at once the God of nature and the great Head of the church has withheld from his people the appropriate original faculties? By no means. Were this the case the omission should be borne as a misfortune, and certainly never would be imputed to us as a fault. Such, however, is not the fact. God has given us the talent, but, instead of improving it, we have, like the unfaithful servant in the gospel, "hid it in a napkin." Like that servant, too, it is to be apprehended, we shall be "speechless" in the day of final retribution. We may now seek to excuse ourselves from the cultivation of our faculties, and offer apologies for our silence in the house of

God, but it is to be feared that the whole matter will wear a very different aspect in the eyes of an assembled universe. It will then be seen, that our omission to sing is chargeable rather upon indolence or negligence, than upon any insuperable defect in our physical organization.

Were this matter duly understood, and the corrective properly applied, we should have almost as many singers as worshipers in our places of devotion. The whole congregation would rise up, *en masse*, and pour forth such a volume of musical sound as would resemble the sublime scene of the Apocalypse, when the beloved disciple "heard as it were the voice of a great multitude, and as the voice of many waters, and as the voice of mighty thunderings, saying, Alleluia, for the Lord God omnipotent reigneth!" Go to the Protestant part of Germany; go to Scotland, especially the latter, for an example. There, particularly in the larger churches, the "precentor," or *chorister*, as we would call him in this country, occupies a desk immediately in front and below the pulpit. While the psalm is being given out from the latter, the precentor hangs out in front, and on each side of his desk, a card on which is printed, in large letters, the name of the tune to be sung; so that every worshiper in the house may understand in due time what is expected, and be prepared to lift up his voice in sacred song.

We know no reason why singing should be made the exclusive business of a few, any more than why praying should be made the exclusive business of a few. Such a monopoly, it strikes us, would be infinitely more exceptionable than any of which the politician is wont to complain. It would be to engross a privilege, which, under the impartial constitution of Heaven, is designed to be common to the household of faith. "Singing," says our excellent form of Discipline, "is a part of divine worship in which *all* the congregation ought to join." The ministry are, therefore, directed to "exhort every person in the congregation to sing, and not one in ten only."

Let not the musical connoisseur be alarmed at the proposition which is here made, as though we would turn his world of order into "chaos and old night again." No such result would necessarily follow the change which the writer has ventured to propose. Only let the young be taught to sing; only let music be universally cultivated; only let all do their duty, and the whole congregation would form one vast choir, and the church a mighty orchestra; resembling heaven itself, where no tongue is mute, and where "the new song" is sung with such overpowering sweetness by that innumerable company gathered from every nation, and kindred,

and tongue, and people under the whole heavens. Nor is it contended, that, as a general thing, our congregational singing should be conducted without a choir. This deeply interesting and highly important branch of our sanctuary service should, doubtless, be led by the best cultivated and most skillful voices that can be commanded for that purpose. Without adopting some such plan it will be hardly possible to secure that concert so indispensable to congregational harmony. "Order is the first law of nature," and nowhere else can it be more vital than here. And, in order to this, the chorister should control the choir, and the choir the congregation. Thus there will be a sort of convergency to a common centre.

Nor is it needful that the adoption of this plan should be delayed till a new generation is trained with special reference to it. In all that is strictly essential, it *may* and SHOULD go into effect immediately. There are scores in all our congregations who can sing; who have, in fact, been taught to do so; but who are, nevertheless, silent from sabbath to sabbath, as if it were no part of *their* duty to "praise God in the beauty of his holiness." Let such take heed how they continue in a course of disobedience to one of the plainest commands of God. Like the unfruitful fig-tree, they may be smitten with perpetual barrenness: in retributive justice God may say, "Let no fruit grow on thee henceforth for ever." All should take their hymn-books with them to the house of God, and carefully trace the sentiment of the hymn—whether they are able to join in singing it or not. They should, at least, "make melody in their *hearts* unto the Lord." Though disabled by weakness, or prevented by utter want of original talent, they should, notwithstanding, take an interest in the exercise. Every thing like supine inadvertency should be carefully avoided. If we cannot sing vocally, we should do it sentimentally. If able to do no more, we should convince all present that

"Praise sits silent on our tongues."

Instead of lounging or yawning, while others "try their choicest strains," we should follow them with our voices as far as we can, and beyond this with our profound attention.

The heavenly inhabitants "serve God day and night in his temple." Of that service singing forms no inconsiderable part. And if we would be prepared to unite in "the song of Moses and the Lamb," we should now acquire the requisite habits, and seek the requisite qualifications. Ζητα.

Oneida, Sept. 28, 1841.

ART. VI.—*Delineation of Roman Catholicism, drawn from the authentic and acknowledged Standards of the Church of Rome; namely, her Creeds, Catechisms, Decisions of Councils, Papal Bulls, Roman Catholic Writers, the Records of History, &c., &c., in which the peculiar Doctrines, Morals, Government, and Usages of the Church of Rome are stated, treated at large, and confuted.* By Rev. CHARLES ELLIOTT, D. D. In two vols., 8vo. New-York: published by G. Lane. 1841.

IT is with no ordinary emotions of gratification that we introduce to our readers this able and original work, by a worthy minister of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and one whose age, learning, and piety, as well as laborious services in our itinerant ranks, entitle him to the highest meed of respect and veneration. He has been favorably known as editor of the Western Christian Advocate, published at Cincinnati, Ohio, for the special benefit of the population in the great valley of the Mississippi. To this office he was called by the General Conference of 1836, and has since that period continued to sustain it with great reputation. In this relation he has had his attention peculiarly called to the devices of Romanism for the extension of her domain of superstition, especially in this western world; and his official location afforded him facilities for perfecting and completing the work whose title-page stands at the head of this article, and for which he had been long collecting the materials. Indeed, for more than twenty-two years the author of this work has been sedulously occupied in researches having for their object a thorough delineation and refutation of Roman Catholicism, and the gigantic errors and heresies upon which this "mystery of iniquity" is founded. For this purpose, he has found time, amid the literary and ministerial labors devolving upon him in the various official relations he has sustained in the church, to wade through the huge Latin and Greek folios of the councils; the bulls of their holinesses who have successively occupied the chair of St. Peter as popes; the voluminous works of the ancient fathers, and the ponderous volumes of theologians and historians, which, for the most part, are inaccessible to the general reader.

Having thus accumulated, by immense labor and research, all the necessary materials furnished by ancient and modern writers, who are acknowledged as standards and authorities by the Roman Catholic Church, he has classified and condensed the whole in these volumes, so as to furnish the student with an authentic work, to which he can appeal for testimony on every topic connected with

the controversy between Roman Catholics and Protestants, accompanied by references to the authorities, in the languages in which they were originally written, which will be found either in the text or in the notes.

With these authentic and acknowledged standards of the Roman Catholic Church, as the basis of his delineation of their system, he has utterly deprived them of their stale and oft-repeated complaints of being misrepresented or misunderstood; and hence the author of these volumes defies their scrutiny, while he challenges them to a discussion of all the distinctive characteristics of their ecclesiastical edifice. He alleges nothing as a part of their creed, except on their own authorities, and these such as they dare not disavow; and no Roman Catholic can consistently reject. Armed at every point, and with weapons drawn from their own armory, the author has here thrown down the gauntlet to the army of the Roman hierarchy at home and abroad, not in the vainglorious spirit of an angry polemic, but as a bold and uncompromising defender of "the faith once delivered to the saints." In the name of the God of the armies of Israel, whose he is, and whom he serves, he goes forth to do battle against this mighty Philistine of papal Rome; and he makes war not upon the individuals, whether priests or people, who rally under the banner of "holy mother Church," because of their antagonist position to the Protestantism he defends; but he makes the assault upon the system of Romanism as such, because of the outrages and indignities which that system presumptuously perpetrates against the offended majesty of truth.

But it is time that the reader was introduced to the brief analysis of the work, which is all that our limits will allow. The first volume opens by an assault upon the very citadel of "the man of sin," in an elaborate and scholastic exposition of the "RULE OF FAITH." And at once the appeal is made directly to the standards of the Roman Catholic faith, which are claimed to be immutable and infallible authority. Among these unexceptionable and unimpeachable witnesses we find the creed and oath of Pius IV.; the episcopal oath of feudal allegiance to the pope, exacted from every bishop; the Tridentine Catechism; the general councils, particularly that of Trent; the successive papal bulls; the liturgical books, such as the breviary, missal, pontificals, rituals; their own traditions; the ancient fathers; the Scriptures as explained by them; and their books of devotion. On each of these several topics we find strictures and animadversions, touching the subterfuges and evasions to which Roman Catholic controversialists are wont to

resort when pressed with these, their own authorities. For though all these are the immutable decisions of the infallible church, which their own people are taught to receive implicitly, as downright certainty; yet when Protestants employ them in argument, they are all transformed into matters of doubt and uncertainty. Truly "there is nothing they dread so much as the testimony of their own church," and even upon the all-important subject of the "rule of faith," their rule of controversy is to "admit of nothing, and deny every thing," and when pressed with the recorded acts of popes, councils, cardinals, and bishops, and it becomes necessary for the defense of the church, they retreat within her infallible inclosure, and raise the hue and cry of misrepresentation. But the author piles authority upon authority until he fortifies the oracular response of the infallible church by such a number and variety of proofs as to disarm every antagonist, and defy either evasion or criticism. And then into the dark caverns of Romish error and heresy on this all-important topic he pours the sunlight of divine truth, in one burning focus, concentrated by "the oracles of God."

Next the author proceeds to show from the acknowledged and supreme authorities of the Roman Catholic Church, their doctrine concerning "THE SCRIPTURES," demonstrating that they virtually reject the Hebrew and Greek of the Old and New Testaments, substituting therefor their own Latin Vulgate edition, or the Douay and Rhemish translations, including the Apocrypha, and allowing even to this Bible no claim to inspiration or authority, which is not equally awarded to tradition, which last, indeed, they presumptuously include with Scripture, as constituting jointly "the word of God." Nor will the Roman Catholic Church allow to this "word of God," embracing both *Scripture and tradition*, any authority as a "rule of faith;" even as either or both may be interpreted by any bishop or priest. But in addition to these, though designated by themselves as the word of God, their "rule of faith" is shown to include the "acts and decisions of the church," embracing eight folio volumes of the pope's bulls; ten folio volumes of the Decretals; thirty-one folio volumes of acts of councils; fifty-one folio volumes of the Acta Sanctorum, or the Doings of the Saints; and thirty-five volumes of the Greek and Latin fathers, in which is to be found what they call "the unanimous consent." Besides these one hundred and thirty-five folio volumes, their "rule of faith" likewise includes all the chaos of *unwritten* traditions, which have floated down from the apostolic times. Well may the author affirm that "such a rule is no rule. No

Romanist can possibly *believe*, much less *learn*, his own rule of faith."

We regard the learning and ability displayed in this single chapter, devoted to the expose of the doctrine of the Scriptures held and taught by the Roman Catholic Church; and the ample vindication of the "word of God" from the profane and impious desecration it has suffered from Romanism, as more thorough and conclusive than has ever been produced by any previous writer upon this controversy. Indeed, Jesuitism itself will be puzzled to detect a flaw in the argument, and every Protestant Christian who reads it will be constrained to feel that the author has left nothing to be desired in either evidence, exposition, argument, or defense. He has here grappled with the mightiest minds ever enlisted in the cause of Romanism, and has literally demolished every vestige of logic and sophistry which has been arrayed against the Scriptures as the only rule of faith and practice. And he then justly retorts upon the Church of Rome, by subjecting their several boasted editions and translations of the Bible to a withering criticism, and annihilating their fallacious pretensions to instrumentality in preserving and perpetuating the sacred canon. This task is performed with merited severity, and indeed the entire chapter must be regarded as a masterpiece of its kind, a model of acute and logical argumentation.

Their doctrine concerning "TRADITION," written and unwritten, is next stated in the precise words of their standards, with the exposition of their own acknowledged authorities; and here the inconsistencies, contradictions, and differences of the infallible church on this single subject, are exposed by numerous striking illustrations. And after a luminous investigation of the whole subject of oral traditions, and the enormous frauds of Romanism by inventing new traditions, the author wrests from the Roman Catholic Church the arrogant and false pretension, so vauntingly made, that Protestantism is indebted to tradition for the evidence of the genuineness of the Scriptures, and for numerous cardinal doctrines of the gospel. He here shows that the Scriptures do not depend upon oral tradition for the evidence of their authenticity; and that with respect to infant baptism, &c., we are not dependent upon the traditions of the Church of Rome, for we have those of the Syriac, Greek, African, and ancient Italian churches, independent of Rome. And here the heresy of the Church of Rome, in conceding to infidels in Italy, and Socinians in Poland, that the divinity of Christ cannot be proved by the Bible, but can only be sustained by tradition, is visited with a merited rebuke.

As the "WRITINGS OF THE FATHERS" are claimed under the name of tradition, these are next considered, and the pretensions of each examined. And here he proves that those of the fathers who lived near the apostles' time concur in the Protestant estimate of the Scriptures, and furnish no evidence in behalf of tradition, as contradistinguished from revelation. The author produces the direct testimony of twenty-six of the fathers of the first six centuries, all of whom establish his position that the Scripture alone is the rule of faith, while neither of them gives the shadow of evidence in favor of popish tradition. He demonstrates that no one of the early heresies, which sprung up after the death of the apostles, was attempted to be sustained by an appeal to Scripture, but uniformly to unwritten traditions. And on this department of the subject the work before us abounds with arguments and authorities absolutely invincible.

"INFALLIBILITY," the proudest boast of Romanism, and which has never ceased to be clamorously claimed as their prescriptive and exclusive possession, is next examined at great length. Their doctrine being first stated in the express words of their standards: and the variety of their infallible dissensions, and disagreements, as to the *seat* and the *extent* of the infallibility claimed, having been exhibited by indisputable documents from their own archives; the pretensions of individual popes and councils, singly and collectively, are exposed by the light of historic truth, and also the claims set up for infallibility by the universal church itself, as contradistinguished from popes and councils. Here it is shown, by irrefragable proofs, that popes and councils have not only forfeited every semblance of claim to infallibility, but have been arrayed against each other in deadly hostility, not merely in doctrine, but in practice, and that flagrant heresy, and immorality, and high-handed wickedness, have been proved, and conceded as justly chargeable against these infallible ecclesiastics, and this by their own acknowledged authorities. Infallible popes, contradicting and excommunicating infallible popes; and equally infallible councils, branding these and one another with reprobation as heretics, are enumerated with references to the proofs in their own libraries. And, finally, we have a patient discussion and refutation of this entire heresy, together with a plea and vindication in behalf of the Protestant rule of faith, the Bible; and its infallibility shown to abide the precise tests by which the claim of Romanism has been demolished.

"THE ANCIENT FATHERS" themselves, throughout all their ponderous folios, are the subject of the next chapter; and here the

author proves not only alterations of these authorities by Romanists, but their own avowals and justifications for thus mutilating and corrupting them. Examples and illustrations are furnished, showing how diligently the ecclesiastics of Rome have thus labored by forgeries, and erasures, and falsifying passages, to obtain what they call "*the unanimous consent*" to their dogmas, many of which are denounced as heresy by the original works of these fathers, while others are novelties in themselves, which they attribute to these fathers by interpolating testimony in their new editions of their works. All this and more is substantiated against popes, cardinals, inquisitors, bishops, and councils of the Church of Rome, by an amount of labor and research among these tomes of antiquity, for which few besides the author have had the perseverance and physical strength which such a herculean task requires. And besides the precise proofs brought from the oldest and most authentic of their works, these mutilations and forgeries upon the writings of the ancient fathers are confirmed by the undeniable testimony of the "Index Expurgatorius," prepared by the inquisitors under the authority of the king of Spain and the archbishop of Toledo, from which, and other indices, copious extracts are furnished.

Having thus vindicated the fathers from the foul heresies, ascribed to the best of them by means of this vile imposture, he goes on to show that many of these fathers held and taught the greatest errors in both doctrine and morals, and these precise errors have been condemned as heresies by the Church of Rome herself, and this in her highest ecclesiastical tribunals. Moreover, they flatly contradict and condemn each other in multiplied examples, which are here indicated; nor is their "unanimous consent" given to any one peculiar doctrine of Romanism, as since held and taught; while to many of them, and on vital points too, the most venerable and eminent among the fathers were irreconcilably opposed. So that their claiming "the unanimous consent of the fathers," as being necessary to their rule of faith, is shown to be utterly preposterous. And yet while the doctrines and morals of these ancient writings are shown not to stand the test of Holy Scripture, so as to furnish a safe rule either for faith or practice; their historical testimony is regarded as furnishing the most withering evidence against the novelties of Romanism.

A brief chapter, exhibiting an argumentative comparison between the Roman Catholic and Protestant rules of faith, terminates this department. In this portion of the work alone, the author has condensed an amount of information and authorities, for which

whole libraries might be ransacked in vain; and it will furnish the student of this controversy a standard of reference, which he will prize for centuries to come, should not antichrist be sooner overthrown.

We pass now to the second book of the volumes before us, which treats of the "SEVEN SACRAMENTS OF THE CHURCH OF ROME." After an exposition and examination of their general doctrine of the sacraments, in which their errors, and novelties, and wicked perversions of Scripture, are detected and refuted, as well as the gross delusions and flagrant impostures which they sacrilegiously palm upon their people, the author shows the iniquity and danger to the souls of men inseparable from their doctrine on this important subject.

In illustration and confirmation of these views, he proceeds to examine each of their alleged sacraments, in detail, and at considerable length.

With respect to BAPTISM, one of the *two only* Christian sacraments out of the *seven* instituted by Romanism, the author convicts them of the following unscriptural dogmas, and fundamental errors, which in this sacred relation are so many heresies, viz.:—

1. Faith is made void by substituting baptism in its place.
2. Water baptism is in their creed identical with regeneration.
3. That water baptism is absolutely essential to salvation.
4. That to prevent the damnation of infant children, they should be baptized by laymen or women, whether Christians or Jews, heretics or infidels; and hence they allow surgeons and midwives to baptize those who perish in the birth, and direct them to put a drop of water in due form upon some part of the infant, even in cases of abortion, or premature birth. And when the mother must die, the surgical operation for removing the child sufficiently alive for baptism is directed as the only means of saving the infant from damnation! Compulsory baptism is also justified to adults for the same reason, and a child which is dying is baptized if the mother will throw it into a well with the intention to baptize it as the church does, if it might otherwise die unbaptized. And so also *monsters* are to be baptized hypothetically, saying, "*If* thou art a man," &c., &c.
5. The ceremonies which precede baptism by the church, including blessing the water, and mixing it with holy oil and chrism; the exorcism; the salt; the sign of the cross; and priest's spittle.
6. Ceremonies at the font, including anointing with the oil of catechumens, &c.

7. Ceremonies following baptism, embracing the oil of chrism, white garment, burning light, &c.

These doctrines, usages, and ceremonies, pervert the ordinance into a mere incantation or charm, and are wholly unscriptural and absurd. And yet all are claimed to be apostolic, and the Bible is so expounded as to authorize the use of all these unmeaning and ridiculous ceremonies.

"CONFIRMATION," the second Romish sacrament, is examined and disposed of briefly, but conclusively. The texts of Scripture alleged in its favor are shown to give it no countenance whatever. The matter used in confirmation, called chrism, made of olive oil and balsam, though impiously ascribed to Christ and his apostles, from whom the manner of making chrism is stated to have been handed down through St. Dennis and Pope Fabian, is shown to be a comparative novelty, introduced by Silvester. Besides, the celebrated epistle, attributed to Pope Fabian, is proved to be a forgery, on the authority of Dens himself. And yet, on the authority of this fabrication, it is affirmed by the Romish Church that this sacrament was instituted by Christ himself at the last supper, and the matter and form of words used were then divinely appointed. The whole of the absurd and ridiculous ceremonies of this sacrament are shown to be unscriptural, as is the doctrine concerning it throughout, it being a compound of superstition, idolatry, and imposture.

The third sacrament in order is the "EUCHARIST," in the consideration of which the doctrines of transubstantiation, the sacrifice of the mass, half-communion, and the worship of the host, are each separately examined. And first, of "TRANSUBSTANTIATION," we find the doctrine stated in the precise language of the Council of Trent, the Roman and American Catechisms, &c., and thus there can be no misapprehension or misrepresentation complained of. Indeed, it is impossible to present the doctrine in language more repugnant to Scripture and reason than that employed in these documents, nor yet more impracticable to all human and divine faith.

In confutation of this shocking heresy, the author has elaborated an argument, founded on Scripture and reason, which is, of itself, a monument of learning, philosophy, and piety, and will impress the reader with the conviction that the subject could not have fallen into abler hands. In refuting this doctrine, he proves that it has no foundation in Scripture, in general, nor in the words of the institution in particular, and he does this by a critical exegesis of the texts relied on by Romanists, and an analysis of all their arguments in its favor. And not content with depriving it of Scriptural

support, and demonstrating that it involves contradictions, absurdities, and impossibilities, he proceeds to show that transubstantiation is essential impiety and blasphemy. And having done this by numerous proofs and illustrations, and having stated and answered all the arguments found in their ancient or modern authorities, he cites the testimony of the ancient fathers in proof that this was not held or taught in the primitive church. Indeed, he establishes the Protestant doctrine to have been the faith of all the early fathers, and proves that it was not until the year 1215 that any council had agreed to transubstantiation as a doctrine of the church, nor that it was authoritatively established until 1551, and then after centuries of conflict and resistance. Moreover, he proves that the word transubstantiation was first used in the year 1100 by Stephen, the bishop of Augustodunum, after unsuccessful attempts had been made to corrupt the eucharist by so foul a perversion of the Scriptures to this end. So that it is apparent that both the name and the doctrine, instead of descending from antiquity, are among the novelties of Romanism.

And yet how scandalous have been the cruel and bloody persecutions which this heresy has engendered! More Christians have been murdered for denying this doctrine than for the denial of all their other articles of religion. In remarking on this, the author appropriately introduces from Archbishop Tillotson the following exclamation:—

"O blessed Saviour! thou best and greatest lover of mankind, who can imagine that thou didst ever intend that men should kill one another for not flattering the pride and presumption of the priest, who says he can *make God!* and for not complying with the folly and stupidity of the people, who are made to believe that they can *eat him?*"

The "SACRIFICE OF THE MASS" is a heresy nearly identical with transubstantiation, and is separately discussed, with the view to show that it is not only unsupported by Scripture, but directly contrary to it. And, moreover, it is justly argued that it is derogatory to the one perfect propitiatory sacrifice of Christ on the cross, besides being barbarous and inhuman intrinsically. The author, likewise, comments on the celebration of the mass in an unknown tongue, and muttering its ceremonies, besides, inaudibly; and he contrasts the free and gratuitous diffusion of the benefits of Christ's sacrifice upon the cross, with the mercenary dispensation of the sacrifice of the mass *for money!* As the *intention* of the priest in offering this sacrifice is essential to the benefits being received by the partakers, every communicant must feel the importance of

propitiating the good will of the ghostly father by bountiful *fees*. How unlike the gospel of Christ, and how very like a false and corrupt religion, to expose its spiritual blessings on sale for money! and yet such is the practice of the Romish Church in the sacrifice of the mass.

"HALF COMMUNION" is the next topic of discussion, and here the author constructs a Scriptural argument, which is ample and conclusive against this innovation, if its palpable absurdity were not sufficient for its rejection. After proving that the decrees of councils, enforcing half-communion, do, nevertheless, admit that it is contrary to the universal usages of the apostolic and primitive church, he examines, in detail, the reasons given in justification of this alteration of a divine institution, and exposes their absurdity and iniquity. He shows the date of the introduction of this novelty in the Roman Catholic Church itself to have been 1415.

The "WORSHIP OF THE HOST," or adoration of the wafer, is made the subject of a brief chapter, in which the author proves, by their own explicit decrees, that the worship of the host is enjoined to be practiced on pain of eternal damnation. And that it is to be adored with that *highest worship due to the true God!* This flagrant idolatry is shown to be the legitimate result of transubstantiation, being unknown to the usages, even of the Roman Catholic Church, until the year after this was made an article of faith by the Lateran Council in 1215. The utter demolition of that parent and kindred heresy in the preceding pages, relieved the author from any very extended references to this its fruit. On the iniquitous idolatry of this worship, however, he expends a few pages of just and withering rebuke.

The sacrament of "PENANCE" is the next topic in the order of this work, comprising absolution, contrition, confession, and satisfaction. In considering each of these branches of the subject in detail, the astounding iniquity of Romanism is exposed in a clear light. Penance is substituted for repentance, while the power of forgiving sins is claimed and impiously exercised by the priesthood, and the author proves that they profess to do this *judicially*, and not ministerially. Their highest canons expressly declare this power to inhere in wicked priests, themselves living in mortal sin. At the same time they teach that without the sacrament of penance, and priestly absolution, neither repentance nor faith will avail for the pardon of sins committed after baptism. The perversions of Scripture, on which they pretend to rely for this doctrine, are all wrested from them by the author, who shows conclusively that neither the apostles, nor the primitive church, either held or

taught this heresy. The abominations of auricular confession, in its effects upon priests and people, are portrayed in this connection, by proofs and illustrations not to be gainsayed, and it is shown that this practice was not introduced until the tenth century. Their doctrine of contrition and attrition is next examined, and its unscriptural character, and its mischievous and ruinous consequences to the souls of men, are presented in a striking light. And so also their dogma of satisfaction, included in the sacrament of penance, is demonstrated to be essential heresy by an extended argument, which our limits forbid us to detail.

The next topic considered is that of "PURGATORY," and the author has bestowed upon it an ample and thorough investigation. After exhibiting the doctrine in its native deformity, and its demoralizing tendencies, he examines it in the light of Scripture and reason; produces the testimony of the ancient fathers; compares it with the creed of the primitive church; exposes the false miracles, by which ignorance and superstition are imposed on with pretended proofs; and shows that the whole farce of praying for the dead is but a priestly device to make merchandise of the souls of men. The entire argument, illustrations, and proofs adduced by the author, we would insert here if we had the space; but we must forbear.

The high-handed and heaven-daring iniquity of "INDULGENCES," constitutes the theme of the next chapter, and the doctrine of the Romish Church, with the arguments by which her apologists seek to support it, having been criticised and refuted, we are furnished with copies of indulgences, ancient and modern; and the enormous mischiefs which flow from the practice are clearly pointed out. That they impiously license sin, and thus legalize the most horrid crimes, by these indulgences, and that this is done for money, the amount of which is proportioned to the heinousness of the offense against God and man, are shown by facts, historically attested, as well as by reference to the tax-book of the Roman chancery. In this way deeds of infamy and blood may be committed by authority of holy mother Church, provided only that the pope, bishop, or priest, is duly paid the price assessed in this apostolic tax-book. Indulgences may be bought for the living or for the dead; and for any number of specified murders or adulteries, or for all the nameless crimes which may be committed during future life, if the price be paid. Popes have sold indulgences for ten and twenty thousand years, so that the impunity thus promised to crime, includes not merely exemption from temporal punishment in the present life, but assures the culprit of deliverance from the fires of purgatory in

the future world. And, finally, by the recent date of indulgences, and other proofs, it is apparent, that the doctrine and practice of indulgences still furnish a source of immense gains to the Romish priesthood, and that, as in other respects, so also in this, there has been *no reformation* in the Church of Rome.

"EXTREME UNCTION," one of their seven sacraments, is next considered. Its matter is, oil blessed by a bishop, and applied by a priest to different parts of the body in cases of sickness, in which death is apprehended, baptism having been premised. The authorities upon which this fiction, delusion, and imposture are palmed upon the ignorant and superstitious, are examined at length. whether alleged to be drawn from revelation or antiquity, and it is apparent that the doctrine has no support from either. And, it is shown to be essentially absurd, as well as fatally deceptive, though, like indulgences, it is rendered a source of extortion and mercenary exactions by the clergy. The dying man is taught to regard this sacrament as necessary to his salvation, and the family or friends of one in the article of death cannot scruple to pay the bishop for the blessed oil, and the priest for administering the extreme unction, even though the money be raised by appropriating the alms which charity has given for the relief of the dying, or the sustenance of his famishing family; for even this is proved to have been done on the authority of priest Croly, of Ireland.

"ORDERS," being another of their sacraments, is next subjected to examination. The contrariety of opinion on this subject of ordination, as to the number of orders included in the sacrament, is here demonstrated to have always existed in the infallible church, some contending for few, while others insist on many orders. Even the Council of Trent did not decide conclusively the number of orders, nor has any other authority settled this question, nor indeed has it ever been definitely determined how many orders are sacraments. The whole subject, however, is here investigated, and the proofs adduced that, on this topic, the doctrines of the Church of Rome are "confusion worse confounded." The pretence of their having the true apostolic succession is thoroughly overthrown by the evidence of both Scripture and antiquity, in both of which departments the author is profoundly versed, and his argument on this subject is elaborated with great skill and effect. We regret that we are too restricted to say more.

"MATRIMONY" is the last of their so-called sacraments, and here the author has availed himself of the unscriptural dogmas of the Church of Rome in relation to the validity and invalidity of marriage, as well as the impediments dissolving it, than which nothing

more clearly proves the corruption and iniquity of Romanism. The examples he cites on this subject are striking and conclusive proofs that the Romish Church claims authority to set aside the laws of God as null and void, and the popes not only grant dispensations for adulterous marriages, when they may thus gain for the church the favor of the state, as in the case of kings and princes; but they dissolve marriages, when the husbands take holy orders, as well as enjoin celibacy on their clergy, and other religious orders, and even authoritatively decide that a life of virginity is preferable to the married life in all persons, and for the priests to have one or more concubines is more tolerable than to marry. But this topic of celibacy is treated at length in a subsequent part of this work.

The second volume is chiefly devoted to the examination of "THE GOVERNMENT OF THE CHURCH OF ROME." The claims of Romanists, that theirs is a church of Christ, as well as their arrogant pretensions to be the only true church, are subjected to scrutiny. By a skillfully constructed Scriptural argument it is demonstrated that not only their exclusive claims to unity and catholicity, but their pretensions as a Christian church are fictitious and false, for they are destitute of the Scriptural marks of the church of Christ, while they present unquestionable evidence of being a "synagogue of Satan." Their boasted unity, sanctity, catholicity, and apostolicity, are all severally considered, and on each of these topics a vast amount of evidence is produced, and from their own acknowledged standards, too, which goes to establish the position that Rome has not the slightest claim to either of these attributes. Her *unity*, so much vaunted, may be seen in her ever-changing body of divinity, no less than five distinct systems having been successively in the ascendent, viz., the Lombardic, scholastic, monastic, mixed or intermediate, and the Jesuitic; and of each of these systems, essentially various, there have been numerous sects, whose bitter conflicts on cardinal questions have always divided and distracted the church. Her *unity* has never had other than a nominal existence, even in respect to the "rule of faith," nor any other portion of doctrine or discipline, as we have already seen. Witness their pope and anti-pope, the one at Rome, and the other at Avignon, in France, in the fourteenth century, when Urban and Clement reciprocally denounced each other; and to this day the infallible church of unity has not been able to decide which was the lawful pope. See also the subsequent conflict between different popes reigning at the same time, excommunicating and anathematizing each other during the celebrated

western schism, which continued for fifty years. Popes and councils have since been at open war with each other, and schisms have succeeded each other for centuries, in reference to the relative powers of popes and councils, as well as to the jurisdiction of both. But it were an endless task even to enumerate the points which disprove the boast of Romish unity.

As to her *sanctity*, we shall seek for it in vain, for neither popes, cardinals, bishops, priests, monks, nuns, nor Jesuits, have sustained a uniform, or even general character for morality, much less sanctity, and if Romish historians themselves are worthy of credit, all these classes of ecclesiastics, from the popes down, have been notoriously profligate and wicked in their lives. Nor can it be otherwise than the ancient maxim would teach, "like priests, like people," for the doctrines and morals of the Church of Rome as such, have never guarded her sanctity, but, on the contrary, her indulgences have ever polluted her holiest places with crime.

Her *catholicity* is shown to be an impious and absurd pretension, in her sense and use of the term. Neither as to place, time, nor faith, is the Romish Church catholic. The author justly remonstrates against this name being applied by Protestants conventionally, or by any concession to the Romish Church, and contends for the use of the terms, popish and papist, as their true designation.

Her *apostolicity* is next discussed, and here the author treats at large upon succession in general; upon the exclusive pretension of Rome; upon the succession of Christianity independent of Rome; and upon the validity of the Protestant succession. His enlightened views on these several branches of the inquiry are presented, with the evidence on which he relies, in a manner which dissipates the obscurity which both Rome and other pretenders to exclusive and apostolic succession have contributed to gather about it, and he amply sustains the true Protestant doctrine on this topic. He examines and explodes the claims of Rome to antiquity for her peculiar dogmas, by indisputable proofs of their novelty. In short, all the several pretensions of Romanism, including its miracles, infallibility, &c., are investigated by the author in a style and spirit which will commend his arguments to every intelligent reader, as worthy of his respect and confidence.

The "GENERAL COUNCILS" furnish the theme for an entire chapter: their nature, number, requisites, authority, as well as their origin and use, are severally discussed and explained. The history of all such is here briefly presented, with the character and merits of each; and the author has here furnished a

vast amount of valuable information, which will be appreciated by the reader.

The "SUPREMACY OF THE POPE" is the next great feature of Romanism which the author examines, and he has devoted to this single subject eleven chapters, including two hundred and twenty-four pages. As on kindred topics, the first and greatest difficulty to be encountered is, that of convicting Romanists of any fixed opinions from which they cannot retreat by evasion, when they are shown to be heretical. The policy of Rome, even in the Council of Trent, was, as it has ever been, to avoid committing herself on the subject of supremacy, by any definite or explicit declaration of sentiment concerning either the nature or extent of the pope's supremacy. The necessity for caution and reserve on this cardinal doctrine, arises from the risk of coming into conflict with the authority of kings, or the reigning civil power in the state. It is only under governments which are in the immediate vicinity of Rome, or who are in allegiance to the papal see, that restraint is laid aside, and the ascription of universal supremacy, in temporal as well as spiritual things, is openly avowed, as belonging of divine right to the pope. That this is the doctrine of Romanists, however mystified or concealed, is established by numerous citations from their standard authors, as well as proofs of its exercise recorded in history. Next we are furnished with the evidence that during many ages different popes have claimed this absolute power over all persons, in all matters spiritual and temporal, as illustrated by their deposition of kings, absolving subjects from their oath of allegiance, and the like. But as a commentary on their unity and infallibility, the author cites the testimonies against this doctrine, denying the supremacy of the pope in temporal things, different views being expressed in different countries, and under different governments, as the policy of Rome finds tributary to her interests. But that such is, nevertheless, the true doctrine of Rome wherever she dare avow it, is demonstrated beyond the possibility of successful contradiction: while it is freely admitted that in relation both to temporal and spiritual supremacy there have been a variety of conflicting opinions, and that many Roman Catholic writers have utterly denied the pope's supremacy as being absolute, either in temporal or in spiritual things. It is certain, moreover, that for these denials, many have been anathematized and excommunicated by the popes themselves, whose supremacy they were thus constrained to feel, notwithstanding the denials of its existence in their creed. All the contrariety of opinions on this topic will be found stated at length, and the author

knows how to use these for his purpose, as the reader of these volumes will not fail to perceive.

But in pursuing this discussion, the definition given by Romanists of their doctrine of the pope's supremacy is taken as the basis of criticism, in which they all concur, and which none of them can disclaim without being a heretic, by consent of all who are not enemies to the apostolical see. This is found in the Acts of the Council of Florence, and Eugenius IV., and is also set forth in similar terms in the creeds, catechisms, bulls, and the oaths of their ecclesiastics. And as they profess to derive the universal spiritual supremacy from St. Peter by succession, the author lays down the following propositions for his argument:—

"1st. That Peter did not possess or exercise a primacy of superiority in power, command, or jurisdiction, over the other apostles; or, Peter had not by our Lord's appointment, or by divine right, supremacy over the other apostles.

"2d. That the primacy of Peter, of whatever kind it was, could not be transferred to others.

"3d. That Peter was not bishop of Rome.

"4th. That the bishops of Rome have not a universal supremacy over the whole church, according to God's appointment.

"5th. That all ecclesiastical presidencies, or subordinations of some bishops or chief pastors over others in spiritual matters, were introduced merely by human ordinances, and established by law and custom for prudential reasons, according to the exigencies of times and circumstances, and not by divine appointment.

"6th. That the supremacy of the pope is a usurpation, which will appear by tracing it out in its origin, progress, and establishment.

"7th. That the popes of Rome since Peter's time, in fact, have not possessed or exercised the several prerogatives, or branches of power, embraced in the supremacy of the pope."

We regard these propositions as skillfully constructed, so as to imbody the gist of the whole subject of the supremacy, including the entire fabric of succession as held and taught by Romanists, and by semi-papists under the Protestant name. And in their discussion the author has developed the extent of his own inherent powers, as well as the ample resources which he has at command. It is not sufficient to say that each of his propositions is impregnably established by ample and conclusive evidence, drawn from unquestionable and standard authorities, and sustained by reason and argument; for he has also demolished every vestige of this Babylonish heresy, and overturned the lying fables and forgeries so

long palmed upon mankind as miraculous attestations to their apostolical claims. And the reader will find the prerogatives of the pope, including his supremacy, to have been startling novelties in the history of the church, when first introduced; and their origin and invention are here traced, and proved by unimpeachable testimony to bear date many centuries after the apostolic age. So that neither Peter nor Paul ever dreamed of the power or prerogatives now professedly derived from their office, notwithstanding their immediate divine commission from the Lord, and the "signs of an apostle" which accompanied them and their fellows of the primitive apostolic college. A homily is here read, adapted to enlighten certain worshipers of antiquity and fancied successors of the apostles at Oxford, quite as much as their kindred of the papacy. In our notice of this portion of the work before us, we find our limits impose a restraint we can scarcely tolerate, but we must submit.

The work closes by a discussion of the doctrines, usages, &c., of the Church of Rome concerning "CELIBACY" and the "WORSHIP OF THE SAINTS." In considering the former of these, we have an able and Scriptural illustration of the essential heresy of their doctrines concerning the sanctity of virginity, and the unchastity of marriage. Their vows, imposed on multitudes, are proved to be in violation of the laws both of God and nature; and here we have a manly and honest exposure of the immoralities which are the legitimate result. The whole subject of clerical celibacy is discussed, their vindication of its institution is theoretically and practically refuted; accompanied by an elaborate argument against the celibacy of the clergy, which for point and force is superior to any it has been our happiness to see, and in which the author demonstrates that this doctrine alone involves the Church of Rome in the heinous guilt of heresy and apostasy, and is a practical renunciation of Christianity for heathenism. But the licentiousness flowing from this doctrine of celibacy is here shown to have been co-extensive with its reception, and the proofs are adduced from their own acknowledged authorities. The celibacy of the monks and nuns is next discussed, and its legitimate fruits as practically exemplified for centuries, together with the stupendous oppressions, cruelties, and crimes which have been proved by irrefragable testimony, are here the subject of remark and rebuke. And the author does not forget to allude in terms of just animadversion to the evidences of similar iniquity in our own nunneries of America, while yet Protestants are still so infatuated as to thrust their own daughters for education into these styes of pollution, and place their manners,

morals, and religion in the charge of these "sisters," whose very touch is contamination; and congeniality with whom ought to be regarded by such as a worse calamity than death, because inflicting a moral ruin of both body and soul, for this world and the next.

The worship of saints, and the kind of worship due them, are next discussed, and the impiety and absurdity of the Romanist practice in this respect are exhibited by examples of their prayers and praises, by which it is manifest not only that it is contrary to the Scriptures, and the example of the primitive church, but equally so that the saints are made intercessors, their advocacy and merits relied upon, and while the saints are deified, the worship of God is materialized by the homage paid to saints; and here the criminal idolatry of Rome is demonstrated by ample evidence found in the solemn forms of her ritual; the worship of saints and angels being authoritatively enjoined to the exclusion of Christ as the one sole mediator between God and man. This is justly charged with the guilt of antichristian idolatry or demon worship, and is among the palpable heresies and abominations of the "mystery of iniquity."

Such is a brief outline of the contents of the volumes before us, and we only regret that our space, and, not less, our lack of ability, have prevented our doing adequate justice to the author of this meritorious and original work. If we could impart to the reader a measure of the interest, instruction, and profit which we ourselves have derived from the perusal of this "Delineation," we might be better content with this review. All we can hope to do, however, is to awaken a desire to possess and peruse these volumes of Dr. Elliott, by furnishing a glance at their real merits. And we cannot withhold the acknowledgment, that besides the fund of knowledge we have derived from the work under notice, much of which we have heretofore sought in vain among writers on the papal controversy, we have arisen from the perusal of these pages with a more confirmed and undying conviction of the stupendous frauds, impostures, and heresies of the Romish apostasy, as well as a firmer faith in "the sure word of prophecy," and a still more enduring confidence in the Rock of our salvation. Indeed, we doubt whether any intelligent Roman Catholic, be he priest or layman, could read the evidence this work has accumulated, without respecting the author for his candor, and reverencing him for his learning and ability, whatever might be the invulnerable prejudice of his Romish education. And how any man can read it without the conviction that popery in the abstract and concrete is corrupt,

demoralizing, infamous, and false, exceeds our powers of comprehension.

But we desire the extensive circulation of these volumes as a timely antidote to the devices of Romanism, by which popish priests are annually making converts to their creed; for, with the expose here made of the intellectual imbecility and moral obliquity intrinsically identical with the system, we cannot but think that any inquirer would be safe from all their artifices at proselytism. For after becoming acquainted, in the light of this work, with the anti-christian and anti-American character of popery; after perusing here the proofs that the pope and his minions are the instruments in a wide-spread conspiracy against human liberty and the truth of God; and contemplating the evidence of the idolatry, arrogance, blasphemy, forgery, falsehood, hypocrisy, imposture, and licentiousness, inherent in the papacy, and inseparable from it; a man might defy a whole army of Jesuits with the weapons he will find in this armory of truth. And the Protestant readers of these volumes, especially our brethren in the Christian ministry, who shall make themselves familiar with their contents, will be prepared to resist successfully every onset of the Romish priesthood, and be qualified to do battle against this antichrist personified, under whatever disguise or transformation the ingenuity of Jesuitism may assume.

Finally, all who truly estimate the unspeakable blessings of the Reformation, and who are not unworthy of the name of Protestant, while they are here taught the nature of those damnable heresies which our fathers resisted unto the death of martyrdom, "striving unto blood," will find within them a measure of that spirit of Christian patriotism and fidelity which glowed in the bosoms of those whose blood is well said to have been "the seed of the church." Such, after reading these volumes, will be constrained to feel, that it were better for our country and the world that another universal deluge should overwhelm and destroy from the earth every living thing, than that popery should ever be permitted to trample down Christian liberty beneath the iron hoof of papal despotism, or her infidelity drive the ploughshare of ruin through the institutions of Protestant Christianity. Better far, that the earth should yawn, and swallow the myriads of our race, ingulfing all in one common grave.

We close our review by the expression of our thanks to the Rev. Dr. Elliott for these timely and admirable volumes, from which we have gleaned, with pleasure and profit to ourselves, these crumbs from his loaf, that our readers may have a taste for

the perusal of the work, whence they have been gathered. The author has rendered a service to the church and the world, which the Protestant community can only repay by their gratitude, but which will find an ample recompense at "the resurrection of the just." R.

ART. VII.—1. *The British Critic and Quarterly Theological Review.* No. lix, July, 1841, and No. lx, October, 1841. London.

2. *The New-York Review.* No. xix, January, 1842. New-York.

THE Quarterlies at the head of this article are known as holding a high rank among a class of publications which are molding the opinions and forming the character of the present age. Of their respective literary merits it is not our purpose at present to speak, as they may be presumed to be sufficiently known and appreciated by such as will feel any considerable interest in this article.

We employ these works in this paper for the purpose of presenting the present position of the great controversy now in progress among *Churchmen.* We refer to the controversy moved by the Oxford divines in relation to certain principles which they have dignified with the general appellation of *Catholicity.*

When the Oxford Tracts began to excite public attention in this country, some said they were of popish tendency; and others going further, wisely judged that they were the work of real Romanists in disguise. Upon the character and tendency of the doctrines set forth in these publications, even Churchmen themselves, both in England and in this country, differed in opinion; some receiving the principles they advocate, and others rejecting them; the former denying, and the latter asserting that they are adverse to the fundamental principles of the English Church—that they constitute a wide and fatal departure from the doctrines of the Reformation.

The discussion has progressed, and the tendencies of the *new theology* have developed themselves, until they are no longer dimly seen; indeed, they are now openly avowed and vindicated. Many good Churchmen in both countries, who at first doubted, and even denied, that the Tractarians intended any innovations upon the doctrines of the English reformers, have at length become so thoroughly inducted into their principles of *Catholicity* that they are

ready to give up the fathers of the English Church as dissenters, if not as the worst of heretics.

The Oxford divines now isolate themselves wholly from the great Protestant family, and fearlessly class themselves with papists and other corrupt Christian communions. With them the word *Protestant* is synonymous with *dissenter*, and *Catholic* stands for the divinely authorized form of Christianity, embracing the Romish communion, the eastern churches, and the English Church, (not as it is exactly, but) as it ought to be.

The state of parties at Oxford is thus described in the Critic:—

"It is fit that the world should know how Oxford does most naturally divide itself; what are the two most decided hues. There are people who dream of an orthodox party in the university, as distinct from what we venture to call the Catholic. There are some also who dream of a so-called evangelical party, of numbers and strength. But these are dreams; comfortable dreams, perhaps, but still dreams. Neither of these parties exists. There may be a few men who separately, indistinctly, and waveringly, hold views that might be so described; but we appeal to all who know Oxford, whether it does in fact divide itself naturally into more than *two* descriptions or tendencies; those who are zealous for Catholic verities, and those who are indifferent to all doctrine as such. And if any shall tell us that they see in the former division the *promise* of popery, we can safely reply that we can produce in the latter the *earnests* of Socinianism."—*British Critic*, July No., p. 233.

Now if the Critic has given us a faithful statement of the condition of things at Oxford—if indeed the university, which a century since gave birth to Methodism, is now divided between self-styled *Catholics* and *Socinians*, the case is a very sad one. And what can be expected from the English hierarchy, when her emporium of learning, of philosophy, and of divinity is shared between two grand and fatal corruptions of Christianity? But we must proceed with our design, which is, to give specimens that go to show the real ground which the Oxford divines now occupy.

Article I., in the July number of the Critic, purports to be a review of Bishop Jewell's Apology for the Church of England; but is, in fact, a review of the bishop himself. The object of the reviewer seems to be to derogate from the fair fame of this distinguished prelate, by showing that he was essentially *anti-Catholic*. His facts no intelligent reader will be disposed to doubt, but his reasoning upon those facts none but pseudo-Catholics, that is, real papists, will for a moment admit.

The reviewer begins with dismal moanings over the "angry struggle" which "has been the means of 'dividing against itself'

the kingdom which should be united against the world," and the sad "necessity of a remedy so desperate—the penalty of a judgment so fearful, as the Reformation." It is lamentable, indeed, if the pope is to be regarded as the *centre of unity* to the Christian church, as the successor of St. Peter, and the vicar of Christ, that the English reformers should so far have forgotten their allegiance to Christ, and their regard for the unity of his mystical body, as to have occasioned a most fatal schism in the holy, indivisible, Catholic Church, and brought upon British Christians "a judgment so fearful as the Reformation."

But if, as the reformers supposed, Rome had corrupted the Christian doctrine and worship, and assumed the character of *antichrist*, the case is somewhat different. Then, indeed, the Reformation was not a separation among "Christian brethren," but a separation between "him that believeth and an infidel," between "the temple of God and idols."

Lest our readers should suppose our conclusions too hastily drawn, when we represent the Critic as an enemy to the Reformation, we will give him a portion of the evidence presented in the compass of two pages of the review under consideration. The reviewer says,—

"Of course union of the whole church under one visible government is abstractedly the most perfect state. We were so united, and now are not.—These three hundred years, we and Rome have been fighting about the question of precedence in the schism; the while we, at least, have too much lost sight of the melancholy and startling fact, that *we are divided*.—An evil, however, surely, at any rate, it is; a most grievous penalty upon sin *somewhere;* upon the corruption which provoked, or the sacrilege which assailed, or both together.—We talk of the 'blessings of emancipation from the papal yoke,' and use other phrases of a like bold and undutiful tenor.—Whether this true freedom, this freedom consistent with the most unquestioning obedience, where obedience is due, has come to us with the Reformation, we will not here discuss. Of course we believe that it has not; and that, free though we may still be in theory, we have yet practically lost by the change, even in point of freedom. But a 'yoke,' especially a spiritual yoke, is of itself no necessary evil. We *trust*, of course, that active and visible union with the see of Rome is not of the essence of a church; at the same time, we are deeply conscious that, in lacking it, far from asserting a right, we forego a great privilege."—*British Critic*, July No., pp. 2, 3.

Is any thing further necessary to exhibit our reviewer's abhorrence of "the Reformation," and his friendship for "Rome?" Surely it cannot be long ere he will wash his hands of the practice, as well as the principles of a system of such "bold and undutiful

tenor" as the Reformation, and become a most dutiful son of "my lord god the pope!"

But after perusing "this train of thought, more or less melancholy—awakened by an examination of some of the writings of Bishop Jewell," the reviewer takes the following notice of these writings:—

"The very titles of Bishop Jewell's works are enough to frighten the reader, who is in search of edification. We have an 'Apology,' and a 'Defense of an Apology;' a 'Challenge,' and a 'Vindication of a Challenge;' a 'Preface in answer to a Detection of foul Errors,' a 'Protest against a Return of Untruths.' And even works of a more promising exterior, such as 'Sermons' and 'Commentaries,' are of a no less inflammatory substance. It was once observed, in the pages of this Review, concerning certain writers, that, whatever they touch, turns, in their hands, to evidence. Certainly it may be said of Bishop Jewell, that whatever he touches, turns to controversy. His works are like nouns defective in all cases but the accusative."—*British Critic*, July No., p. 3.

We have recently been so fortunate as to possess ourselves of a copy of these terrible "writings." Our copy is a heavy folio, in black letter, and of the edition of 1609. This work has long been almost unknown, except in European libraries, and has been sought after by the learned as a literary curiosity. We have already, so far, availed ourselves of its contents as to be able to give the reviewer a little additional light upon several topics of importance. There is one of the bishop's "nouns defective" that the reviewer has overlooked in his catalogue, of which we will here give some account. The following is its title:—A Replie unto M. Harding's Answer: by perusing whereof, the discreet and diligent reader may easily see the weake and unstable grounds of the Romish religion, which of late hath been accounted Catholic. By John Jewell, Bishop of Sarisburie. 3. Esd. 4. Magna est veritas et prevalet—Great is truth and prevaileth. Ex Edicto Im peratorum Valentin, et Martiani, in council Chalcedon. Actione 3. Qui post semel inventam Veritatem aliud quærit, Mendacium quærit, non Veritatem—After the truth is once found, whosoever seeketh further, he seeketh not for the truth, but for a lie. London: printed by John Norton, printer to the kings most excellent majestie. 1609." This great "noun defective" of five hundred and fifteen heavy folio pages is as clearly in the "accusative" as any that the good reviewer has been pleased to name. The true reason why these masterly productions so "frighten" our reviewer, and are so "defective" in his eye, is that they lay a deadly blow at the grand errors of Romanism;

fully unveil "the mystery of iniquity," and call back the church to the true foundation—the records of eternal truth.

The origin of this great work was as follows:—On March 30th, 1560, the Sunday before Easter, the bishop preached a sermon at St. Paul's Cross, on 1 Cor. xi, 23, in which he gave out the following famous "challenge:"—

"If any learned man of our adversaries, or all the learned men that be alive, be able to bring any one sufficient sentence out of any old Catholic doctor, or father, or general council, or Holy Scripture, or any *one* example in the primitive church, whereby it may clearly and plainly be proved during the first six hundred years: 1. That there was at any time any private masses in the world; 2. Or that there was then any communion ministered unto the people under one kind; 3. Or that the people had their common prayer in a strange tongue which they understood not; 4. Or that the bishop of Rome was then called a universal bishop, or the head of the universal church; 5. Or that the people were then taught to believe that Christ's body is really, substantially, corporally, carnally, or naturally in the sacrament; 6. Or that his body is, or may be in a thousand places or more at one time; 7. Or that the priest did then hold up the sacrament over his head; 8. Or that the people did then fall down and worship it with godly honor; 9. Or that the sacrament was then, or now ought to be hanged up under a canopy; 10. Or that in the sacraments after the words of consecration there remained only the accidents and shows without the substance of bread and wine; 11. Or that the priests divided the sacrament into three parts, and afterward received it themselves alone; 12. Or that whosoever had said the sacrament is a figure, a pledge, a token, or a remembrance of Christ's body, had therefore been adjudged for an heretic; 13. Or that it was lawful then to have thirty, twenty, fifteen, ten, or five masses said in the same church in one day; 14. Or that images were then set up in the churches, to the intent the people might worship them; 15. Or that the lay people were then forbidden to read the word of God in their own tongue; 16. Or that it was then lawful for the priest to pronounce the words of consecration closely, or in private to himself; 17. Or that the priest had the authority to offer up Christ unto his Father; 18. Or to communicate and receive the sacrament for another, as they do; 19. Or to apply the virtue of Christ's death and passion to any man by means of the mass; 20. Or that it was then thought a sound doctrine to teach the people that mass, *ex opere operato*, (that is, even for that it is said and done,) is able to remove any part of our sin; 21. Or that any Christian man called the sacrament of his Lord, his God; 22. Or that the people were then taught to believe that the body of Christ remaineth in the sacrament, as long as the accidents of the bread and wine remain there without corruption; 23. Or that a mouse, or any other worm, or beast may eat the body of Christ; (for so some of our adversaries have said and taught;) 24. Or that when Christ said, *Hoc est Corpus meum*, the word *hoc* pointed not to the bread, but to an *individuum vagum*, as some

of them say; 25. Or that the accidents, or forms, or shows of bread and wine be the sacraments of Christ's body and blood, and not rather the very bread and wine itself; 26. Or that the sacrament is a sign or token of the body of Christ, that lieth hidden underneath it; 27. Or that ignorance is the mother and cause of true devotion. The conclusion is, that I shall then be content to yield and subscribe."

The gauntlet thus fearlessly flung down, was taken up by Dr. John Harding, one of the Romish divines of Lovain, and the most learned of the college. This true son of the *ancient church* met this formidable list of propositions in consecutive order, and with genuine Romish logic. The bishop in his "Answer," according to the manner of conducting controversies in those times, first sets down the proposition as contained in the "Challenge," then gives Harding's argument at length, and finishes with his refutation. The whole is an exhibition of patient research and critical learning on the part of Bishop Jewell absolutely astonishing.

Bishop Jewell's Apology was originally written in Latin, and was subsequently translated into various languages, and freely circulated throughout Protestant Christendom. A modern translation, with a sketch of the author's life, and a preliminary discourse, by Isaacson, was published in London, 1825. This is a truly edifying volume, and is occasionally to be found in this country. The Apology was written by the request of the English bishops, and published by the authority of Queen Elizabeth, as a public confession of the faith of the Church of England, and of the reasons for not submitting to the authority of the Council of Trent. The Apology, together with the Defense, are executed on the same plan as the "Answer," and were held in such esteem that they were placed in the churches, to be consulted as the best exposition of the doctrines of the Church. But now, lo! the very titles of these books, saying nothing of their contents, "frighten" our truly Catholic Churchmen all but out of their wits.

The reviewer gives us a sketch of the life of Bishop Jewell, the leading facts of which are the following:—He was born in 1522 at Buden, in Devonshire, and educated principally at Barnstaple. At the age of thirteen he was removed to the university, and admitted of Merton College, where he pursued his studies under the instructions of Mr. John Parkhurst, then fellow of the college, from whom he imbibed the principles of the Reformation. When Peter Martyr was appointed divinity professor at Oxford, Jewell became one of his most attentive hearers, and contracted an intimacy with that great *continental reformer*. He afterward accepted the small living of Sunningwell, near Oxford, to which he went on

foot every other Sunday, though he had a lameness which made such journeyings exceedingly painful. When *Catholic* Mary ascended the throne, to avoid the penalty of death, Jewell subscribed a recantation of the Protestant faith; but not feeling himself safe, he escaped, though with difficulty, by taking an unusual path, and finally succeeded in reaching Frankfort, where he found a number of foreign reformers and English refugees. The morning after his arrival he made a public confession of his fault from the pulpit. "Poor Jewell," says the Critic, "was deeply affected, and spake of his act in the language of bitter self-reproach." His old friend, Peter Martyr, took him to his house, and made him a companion until the accession of Elizabeth, when he returned to England, and became bishop of Salisbury, in which office he remained until his death.

But the reviewer is not at all "satisfied of the sufficiency of Jewell's *penance*." "Sudden restorations and unconditional absolutions," he tells us, "are no part of the Catholic system." The reviewer would have the "penance" characterized by the salutary, voluntary sufferings, of which there are so many notable examples in *the lives of the saints*. And yet he really thinks Jewell did not become an "apostate" by his act of subscription, but rather returned to "Catholic principles." Why he would have him suffer *penance* at all for such an act, seems a little difficult to determine.

The fact is, the reviewer denies that "what Ridley and Latimer maintained to the last, and what Jewell temporarily gave up, was *the truth*." And, consequently, he enters his protest against applying the term "martyrdom" to the death of the two former, as well as against applying that of "apostasy" to the subscription of the latter. Should the reader doubt whether we do our good Catholic reviewer justice, the following will be quite sufficient to satisfy him. He says,—

> "Well; what we say is, that, to call the earlier reformers, martyrs, is to beg the question, which, of course, Protestants do not consider a question; but which no one pretending to the name of Catholic can for a moment think of conceding to them, viz., whether that, for which these persons suffered, were '*the truth*.'"—*British Critic*, July No., p. 14.

Now, if Ridley, and Latimer, and Cranmer did not suffer for "the truth," they suffered for a *lie*—for *heresy:* if so, they were not only not Christian martyrs, but were real *heretics*. And are our good Churchmen prepared to give up the writers of their articles, and their homilies, and the compilers of their Liturgy, as

heretics? But this is the dismal gulf to which Oxfordism legitimately leads them.

We will now give the reader the reviewer's explicit avowal of his position, and the light in which he and his party view the English reformers. He says,—

"There cannot, however, be a doubt, that, serious as are the impediments in the way of our speedy return, as a nation, to the 'old paths,' these impediments would be multiplied a hundred fold, were the Church of England to be considered as in any degree pledged to the private opinions, or individual acts, of her so-called reformers. One does not see how, in that case, persons, who feel, with Mr. Froude's editors, that the lines respectively, of Catholic antiquity and of the English Reformation (except so far as the genius of the latter has been overruled by influences extrinsic to the opinions and wishes of its promoters) are '*not only diverging, but opposed.*'"—*British Critic*, July No., p. 28.

The reviewer finally proceeds to admit, not only for himself, but for his party, what both Romanists and dissenters have asserted, but what Churchmen have, until recently, always denied, that the English reformers agreed substantially with those of the continent, and that both wholly rejected the Romish system of doctrine and discipline. After referring to the controversy upon this point, he says,—

"Quite lately a third party has sprung up, of persons who have the boldness to admit the substantial accuracy of the view which we have just now supposed, of the English Reformation and reformers; but who consider, nevertheless, that such a view is perfectly compatible with the strenuous maintenance of characteristically Catholic doctrine, and even with a dutiful attachment to our own branch of the Church. This party may be considered as represented in the Preface to the Second Part of Mr. Froude's Remains.

"One advantage, among others, of such a view, *if it will but hold*, strikes us as being that of its tendency to remove points of disunion, as well as to clear the ground of discussion, with very opposite parties; the Catholics of another communion, on the one hand, and the dissenters and advocates of Protestantism, on the other. One, among many, subjects of contention between members of the Anglican Church, and those exterior to it on both sides, or those who, though within it, incline, in sentiment, to bodies without it, has undoubtedly been that of the opinions of the English reformers. The Anglicans have ever been jealous of the reputation of these divines, and have accordingly resented the accounts given of them, from two opposite sides, with all the keenness of persons attacked in their tenderest point. Now, here is a view, (whether tenable or not,) which would enable us to allow all that Protestants can desire on the one hand, and Roman Catholics on the other, concerning the peculiar character of the reformers' opinions;

and he must, indeed, be a lover of controversy for its own sake, who does not turn with pleasure, in the midst of an arduous and unpromising struggle, to the prospect of a refuge at once so pleasant and so secure, so conducive to peace, yet so consistent with dignity, so happy in its present effects, and so promising in its bearing upon the future course of the engagement, as that of *a safe concession*. Here is a view, which has the rare, if not the singular, advantage, of presenting a point of union to those parties, who are united in little, if in any thing, else; the Protestant, the Anglican, and the Roman Catholic. In vain, from this time forth, shall the 'Record' serve up, week after week, choice morsels of Cranmer's Erastianism, or the 'Tablet' twit us (if so be) with Jewell's irreverence. Here is a view which promises us the power of upholding Pope Hildebrand and the see of St. Peter, for all the reformers denied the supremacy of the church; and of ministering in copes, for all they thought even surplices of the essence of antichrist!"—*British Critic*, July No., pp. 30, 31.

Further, to sustain himself in his position, the reviewer gives us in a note the celebrated passage from Froude's Remains, (vol. i, part i, p. 379,) as follows:—

"As to the reformers, I think worse and worse of them. Jewell was what you would in these days call an irreverent dissenter. His Defense of his Apology *disgusted me more than almost any work I have read.*"—*British Critic*, July No., p. 33.

Here then we see land: Cranmer was an Erastian; the English reformers were real Protestants; and the Anglican and the continental reformers were of the same school. Well, so let it be. The question now is, whether Churchmen will adhere to their glorious reformers and blessed martyrs, acknowledge the continental reformers, and consider themselves a part of the great Protestant family, or go over to Tractarianism, or as Mr. Froude and the reviewer would have it, to *ancient Catholicity*.

Finally, our reviewer proceeds to furnish several striking specimens of Jewell's Protestantism. These quotations are doubtless entirely conclusive, and had we space we should be happy to make large additions of equally appropriate passages.

"1. Concerning the apostolical succession, Jewell says,—'If it were certain that the religion and truth of God came by succession, and none otherwise, then were succession, whereof Mr. Harding hath told us so long a tale, a very good substantial argument of the truth. But Christ saith, In cathedra Mosis sedent Scribæ, &c., (by order of succession.) Annas and Caiaphas, touching succession, were as well bishops as Aaron and Eleazar. Of succession, St. Paul says, "After my departure, ravening wolves shall enter," &c. *Therefore* St. Hierome saith, Non sanctorum filii sunt qui tenent loca sanctorum.'"—*D. of A.*, p. 120. (*British Critic*, July No., p. 38.)

The reviewer quotes the edition of 1611, the pages of which agree with those of our copy, which is dated 1609. Again,—

"Elsewhere he says,—'This is M. Harding's holy succession, though faith fall, yet succession must hold. For unto such succession God hath bound the Holy Ghost. . . . *M. Harding.*—Are you not ashamed thus notoriously, and withal most slanderously, to belie that most blessed succession of the Church of Rome? . . . . *Jewell.*—But St. Paul saith, "*Faith cometh* (not by succession, but) by *hearing;* and hearing cometh (*not by legacy or inheritance from bishop to bishop*, but) by the word of God."'—*D. of A.*, p. 139.

"2. Concerning the sacraments, he says in the Apology,—'We allow the sacraments, that is to say, certain holy signs and ceremonies which Christ would have us use, that by them he might *set before men's eyes* the mysteries of our salvation, and might more strongly confirm faith, &c., and might seal his grace in our hearts. And these sacraments, *together with* Tertullian, Origen, Ambrose, (and a long catalogue of fathers,) we do call *figures, signs, marks, badges, prints, copies, forms, seals, signets, similitudes, patterns, representations, remembrances, and memories.*'"—*D. of A.*, p. 205. (*British Critic*, July No., p. 39.)

Upon this passage the reviewer proceeds:—

"Not a word, in this fluent enumeration, of the direct *conveyance* of divine grace by the sacraments. Not a hint at the mysterious virtue, the transforming, invigorating efficacy, which the natural elements acquire through the act of consecration, and of which they are the appointed media to the soul, no hinderance of unbelief or sin being interposed. Again observe what Archbishop Whately calls the 'fallacy of reference;' and what may be called also, the *fallacy of suppression.* Doubtless, all these fathers say, that the sacraments are significant and commemorative. But do they not also say, that they are operative, in every unresisting subject, of certain mysterious effects?

"Upon this Harding justly remarks, that Jewell's view places the sacraments of the gospel on a par with the rites of Judaism. *Jewell admits it.* 'The sacraments of the old law and of the new in truth and substance are all one. St. Paul saith, *Omnes eundem cibum comederunt.*'—P. 208. He thus implies that we receive Christ in the sacraments no otherwise than as the Israelites are said to have partaken of him in the wilderness. Might not the charge of Judaism, so liberally bestowed upon the Roman Catholics, be fitly retorted?"—*British Critic*, July No., p. 39.

We will give Harding's positions and Jewell's answer more at length, that the reader may be able more clearly to perceive what it is that the reviewer agrees with, on the one hand, and opposes, on the other.

Harding says,—

"This word, sacrament, signifies sometimes a holy thing, sometimes the sign of a holy thing, instituted by God. As it is taken for a sign

only, so it is found generally, not only in the new law, but also in the old law. But in the new law these signs, after a peculiar and special manner, be called sacraments, which do not only signify a holy thing, but also do sanctify and make holy those to whom they are adhibited, being such as by institution of Christ contain grace in them, and power to sanctify."

Again, he says,—

"Yet we mean that they [sacramental signs] contain grace, and power to sanctify, after such manner of speaking, as we say of potions and drinks prepared for sick persons, that they contain health, to the working whereof they be 'effectual.'—And as it is said of the sacraments, that they contain grace, so is it likewise said, that through their virtue, which they have by God's institution, they do not only signify (as by these defenders' doctrine that seemeth to be their special office) but also with signification *work* and *cause*, as an instrumental cause, the effect of that which they signifie."

Again,—

"What then? Will it follow, that because our sacraments do show that Christ is already come, therefore our sacraments give no grace? He that eateth Christ's flesh, showeth his death, saith St. Paul; and he that eateth my flesh, saith Christ, hath life everlasting. Mark how our having of life goeth together with our showing of Christ's death: you divide these matters and make Christ's sacraments only to be shows."

The bishop's answer to the last passage above stands thus:—

"You have miscalled S. Paul, M. Harding; these are not his words: look better to your books, and see your error. If I had some part of your eloquence, I could cry out, as you do, *Falsifiers and corrupters of God's word.* S. Paul saith not, *He that eateth Christ's flesh, showeth his death.* You deal untruly. Thus he saith: *As often as you shall eat this bread, and drink this cup, you shall show forth the Lord's death.* The *bread* of the sacrament is one thing, M. Harding; and the *flesh of Christ* is another. The *bread* entereth only into the bodily mouth: *Christ's flesh* entereth only into the soule. Without eating of that *bread* of the sacrament we may be saved: without eating *Christ's flesh* we can never be saved. S. Augustin saith precisely: *Qui non sumit Carnem Christi, non habet vitam, et qui eam sumit habet vitam, et eam utique æternam:* he that receiveth not the *flesh of Christ*, hath not life: and he that receiveth the same hath life, and that for ever. Again he saith: The sacrament is received of some unto life, of some unto destruction; but the thing itself, (that is, the flesh of Christ,) whereof the sacrament [or bread] is a sacrament, is received of all men unto life, and of no man unto destruction, whosoever shall be a partaker of it."—Pp. 205, 208, 209.

As to what the reviewer calls "the fallacy of reference," we are sorry to say, that he has exhibited a most striking instance of

this species of fallacy, in endeavoring to palm it upon Bishop Jewell. For the bishop shows, in instances quite too numerous for reference, that the ancient fathers represent the *figurative* character of the sacraments in language entirely inconsistent with the "operative" efficacy attributed to them by Romanists and such Churchmen as our reviewer. We give the following as one specimen out of a hundred of the bishop's arguments upon the point:—

"Let us see," says he, "in what sense the holy Catholic fathers have expounded these words of Christ, *This is my body.* First, Tertullian saith thus: *Christus acceptum Panem, et distributum Discipulis, corpus suum illum fecit dicendo: Hoc est corpus meum, hoc est Figura corporis mei:* Christ taking the bread and dividing it to his disciples, made it his body, saying, *This is my body*, that is to say, *This is a figure of my body.* S. Augustin saith: *Non dubitavit dominus dicere, hoc est corpus meum, cum daret Signum Corporis sui:* Our Lord doubted not to say, *This is my body*, when he gave a *token of his body.*"

Again he quotes St. Augustin, as follows:—

"*Solet res, quæ significat, ejus rei nomine, quam significat nuncupari: hinc est, quod dictum est, Petra erat Christus. Non enim dicit, Petra significat Christum, Sed tanquam hoc esset, quod utique per substantiam non erat, sed per significationem.* The thing that signifieth is commonly called by the name of that thing that it signifieth. Therefore is it, that St. Paul saith: *The rock was Christ.* For he saith not, *The rock signified Christ*, (but, *The rock was Christ*,) as if the rock had been Christ indeed, whereas touching the substance it was not so, but so it was by signification."—*Defense*, p. 428.

Now we would most humbly desire to know where can be the chance for the reviewer's and Romish doctrine of the *opus operatum* in these special explanations? It may be proved that these fathers say, "Christ's body is in the vessels," and the like, which would seem to imply the *real presence* in the sacrament. But the most that can be certainly concluded from such passages is, that these fathers have contradicted themselves. Jewell makes it appear probable that they intended to be understood figuratively in these bold expressions. And he furnishes a long list of parallel passages from these writers upon other subjects when their language is necessarily to be taken figuratively.

"Such amplifications," says the bishop, "and vehement and extraordinary speeches, notwithstanding, in some cases, they may be dangerous, yet oftentimes they seem necessary, the better to quicken the dullness and negligence of the people."—*Defense*, p. 275.

It can, indeed, be to no purpose for Romanists or Churchmen to multiply strong expressions from the fathers in relation to the

efficacy of sacramental signs, and the presence of Christ in those signs, when these fathers tell us explicitly that all such expressions are to be understood *figuratively*. It is the fallacy *petitio principi*, and is doing the greatest injustice to these writers. We are not the apologist of "the holy fathers," as they are called. They are very far from giving a certain sound upon the matters in controversy between us and so-called *Catholics*. But they should have their due, and the fathers of the English Church, who made so free use of them, should also have their due. It is, indeed, almost enough to provoke a smile to see such writers as our reviewer attempt to convict Bishop Jewell of ignorance or perversion of the fathers. No intelligent and unprejudiced reader, who will attentively peruse the writings of this prelate, will for a moment suspect him of either. This great defender of the English Church manifests a little too much confidence in the fathers; but in general it will be found that he uses them in *argumentum ad hominum*, where their authority is perfectly valid. And in this case he is not bound to prove that these fathers have always been consistent with themselves. If it indubitably appears that they ever, in any case, speak a language inconsistent with what are denominated *Catholic verities*, this is good and valid, in opposition to his opponent who claimed for these verities "*the unanimous consent of the fathers.*" If it can be shown, ever so clearly, that they speak another language on other occasions, it affects not the cogency of the bishop's argument in the least. Still we maintain that the evidence is far from being conclusive, that the language of those fathers which is quoted by Jewell and Harding, ever necessarily implies the doctrine of the *real presence*, and the *sanctifying efficacy* of *sacramental signs*. They should certainly be allowed to interpret their own language; and when they tell us explicitly that the words which are supposed to imply the Romish doctrine are to be understood *figuratively*, should not this settle the question?

"3. The power of the keys. 'We say that the office of loosing consisteth in this point, that the minister *either by the preaching of the gospel*, offereth the merits of Christ, and full pardon to such as have lowly and contrite hearts, and do unfeignedly repent themselves. Or, when the same minister .... doth reconcile (offenders) .... to the company and unity of the faithful. .... And touching the keys .... we *with Chrysostom say*, they be the knowledge of the Scriptures .... *with Tertullian* we say, they be the interpretation of the law, and *with Eusebius* we call them the word of God."—*Apol.*, c. 6, 7. (*British Critic*, July No., pp. 39, 40.)

With this evidence before him, the reader will readily concede that Bishop Jewell was no Catholic, according to the reviewer's notions of Catholicity.

"The last quotation" the reviewer is disposed to "inflict" upon his "readers," concerns a person, rather than a doctrine.

"Harding had said,—'It was a most gracious gift of God that he gave this Thomas [à Becket] grace to die for his honor.'

"Answer,—'For his honor, say you? Now, for shame, Mr. Harding!.... The very true cause of Becket's death was his ambition, and vanity, *and wilful maintenance of manifest wickedness in the clergy* (!) to the great dishonor of God's holy name.'—*D. of A.*, p. 295.

"One is hardly restrained from indignation on hearing the blessed saints and martyrs of the Most High thus slandered by these teachers of yesterday!"—*British Critic*, July No., p. 42.

So it has come to this. The English reformers who died for maintaining the precious truths of the gospel, in opposition to Roman superstition and idolatry, *are not martyrs to the truth*; but the notorious Becket, who had rendered himself so odious by his aspiring to an independence of the civil power, and assuming to protect the licentious priesthood from the civil penalties which their crimes had merited, as to subject himself to private assassination, is canonized by *members of the Church of England* as one of "the blessed saints and martyrs of the Most High!" A great pity, indeed, it is that Churchmen of the present day had not a tythe of the learning and piety which was possessed by their reformers and fathers, whom they now contemptuously repudiate as "teachers of yesterday."

A leading question between Catholics and Protestants is, whether the anxious inquirer should go to the *Bible* or to the *Church* to know what he must do to be saved. Both agree that the Scriptures contain the mind of the Spirit, but the question is how the sense of the Scriptures is to be ascertained. Protestants say, every one, after using all the means in his power to find the right meaning of God's word, is to judge for himself what that meaning is. Catholics, on the other hand, say that the *Church decides authoritatively* as to the sense of Holy Scripture. Dr. Harding says, "Such sense of the Scriptures is to be taken for Scripture, which the Holy Ghost hath taught the Church." The British Critic says,—

"We will only mention one more consideration, and so conclude this branch of our subject. *We* maintain that the true sense of Scripture is handed down from age to age by transmission; and that the witnesses to it *profess* no more than to deliver what they have received; also that private individuals depend more or less on the word of those

more holy than themselves, who assure us that they go on continually to find greater accordance between the written and the unwritten word." —*British Critic*, October No., p. 344.

Here is a perfect correspondence between the Romish and the English Catholic as to what is the Scripture. According to them the *interpretation* which the Church puts upon the language of the Bible "is to be taken for Scripture." In accordance with this fundamental principle, both these classes of Catholics teach us that *private judgment* is to be exercised upon the inquiries, *Where is the Church? Who are the authorized teachers?* But not upon the question, *What has God taught us in his word?*

"We conceive then," says the Critic, "that, on the whole, the notion of gaining religious truth for ourselves by our private inquiry, whether by reading or thinking, whether by studying Scripture or other books, has no broad sanction in Scripture, is not impressed upon us by its general tone, nor enjoined in any of its commands. The great question which it puts before private judgment is, Who is God's prophet? and where? Who is to be considered the voice of the holy Catholic and apostolic Church?"—*British Critic*, July No., p. 116.

When we commenced this article we intended to give the reader several specimens of the efforts made by the Critic to show the unity of sentiment between the Romish and the English Churches. We find, however, that our limits will not permit us fully to carry out this design. The ground which is taken, is, that "they are one in faith, so far forth as they are viewed in their essential apostolical character," and "they are in discord, so far as their respective children and disciples have overlaid them with the errors of their own individual minds."—*July No.*, p. 120.

The view here presented is not only wholly at war with the representations of Cranmer, Jewell, Jackson, &c., but is also utterly irreconcilable with the homilies of the Church and the thirty-nine articles, adopted by the convocation and parliament, and sanctioned by "the supreme head on earth of the Church." For all these authorities, which surely are not to be regarded as "the errors of individual minds," represent the Romish Church as having *corrupted the faith, in points essential to salvation.* Now, when the Critic will show us that in all matters of importance there is a perfect agreement between the thirty-nine articles and the decrees of the Council of Trent, he will have approached a reconciliation of some of the great contrarieties between the faith of the two churches, as that faith is imbodied and stands before the world. Let the reader but refer back to the twenty-seven articles embraced in Bishop Jewell's famous challenge, and he will then be able to determine

whether the Church of Rome and the Church of England were "one in faith" in the days of the reformers. Indeed, if these two communions now agree in faith, one or the other must have undergone some radical changes within the three last centuries.

But we must now come nearer home. We shall next inquire, briefly, into the state of the controversy in question in our own country. In doing this we shall principally confine ourselves to a review of Palmer's Treatise on the Church in the New-York Review for January, 1842.

The object of the reviewer seems to be to present, in rather a guarded manner, the leading points involved in the Tractarian controversy. And while he approves of the "Oxford theology" in general, he is wise enough to admit that there are some "floating straws of error" attached to the system. As to the leading point in debate the reviewer says,—

"We are well satisfied that the question of the Church is THE question that lies at the foundation of all minor questions among professing but divided Christians, and that its Scriptural and charitable solution is that which will go foremost, and pave the way most solidly to reunion among them."—*New-York Review*, pp. 102, 103.

In this view we agree with the reviewer, at least so far as concerns the questions which arise between Churchmen and other Christians. "The question of *the* Church," doubtless, "lies at the foundation" of the whole controversy upon the right of ordination, and the valid administration of the ordinances, claimed by those who take the Protestant ground. And yet it seems to us that the reviewer has done but little toward settling this great question. The definition of the Church, given by Gibson, viz., "A spiritual corporation having *a cure of souls*, and with *a right* of tythes," the reviewer says, "is the definition of an established Church:" "that of the thirty-nine articles," viz., "A congregation of faithful men," &c., is "*ecclesiastical* rather than *theological*," as "the phrase 'congregation' is uncatholic;" and that of "the Douay Catechism," viz., "the Church is *the* congregation of all the faithful under Jesus Christ, their visible head, and his *vicar upon earth, the pope*," is also made extremely "uncatholic" by "the latter clause." He finally comes to Mr. Palmer's definition, which he considers opposed to "the error of bigotry," on the one hand, and that of "the worldly reasoner," on the other.

"To the one his language is: 'The Church means the whole society of Christians throughout the world, including all who profess their belief in Christ, and who are subject to lawful pastors;' to the

other: 'The Church of Christ is not formed by the mere voluntary association of individuals, but by divine grace operating either by miracle or by ordinary means of divine institution.'"—P. 116.

Now, how far the definition of Mr. Palmer goes toward settling the controversy, we will let the intelligent reader judge. Indeed, all good Protestants will, without hesitation, agree with every word of it. But it settles nothing at all. What these "divine institutions" are, and what constitutes "lawful pastors," yet remain in question. And in this state our reviewer leaves "*the* question," upon which so much depends.

But "*the right of the Church to teach authoritatively the rational and choosing mind*," (see pp. 109, 110,) is assumed by our reviewer as explicitly as by the British Critic, or any of that class of divines from whom he takes his cue. We notice the mere fact here, of the agreement between our reviewer and the Tractarians, as we proceed in course, without, at present, making any remarks upon the principle assumed.

"The first agitating question" which he notices in his author "relates to 'salvation in the Church only.'" And this doctrine, the reviewer says, his author makes out "to be the uniform decision, even of all dissenting churches:" in proof he gives us quotations from Calvin, Owen, and Robert Barclay. As the reviewer quotes Mr. Palmer with approbation, he assumes his disingenuousness. Had the reviewer been disposed to do justice, both to his author and the dissenters, whose language he quotes, he would have notified the reader that Mr. Palmer and these dissenters, by *the Church*, mean very different things; the one understanding *an external and visible society*, and the other, *the company of God's chosen people*, or all *true believers*. But not to insist further upon this point, we should have been highly gratified to learn that the reviewer does not "concur in this language as either the most Scriptural or the most rational," did he not leave all who are not attached to what he calls "*the* Church" in the condition of "heathen." His views are condensed in this short sentence, "To the heathen belongs his own probation." Perhaps "dissenting churches" should thank this kind reviewer for giving them, in common with *other* "heathen," a "probation," and not consigning them to unconditional reprobation, as his author does.

We shall next notice the claims which the reviewer sets up for the Protestant Episcopal Church in this country. To lay the foundation of his superstructure, he deduces a fundamental principle from his former reasoning, though he seems to proceed in the business with some little trepidation. He says,—

"Among the perilous propositions (popularly speaking) deduced from these principles is, that there cannot be in the same portion of Christendom more than one Church rightfully claiming the title of THE Church of Christ, that is, not in schism. Altar cannot rise against altar without sin. Thus, in the realm of England, the Church of Rome was and is *schismatic*, having intruded after the Reformation with its rival altar for the first time, about the year 1570, when members began first to fall off from the Church of England, encouraged and stimulated by emissaries sent forth from Rome."—P. 124.

Upon the principle here laid down the reviewer proceeds to show that the "Protestant Episcopal Church in America is the only one against which the charge of schism cannot, for one moment, rest—whether we look to recognized ecclesiastical principles or to the well-known facts of history."—P. 125. The reviewer's "ecclesiastical principles" are above stated, and whoever else has "recognized" their legitimacy, certainly we have not, nor shall we ever do so until we submit to the supremacy of the pope.

But to his "facts of history." These are, *first*, that "the first actual settlement" made upon "these coasts," (that of Jamestown, Virginia, 1607,) "was under the express authority and guidance of the Church." Now this historical fact can have no bearing upon the question, unless it be upon the principle that the branch of the Church first established upon a mighty continent, though it consist of a mere handful, hid in a small nook or corner, has the exclusive right to ecclesiastical jurisdiction over the whole continent for ever. This is certainly a very grave matter, and must, we suppose, be capable of being settled by some ancient council, or some canon of the Catholic Church. We would most respectfully ask our good reviewer to give his authority for this sweeping principle in ecclesiastical polity. And he will also do well to inquire whether such a principle would be limited by natural barriers or civil boundaries. Whether the bishop of London, because Jamestown was assigned to him as a part of his charge, had an ecclesiastical claim to New-England, and the territory west of the Allegany; and, if so, would he not also claim Mexico and South America? Here our wise reviewer will probably say, South America and Mexico were pre-occupied by the Roman Catholics, and as they are acknowledged a legitimate branch of the Catholic Church, they have the right to those countries. Very well. What, then, hinders their having the previous right to all North America? Would not ecclesiastical right travel northward as well as southward? And will our reviewer tell us whether such a thing as an *isthmus* is a barrier that

ecclesiastical jurisdiction cannot pass, while it can pass rivers, scale mountains, and mock all civil boundaries?

A *second* historical fact upon which our reviewer relies is, that "the apostolical gift—the episcopate—was received from the mother Church in 1784 and 1787, which gave to the American Church an unquestioned independent national existence as a branch of the Church of Christ," "the actual ecclesiastical establishment" of "the Church of Rome" being "later by several years." The result to which our reviewer's historical facts lead him, is as follows:—

"That, inasmuch as the Church of Rome *followed* the Church of England with its episcopate, while the Independents and dissenters had *no* episcopate to oppose to it, that the Church Catholic, therefore, in its apostolic form, was earliest established in these United States, first as colonies necessarily, and then as states voluntarily, by and from the Church of England, an acknowledgedly pure branch of the Church of Christ, and that it therefore follows, by necessary consequence, as the Church could not a second time be planted within it, that, under the Scriptural obligations of Christian unity, with the penalty of schism hanging over those who violate it, all Christians were and are bound, on Scriptural principles, to look unto the communion of *that* Church."—Pp. 126, 127.

These "facts of history," and the reviewer's deductions, open a wide field for remark; but we have only space for a few brief notes.

1. The reviewer does not deign to consider the claims of any body of Christians to ecclesiastical jurisdiction in these United States, except the Protestant Episcopal Church and the Roman Catholics; they being the only legitimate branches of the Catholic Church who, according to him, have any claims to make.

2. He dates "the apostolical gift" at 1784, the period of the ordination of Bishop Seybury, who was not deemed competent to convey the succession, having been ordained by the schismatical Nonjurors of Scotland. And though, according to his own showing, the episcopal college was not full until 1790, "the apostolic gift" not being complete until the canonical number from the archbishop of Canterbury was obtained, yet he sets aside the claim of the Roman Catholics, who, it seems, had obtained from the pope "the apostolical gift" the same year, (1790.)

3. He claims for his Church the right of ecclesiastical jurisdiction over all Christians and churches of whatever name in these United States. We can scarcely meet this arrogant pretension with serious argument. And most certainly, though the Methodist Episcopal Church was duly organized under the government of

an "episcopate" as truly apostolical as any in the world before the arrival upon these shores of any bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church, we make no claim on that account that "all Christians were bound, on Scriptural principles, to look unto the communion of that Church." We only claim that we have a right to preserve our own organization, and most certainly shall still continue to do so, notwithstanding, by so doing, we incur "the penalty of schism."

4. The "national existence" of the Protestant Episcopal Church, according to the doctrine of the reviewer, is the utter annihilation of the claims of all other Christian churches to the ordinances, and a right to perpetuate their own institutions. This is unblushing effrontery, too popish to require from the Protestant communions of this country more than the rebuke of silent contempt. How far this spirit of a "national" religion is to obtain in our country, time only can tell.

On the "principle" set forth by the reviewer, he thinks "all foreign missionary operations in the Church should ever be conducted." But to this he must needs have an "exception," in "form," at least, "as when a Christian Church follows abroad her own children, with her own language and liturgy, where difference of tongue demands imperatively a different administration." Under this class of justifiable exceptions, he concludes, "falls the case of an English bishop in the continent of Europe, and another in the Mediterranean," and he might have added *another* in Jerusalem. This seems plausible indeed. One branch of the Catholic Church must not trespass upon the territories occupied by another, except to follow "her own children, with her own language and liturgy." But how has it come to pass that the "English bishops" abroad give instruction and the ordinances to natives, and make converts to their own party? What has "The Church Missionary Society" been about in "the Mediterranean?" Why, greatly to the annoyance of the Puseyites, they have there acted as a "sect," and have wrested from their legitimate pastors the sheep assigned to them by the Shepherd and Bishop of souls. And as to the "new bishop of Jerusalem," we are told that "the queen's license assigns Syria, Chaldee, Egypt, and Abyssinia, as the limits within which he is to exercise jurisdiction."—*Church Record*, vol. ii, p. 30.

All this, qualified as it may be, according to the Church principles advocated by the reviewer, and Churchmen generally, is rank *schism*. What does the Church of Rome pretend to do in England and America more than to follow "her own children with her own [peculiar] language and liturgy?" And for this very thing, a parental duty which she executes, we doubt not, in as good

faith as do English missionaries abroad, English successionists have to this day charged her with "the sin of schism." We have already seen what is the sentence of the reviewer himself in this case. "Altar," says he, "cannot rise against altar without sin. Thus, in the realm of England, the Church of Rome was and is schismatic."

On this principle our reviewer insists that "the proposed action of the American Church, in the case of her Texian children," should be constructed. That is, she must follow *them* "with her own language and liturgy," but must make no converts from the native population, for they belong to the *padree*, nor even from foreigners who belong to any other branch of "the Catholic Church." Very well. All this is doubtless quite canonical. Church missionaries to Texas must not alienate any from their divinely constituted pastors. Should they induce any to join their communion, and to leave the confessional of the dancing, drunken, debauched *padree*, they would be horribly schismatical. Perhaps the wise instructions of the reviewer will all be faithfully carried out.

But let us know, good reviewer, who you reckon among the Church's "own children" "in Texas?" Doubtless *all who are not Roman Catholics!* Well, send on your missionaries, sir. But they will find the great mass of the people of the young republic as slow to acknowledge the claims of the old mother as many of her disobedient children in the United States. She followed us with "her language and liturgy;" yes, she is now pursuing us with her *Romish mummery;* but her efforts are vain. True Protestants will stand fast in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made them free, and not again be entangled in the yoke of bondage.

We must pass over several topics which would afford matter for serious reflection, and come finally to the expose which the reviewer has made of his views of Romanism. He must set down the "rapidly increasing influence among us of the Church of Rome," as among the obstacles with which the Church has to contend, and which, somehow, must be overcome. But upon the subject of a *union* of the two communions, the review is, though rather wordy, yet quite intelligible. We shall give the passage entire:—

"Under these contradictory feelings nothing is harder to the right-minded Christian than to use language toward the Church of Rome at once respectful enough for its orthodox truths, and yet condemnatory enough for its unscriptural falsehood. We can hardly speak in any terms of it without either wounding charity or wounding truth. In its apostolic ministry, in its primitive orthodoxy, in its sacraments of grace,

we reverence it as among the pillars of that temple which God, and not man, hath builded; but alas for the worm at its heart; its bigotry, its corruption, and its spirit of worldly domination. Yet even these are not the impassable gulf. Not for her corrupt doctrines or practices does she stand at such an illimitable distance from the true Catholic Christian; these might be reformed, or, even as they stand, are not necessarily repugnant to the vital graces and growth of the Christian; nor yet for her bigotry, as arising from ignorance and false zeal, for this, Christian education, and the light of God's truth, and the exercise of a more reflecting reason, might suffice to alter; nor yet again, evil and unchristian as that is, is the spirit of worldly domination the insuperable obstacle, for that, too, as it was the growth of ignorance and a dark age, so, too, under the spirit of a more enlightened one, might it stand rebuked and corrected; not for these, therefore, do we feel constrained to hold aloof from all contact with the Church of Rome, but because she has bound herself by *oath* never to cease to contemn all other claims to the Christian name, and, trampling them under foot, to hold all who yield not unlimited submission to Rome, as anathematized, and beyond the pale of salvation."—Pp. 142, 143.

A careful examination of this passage will sufficiently evince to the reader that the American reviewer is not far behind his English contemporaries in a desire for a union with the Roman Church. "Its unscriptural falsehood, bigotry, corruption, spirit of worldly domination, ignorance and false zeal," are admitted by the reviewer; but he says, "Yet even these are not the impassable gulf." "These might be reformed, or, even as they stand, are not necessarily repugnant to the vital graces and growth of the Christian." The fathers of the English Church, as the homilies abundantly show, considered the Church of Rome as entirely corrupted—rotten at the core. Hence they appropriated to that communion the appellations of "antichrist," "the man of sin," "whore of Babylon," &c. Bishop Jewell says,—"Verily the Church of Rome, these many years, may seem to have been nothing else but *a mother of falsehood*, and a *school of pride*."—*Defense*, p. 532. And in later times, Bishop Taylor, himself a violent Churchman, makes a strong argument upon the following proposition, viz.: "The Church of Rome, as it is at this day disordered, teaches doctrines, and uses practices, which are, in themselves, or in their true and immediate consequences, *direct impieties*, and *give warranty* to a *wicked life*."—*Dissuasive from Popery*, chap. 2.

Little did these pious and learned bishops, and able defenders of the Church of England, imagine that Church-of-England men would ever seriously contend that the "mother of falsehood," with her sanction of "direct impieties," and her "warranty to a wicked life," is not, in her principles and practice, "necessarily repugnant

to the vital graces and growth of the Christian." But so it has turned out. What the fathers of the English Church abhorred and denounced as "impiety," has finally come to be considered by their degenerate sons as quite harmless, if not, indeed, an acceptable service to God!

The only obstacle to union, which the reviewer seems to consider as absolutely insuperable, is the "unlimited submission" which Rome requires of all who bear the Christian name. In this particular it seems that the American reviewer has not quite kept pace with his great masters over the water. The British Critic, as we have seen, considers the "union of the whole church under one visible government as abstractedly the most perfect state," and in relation to submission to Rome, he tells us that "a spiritual *yoke* is, of itself, no necessary evil," and that "lacking union with the see of Rome" is so far from "asserting a right," that it is actually to "forego a privilege." "Here," says the Critic, "is a view which promises us the power of upholding Pope Hildebrand* and the see of St. Peter, for all the reformers derided the supremacy of the Church." The Critic can, of course, no longer stumble at the supremacy of the pope, whenever it shall become consistent with the circumstances of the beneficed English clergy to admit that great heresy. American Churchmen rather stick at this point, though they are, if possible, more ready than their British brethren to yield to Romanists every thing else. But they progress so rapidly in their recognitions of the *Catholic principles* which their fathers, through the influence of the wrong-headed continental reformers, had been induced to repudiate, that it is not impossible but this point too will finally be yielded to the true *visible head* of the Catholic Church.

The union of the Protestant Episcopal Church and the Roman Catholic Church in this country is beset with no *legal* difficulties. Though the former is, as the reviewer tells us, the only rightful owner of the soil, and has an "unquestioned independent national existence," yet she is not so trammeled by the state but that she can freely consult such measures as she may judge best for the restoration of "Catholic unity." She has no benefices to forfeit, by recognizing the claims of the holy father to universal supremacy, and so ridding herself of the guilt of that "sacrilege which assailed"

* This same pope, called Gregory I., who was the first to claim both spiritual and temporal supremacy over all kings and countries, and one of the most unblushing of all that line of tyrants who have filled the chair of St. Peter; this same abandoned despiser of the rights of both God and man, the Critic dignifies with the appellation of "*holiest Gregory!*"—*July No.*, p. 142.

this prime article of the Romish faith in the days of "the *so-called* reformers." When this is done we shall hear no more from our Churchmen in this country of "the papal yoke," or any other "phrases of a like bold and undutiful tenor."

Of the probability of this consummation, considered by some so devoutly to be wished, we say nothing. We do, however, rejoice to know that a very spirited opposition to the doctrines of the Oxford Romanists is sustained in the Protestant Episcopal Church, and we can but hope that it will ultimately triumph.

The object fearlessly announced by the British Critic, and to accomplish which the Oxford divines are laboring most unceasingly, is "the *unprotestantizing* of the national Church." In this work the Critic seems encouraged by the prospect of ultimate success. He says, "We cannot stand where we are; we must go backward or forward; and it will surely be the latter."—*July No.*, p. 45. In the sixth article of the above number of the Critic the writer gives us a tolerably full account of his hopes and fears in relation to the *missionary* operations in the East. He will *hope*, even against hope. For though he complains most bitterly of "The Church Missionary Society," he consents to a "Mediterranean bishop," provided he shall not have "the appearance of a schismatic intruder." He gives rather a reluctant consent to this for a time, that the three great branches of the Catholic Church may be brought into a juxta-position, which may facilitate their ultimate union. The writer says,—

"The Mediterranean, then, seems to present the only scene in which the churches, either of Greece or Rome, can be approached, with a view to the renewal of natural relations with them by their Anglican sister."—*July No.*, p. 141.

The union of the Greek, Roman, and Anglican Churches, it is expected, will commence in the Mediterranean, on the little island of Malta. Our Oxford divines are hoping (and *praying* too, if they can find any such prayer in the book) that this union may soon be consummated; and then, no doubt, the glorious millennium will not tarry long. But to the serious Christian such a union would promise about as much for the universal diffusion and final triumph of Christianity as "the holy alliance," as it was called, did for the liberty of Europe. These fallen churches must all be renovated before their union will be productive of the smallest beneficial results. Indeed, it is probable that should such a connection as is now so much talked of be formed, it would be an alliance against Protestantism, and would be combining and centralizing the whole power of antichrist against the true church of

God. But there need be neither hopes nor fears of this wonderful junction of the three great branches of the Catholic Church. They are each and all too selfish and worldly in their policy, and too jealous of each other. There would, in such an event, be too many *popes*, and too much difficulty in determining upon a common centre of union. In all this we may be mistaken. The high hopes of the Tractarians may rest upon a solid basis; but if it is so, that basis is too deep for our observation.

We are, indeed, told that the principles of the Oxford divines are mightily extending in our own country. The reviewer of Palmer on the Church says,—

"One fact, at least, must stand unquestioned, and that is, that in no portion of Christendom are these principles of a true Catholic Church making a more rapid progress, or taking a higher stand than here."—*New-York Review*, Jan. No., p. 139.

Now if the reviewer's "principles of a true Catholic Church" were such as are held forth in the New Testament, and as were professed by the pious reformers, his announcement would be matter of joy and gratulation. But being aware that the reviewer has nothing in his mind but a visible organization holding many corrupt dogmas, were we certain that he had made a correct estimate of the state of the question in this country, it would occasion us deep and bitter regret. There is, indeed, too much reason to believe that the errors of Oxfordism in their worst form are exceedingly rife in this country. If this were not the fact we should not find such explicit avowals of the Romish heresies which have been received in the Church of England by the Oxford divines, as is very common in *The Churchman* and kindred periodicals. For the reader's edification we will give him a few specimens of this kind from the above paper:—

"We hold tradition to be interpretive of Scripture, and that any tradition coming upon the same testimony as an apostolic epistle (*for the canon of Scripture depends upon traditive testimony*) is of equal divine sanction.—We admit that hades is a PURGATORY, i. e., a place of rest, where the faithful, in incipient bliss, are *cleansed* from passions and adhering carnalities, and prepared for heaven by being perfected in holiness; not denying that the eucharistic sacrifice, as also the prayers of the faithful here, profit them, they being part of the Catholic Church.—We admit the efficacy of the sacraments fully, as anciently taught.—We hold the high *sacramental character* of ORDERS and MATRIMONY.—In PENANCE there is outward sign of apostolical institution.—UNCTION we admit, upon a passage in St. James. EXORCISM we confess is catholic.—The Reformation did more injury, by far, to the church catholic, than did ever the persecutions of paganism.—The

utterly *untenable* Protestant ground" on "the authority of tradition.—The pernicious Protestant Solifidian doctrine" of "justification by faith.—Far from being grieved or scandalized, to hear that attempts have been made in the university of Oxford to encourage auricular confession, (*sit venia verbi!*) [i. e., the word may be admitted] we rejoice at it as the omen of a brighter day in her history."

This language is taken from the official organ of the diocese of New-York. How well it becomes a D. D., in a church purporting by her style and profession to be *Protestant*, let the intelligent reader judge for himself. And most assuredly it can be no great matter of surprise if the editor of the Churchman should soon follow several illustrious examples in England and America, of ministers leaving "*the Church*," and going over to "*the mother of all churches*." The sooner such men leave all connection with the Protestant churches, the more honorable to them and the safer for those churches, for it can scarcely be deemed uncharitable to say that they are a scandal to the Protestant name and cause, not to say to Christianity itself.

We shall now conclude this paper by glancing at the leading principles which have passed under review.

One of the principles we have noticed, and which constitutes a line of distinction between Catholics and Protestants, is, that *the Church is the authoritative expounder of Scripture*. Now this principle, besides being utterly without divine sanction, has the further inconvenience of being both absurd and dangerous. For touching all those questions upon which private judgment might go astray, the Church gives us no uniform decision. The Church in one age has contradicted the Church in another, and one branch of the Catholic Church has contradicted another branch of the Catholic Church of the same age, when, according to the canons laid down by our Catholics, both are of equal authority.

The reviewer of Mr. Palmer, after his author, gives us "the only test that all Christians can acknowledge, namely, the coincidence of all, or, in other words, the authority of the church catholic as it hath from time to time spoken forth its judgments," or, in the language of Vincentius, of Lirinensis: "Quod semper, quod ubeque, quod ab omnibus."—*What is always, what is everywhere, and what is by all.* Now we fearlessly challenge the reviewer to bring his peculiar dogmas to the "test" of examination by this famous rule. If his doctrines of the Church, of apostolical succession, of episcopacy *jure divino*, of grace in the sacraments, &c., &c., can be proved to have this evidence of universal consent, then we will receive these doctrines as settled. Not that we

admit that this evidence, could it be produced, would be absolutely authoritative; for we must hold that every man is responsible to God for his interpretation of Holy Scripture; a responsibility which could have no existence if we are bound to receive the expositions of the Church as authoritative and final. But we know that this much-vaunted rule is as useless in practice as it is wrong in principle, for not one of the "*Catholic verities*," which are rejected by Protestants, can, for a moment, support a claim to the *universal consent* which is made the great, "the only test" of "fundamentals."

And supposing we were to receive all this, and consent to put ourselves under the guidance of the Protestant Episcopal Church. Here we find even the high functionaries of the Church perfectly antagonistic upon the most vital points. Who will tell us what constitutes "the visible Church?" Who will settle the intimately related question of the validity of "lay baptism?" When the editor of Palmer, the bishop of the diocese of Maryland, differs from his author, and our sage reviewer differs from both, which shall we follow? Shall we take the articles, homilies, and liturgy for the authorized exposition of the doctrine of Holy Scripture? These we learn from the Oxfordists are quite too *Protestant* in their character. And if this objection were removed, then which is the infallible interpretation of Scripture, the English or the American Prayer Book? for they differ materially, even in *matters of faith*. Shall we go to the Churchman and the New-York Review, or to the Church Record and the Recorder, to the bishop of the diocese of Ohio and of Virginia, or to the bishop of New-York and New-Jersey, to be taught the true Catholic doctrines? Where is this boasted "unity of the faith?" We profess we are utterly unable to find it, and we are as poorly qualified to see the Christian modesty of such claims to it as are made by our Churchmen. In their present distracted condition they are not *safe guides to the blind*.

Again: as to the arrogant claims set up by Churchmen, we have already intimated that they can scarcely be met either by argument or serious remonstrance. That the pastors and governors of the Protestant Episcopal Church have a legitimate right to teach and govern the people who have voluntarily committed themselves to their spiritual care, we are not at all disposed to dispute. If this were the extent of their claim, none but Romanists would for a moment call it in question. But when they claim by *divine* right, or by a universally established ecclesiastical right, to be *the only authorized interpreters of God's word*, and *the only Christian pastors* in the land; and brand all other pastors and teachers with the odious

epithets of *schismatics* and *intruders*, we cannot tamely submit. Such arrogance is altogether intolerable, and in this age and country must bring upon its abettors disappointment, confusion, and ruin.

But, finally, as to the tendencies to the corruptions of Romanism, and the bare-faced abandonment of the fundamental principles of the great Reformation from popery, which show themselves in the Church of England and the Protestant Episcopal Church, we are surprised at the result of our investigations. There is such a flood of new light, or blue light, or something which is the opposite of all light, that our powers of vision are utterly obscured, and we are led to exclaim, Upon what sad times have we fallen!

And are our sober Churchmen prepared for all the developments of Catholic truth which are now coming forth from Oxford and New-York? We are perfectly aware that many of them are not. We hope such may consider at this point, the propriety of reviewing their ground, and inquiring whether the results to which Oxfordism brings us do not follow legitimately from such *Church principles* as, within these few years past, have been quite generally adopted by our leading Churchmen. And now, that the line of division is between Roman and Anglican Catholicity and true Protestantism, it is a question of no ordinary interest whether they will try to stand between these two grand divisions; and, if not, which they will select. Romanism and Protestantism are two types of Christianity, one of which each Christian communion will, of course, be expected to take. And if our Churchmen go over to Romanism, it is to be hoped they will abandon the Protestant name and profession; in which event the Protestant cause must be sustained without their help, and the Protestant communions will be obliged by a proper regard to the pure principles of Christianity to identify them with "the man of sin," and of course to stand in relation to them in the attitude of stern and uncompromising opposition. Should they not formally recognize the doctrine of the pope's supremacy, which it is highly probable they will not do for a long time to come, yet should they follow in the wake created by the Tractarians, they will become essentially Roman in all other respects. Their sympathies will all be with Roman Catholics, and though they continue to object to some part of the policy of the holy see, they will be used most effectually by the pope's agents in opposition to our Protestant institutions. The weight of their influence will go to the support of a ghostly despotism from which our country has more to fear than from all other dangerous causes combined. In all great leading questions, both theological and political, English Catholics, that is, Oxfordists

and Romanists, agree. They have common sympathies and common interests, though they have not yet become formally united. But if a portion of the Protestant Episcopal Church should still adhere to their articles and homilies, and to the truths for which their confessors and martyrs suffered and bled, and should cherish a feeling of Christian fellowship for their Protestant brethren of other churches, those churches will be happy to hail them as brethren beloved, and to honor them as a sister church.

On the settlement of American independence, the Churchmen in this country organized and took their own course to procure what they considered a legitimate episcopacy. To this no reasonable person could object. It has, indeed, been to us a matter of no ordinary interest to trace the progress of the sect in the United States from its earliest beginnings to its final organization and establishment. None but an energetic and a liberal mind would ever have so cast off the shackles of a high-toned and an exclusive system as to propose a provisional ordination for the American branch of the English Church, as did Bishop White. And though we cannot doubt but such an ordination as he proposed would have been as Scriptural and valid as the one which was ultimately secured, we can feel nothing but gratification in view of the consummation of the wishes of Churchmen in the acquisition of what all were prepared to recognize as a truly apostolical episcopate. This was coming into their desired haven, after a laborious and dreary night of correspondences, conventional discussions, and embassies to the mother country.

The Protestant Episcopal Church now took its place among the American Churches, not claiming to be *exclusively* entitled to the exercise of ecclesiastical jurisdiction in the country, but solemnly conceding to each and every church in the United States the right to institute such form of government as to it might seem best. (See *Preface to the American Prayer Book.*) In the character of a sister church, and a member of the great Protestant family, the various Protestant communities have ever been willing to recognize her. And especially, as she assumed in her organization the distinctive appellation of Protestant, they have had grounds for the fullest confidence in her support in all great questions, either in theology or civil polity, in which they might be brought into conflict with popery. This confidence has remained firm until the recent movements at Oxford, and the responses which have been made in this country to a call from that quarter upon Churchmen everywhere to return to Catholic unity. And all eyes are now open to see which way the tide will turn.

In the mean time we have no special favors to ask at the hand of our Church friends. Though we are not in the least disposed to deny them the rights and privileges of a sect of Christians, we award them no *exclusive* claims to a ministry *divinely* constituted, or to the right use of the ordinances. We as cordially award to the churches of Puritan or Anabaptist origin the right to the ordinances, and a claim to a valid Christian ministry, as to Protestant Episcopalians.

As for our own church, we claim for her a legitimate episcopacy. The fact that we *are* an episcopal church cannot be questioned. The only question which can be raised is as to the *origin* of our episcopacy. Whether a body of presbyters can consistently with God's word constitute a bishop. This question does not involve the question of the right of waiving conventional canons, or of separation. This right has been conceded by many Episcopalians. Indeed, the Church of England assumed that right in her original organization, and has always acted upon it in her disobedience to Rome. The simple question then is, whether a number of presbyters have a right to organize and institute such a form of government as they may judge most agreeable to God's word for the benefit of such as God has committed to their charge; and if they judge it most agreeable to the Scriptures, to invest one, or more, with the powers of a general oversight or jurisdiction, and to set him or them apart to this holy service by the imposition of their hands and prayer, the person so constituted and consecrated is a primitive and Scriptural bishop. Upon this question we are always ready to meet our Church exclusionists in free and fair discussion. Nor have we ever declined answering to the charge of *unjustifiable schism.* We will tell them, in all simplicity and plainness, why we cannot give up our own institutions and adopt theirs.

But we humbly submit it whether there is not a full opportunity for all the different Christian communities to lay out their energies in aggressions upon the territories of the common enemy, without infringing upon each other? We know our Churchmen will meet us here with the plea, that *God has committed the authority to ordain ministers and to govern the Church to a personal succession of bishops*, and this being the case, none can act under a divine commission, not ordained by them and under their jurisdiction. Now here we are at issue. We deny both the theory and the fact of such a succession. If, indeed, they only have the true apostolic commission, then we can make no claim to a right to occupy a foot of ground anywhere, however waste and desolate it may be. If these high claims can be established by the word of God, why,

then, we must yield to the divine arrangements, and give up our organization, our ministry, and our churches, and leave Churchmen in possession of the right God has given them to reform the world.

But if the Methodist Church is to be disbanded, we know not what will become of us. If you say, Come and join "the Church," we answer, that we have serious doubts whether we should serve your purpose. The apparatus of the Church is too cumbrous, and there is not found in her institutions and her spirit, sufficiently developed, the true characteristics of the apostolic church to harmonize with the spirit of Methodism. The present state of the *sects*, which call themselves "*the* Church," would make us hesitate as to the propriety of union with them if we had previously been free from doubts. One attribute of the Church, according to all the Roman and Anglican Catholic writers, is *unity*. But if their definitions of unity are to be relied upon, it long since fled from the Church. They have not preserved a shadow of it among themselves, and yet they ever and anon charge "the sects" with a grievous violation of this principle. The three great divisions of the Catholic Church, according to Churchmen, are the Roman, the Greek, and the Anglican Churches. The Roman and Greek Churches have been in a state of schism for about a thousand years, and the Roman and Anglican for three hundred. They are divided upon radical points of Christian doctrine and ecclesiastical polity, and mutually anathematize each other. Now, if these three communions are still legitimate branches of the Catholic Church, then one of the essential properties of the visible church—her unity—is annihilated, or unity is consistent with voluntary schism and the most deadly hostility. But if true catholicity is retained by one of the branches only, then the others are not branches of the Catholic Church at all, but are wanton schismatics and heretics.

Now, under these circumstances, would we restore the unity of the Catholic Church; how could we do it? Should we effect that object by uniting with (rather suffering ourselves to be *absorbed* or *devoured* by) one of the schismatical branches? Surely this would not be the proper course. The fact is, the unity of the visible church, according to the Roman and Anglican Church view, is a phantom. There is no such thing in being. They themselves had annihilated it long before "the fanatical and schismatical Wesley" was born. With what face then do they now demand that *we* restore what *they* have demolished? We must beg them to excuse us from any attempt to remedy their errors. But we cannot enlarge. Our page is full, and we must close.

ART. VIII.—*Butler's Analogy.—Introductory Essay by Barnes.*

[WE confess we have long been mortified at the fact that the edition of the Analogy in most extensive circulation in this country should be that which is accompanied by the Introductory Essay by the Rev. Albert Barnes. Not to insist that the great work of Butler needs no such appendage as would result from the best effort which such a writer as Mr. Barnes could put forth, it is quite sufficient to say, that while he attempts to help himself by a misapplication of the principles of his author, he unsettles and lays open to doubt the whole fabric which had been constructed at such a vast expense of intellectual toil. A philosophic skeptic would be likely to be silenced by the irresistible reasoning of Bishop Butler, as it was left by him, and as it ought for ever to remain. But after reading the "Essay," he would most probably conclude, that there must be some latent fallacy in an argument which is capable of the use made of it by the writer.

But we protest against an application of the facts and reasoning of the Analogy, not only at war with the theological views of the author, but not authorized by the slightest analogy between the fundamental principles which he employed them to settle and the hypotheses of the essayist. Mr. Barnes may go ahead, if he is permitted to couple to the bishop's car. But, for ourselves, we should choose to let him generate steam for himself, and operate upon his own resources.

The doctrines of the Calvinistic creed have usually been held by their abettors as peculiarly matters of revelation, and not capable of proof from *the analogies of nature.* If it is indeed so, we are doubtless bound to receive them *as matters of revelation*, though they might lie involved in so much apparent inconsistency as to be incapable of rational solution. But Mr. Barnes' attempt at confirming and illustrating the distinguishing features of Calvinism by the analogical argument of Bishop Butler, is not only a novel course, but a singular failure, there being no sort of analogy between the partial system of the great Geneva reformer and the course of nature. Upon the whole, we cannot suppress the expression of a hope that an American edition of Butler's Analogy may, ere long, be put into circulation without the Introductory Essay.—ED.]

As public attention has, in some measure, been directed to "the Analogy" by the able review of it in the Quarterly, it may not be amiss to call some attention also to the "Introductory Essay," with which it has been "unequally yoked."

The Analogy, itself, needs no encomium from us. It has already survived the rough winds and changing vicissitudes of a century; and still stands with laurels fresh and green as in the age whose peculiar emergencies called it forth; and whose infidelity, thoughtlessness, and vice, it was designed to check. Though, in style and dress, it bears the impress of a former age, yet there is a lofty grandeur in the thoughts, blended with a conclusiveness in the arguments, which is without a rival in any subsequent production. The highest encomium that need be passed upon it is, that the stupendous object of its author was fully accomplished. The headlong propensities of the age were checked; and infidelity received a discomfiture from which it has not been able to recover. Its impudent boasts that revealed religion is contradictory to the course of nature, withered under the rigid demonstrations of "the Analogy of Religion, natural and revealed, to the constitution and course of nature." The citadel of truth was here surrounded by arguments, based upon the analogies of things observed and experienced in the ordinary course of nature, and addressed to the common sense of mankind. The work is a monument of intellectual power. Infidels have cowered before it; and by their silence endeavored to conceal their defeat, while they sought out new modes of attack. Such was the Analogy; such the object of its author; "single handed and alone," he entered the field of conflict; but retired from it the successful champion of truth.

But still, according to the "Introductory Essay,"—"there is an important part of the subject untouched." This deficiency, occurring, as it does, in "the most interesting and important part" of the subject, the Essay proposes to remedy. Does the reader ask, in amazement, "what this great deficiency can be?" To follow the language of the author of the Essay as closely as we can, it is that Butler has not carried out "the analogy of the Christian scheme, as we understand it, to the course of nature." He has not even mentioned "the fact that all the objections urged against Calvinism lie against the actual order of events." To make up this deficiency he would "inquire whether Butler has not furnished us materials to annihilate every objection against what are called doctrines of grace." Here, then, lame and halting Calvinism is to be propped up with splinters, filched away from one who had no fellowship with it. If Butler has undesignedly left *materials* for the *annihilation* of all objections to Calvinism, we cannot but infer that they have been *unskillfully* used.

But how happens it that so profound a thinker as Butler should have omitted that which is, "in some respects, the most interesting

and important part" of the subject, viz., the analogy of Calvinism "to the constitution and course of nature?" The author of the "Essay" says,—"Had his object been to carry it to its utmost extent, there were two important causes which would have arrested his progress where it actually has stopped." The first cause assigned is, that he had not "himself fully embraced the evangelical system." A very good reason, certainly. "The other cause of the deficiency is, it was not possible for Butler, with the statements then made of the doctrines of grace, to carry out his argument, and give it its true bearings on these doctrines." But what were these "*statements*" of the "evangelical system," that rendered it so anomalous in the government of God? or that caused the benevolent mind of Butler to recoil with horror, and filled it with disgust? Why,—nothing more nor less than an honest exhibition of the "rough-cast system" of Calvinism. Those were days when Calvinism, "rough shod, trode the land." The "*statements*" of the doctrine had not then been refined, polished, *transcendentalized*. Men had not learned to whiffle and prevaricate in their "*statements*" of this notable doctrine. Those were days, "when they told of imputing the sin of one man to another, and holding that other personally answerable for it;" "when they affirmed, that men have no power to do the will of God, and yet will be damned for not doing it;" "when they told of a limited atonement, of confining the original applicability of the blood of Christ to the elect alone." Such were the "*statements*" of the "doctrines of grace" in Butler's day. We will not now stop to inquire whether the "*doctrines*" have been changed or merely the "*statements*" of them. But it seems to be the opinion of the essayist, that had Butler but seen Calvinism in its new dress,—had he seen the "rough-cast" ghost of unconditional election and reprobation, refined by the latest method of "*stating*" the doctrine,—his Analogy would not now be found limping, "deficient" in "the most interesting and important part."

The object of the "Introductory Essay" is not to apply "the language of severe criticism to the Analogy," nor to "question the piety" of its author; but merely to supply the "deficiency." In passing to consider how the essayist has accomplished his work, we cannot help remarking that the statement that the objections to "the doctrines of grace" "have seldom, if ever, been drawn from the Bible," is widely different from the facts in the case. The Bible has ever been the foundation, the very corner-stone of these objections; and the doctrine is as clearly contradictory to the teachings of holy writ as it is to the "constitution and course of nature."

One of the new "statements" of Calvinism is, that it is not to be held responsible for the *fall;* but to be considered only in its relation to the *recovery* of man. It is merely a remedial system, "proposed to *remedy an existing state of evil.*" But was not this "existing state of evil" a part of that universal decree which "foreordained whatsoever comes to pass?" Did not that decree embrace the fall of man? Did it not embrace every act, every sin of every individual? Why not, then, hold this scheme "responsible for the *fall,* as well as for the *recovery,* of man?" According to this "evangelical scheme," God determines that man shall sin; but, at the same time, holds him responsible for that sin. The peculiar analogy of this doctrine "to the constitution and course of nature," the essayist has, for good reasons, thought best "*to let alone.*"

But let us consider the "evangelical scheme" in its *remedial* point of view, and endeavor to trace out its analogies. It here embraces two "apparently contradictory" propositions: "The first is, that the atonement was originally applicable to all men." That *this* feature of the "evangelical scheme" finds analogies in nature, we readily admit. The universal diffusion of the richest gifts in nature affords abundant evidence of the impartial goodness of God. "He maketh his sun to rise on the evil and on the good, and sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust." The all-surrounding, all-vivifying air we breathe, the very showers and dews that water and refresh the earth; nay, every gift in the providence of God is, in its nature, applicable to all.

"The second [proposition] is, that it [the atonement] is actually applied to only a portion of the race, and that it was the purpose of God that it should be so applied." The simple statement set forth in this proposition, is, that God has made sufficient atonement for all our race; but, at the same time, has determined that only a portion of it shall partake of the benefit of that atonement. To show the analogy of such an operation as this to the constitution and course of nature, we must find that God provides natural blessings of universal applicability; but permits their application,—nay, absolutely decrees their application,—to only a portion of the beings to whom they are applicable. The fact that there are blessings of universal applicability, which are not applied to all, we admit; but that they are not so applied because God has determined "that they should be *actually* applied to but part," we deny, and heartily deprecate the consequences of a doctrine so monstrous in absurdity. This, however, the author of the "Essay" takes for granted, and thus very ingeniously evades the gist of the whole inquiry, by begging the question. With him, the statements that

a fact exists, and that God decreed it, are identical; and he seems to think that the very circumstance of a fact existing is full proof that God decreed it. Admit these premises, and we will at once agree with the author that if the doctrine we are combating was "not found in the Scriptures, the scheme would be taken out from the analogy of the world." For when we have once admitted, for instance, that the Hindoo, who suffers and dies under the rage of a burning fever, suffers and dies because God has decreed that the healing properties of the quinine "shall not be applied to him;" then may we also conclude, reasoning from analogy, that the sinner who dies in his sins, or dies because God has decreed that that atonement which had an "original applicability to all," should not be applied to him. How absurd such a conclusion! How can a thing be "applicable to all men," when "it is the purpose—the decree of God that it should be actually applied to but a part?" The propositions are not merely "apparently contradictory," but *really and essentially so*. For if God decreed that the atonement should be applied to but part of the human race, then that very decree rendered it inapplicable to the rest.

But let us follow the essayist a little further. If one interpose the question, Why God made this *universal* atonement, if he determined for it a partial application? we should be met with the reply, that, "We see in this the hand of the same God that pours the rays of noon-day on barren sands, and genial showers on desert rocks, where no man is." A close inspection will show us that the "analogy" here is more specious than real. In the first place, "the rays of noon-day," and the "genial showers" fall in obedience to a universal law whose existence the determinate facts of science have demonstrated; but, on the other hand, the existence of a decree limiting the applicability of the atonement which is, at the same time, "applicable to all men," has not been satisfactorily proved. Again, is it *really in vain*, that the "rays of noon-day fall upon barren sands, and genial showers on desert rocks?" God careth for the beasts that roam over the barren wastes, and for the eagle that fixes its ærie upon the desert rock. But who shall say that amidst the changes and vicissitudes of society, the improvements that are progressing in commerce, agriculture, and the arts, these barren wastes may not be fertilized and become the abodes of civilized life—the theatres of thrilling and momentous events? Who shall say that the hitherto unbroken solitude of the desert rocks may not be broken by the din and bustle of another Petra nestled in their fastnesses? But what shall we say of the *provision* made for the salvation of those to

whom the eternal decree of God forbids its application? What *can* we say of it? or how can we account it other than (we speak with reverence) a God-dishonoring failure? But when we consider that provision is made for the salvation of all, and no bar is interposed by God to its accomplishment; then we discover at once its analogy to the "constitution and course of nature," by which the necessary blessings of life are provided, and nothing but the vices and follies of man can prevent their being enjoyed by all our race.

Let us follow the analogies of the system a little further. "We interpret the decrees of God, so far as we can do it, *by facts;* and we say that the actual *result*, by whatever means brought about, is the expression of the *design* of God." So, then, the *fall* of man, brought about by the agency of fallen spirits, "is the expression of the design of God;" nay, the very wo and wretchedness of our race, brought about by the vices and follies of man, are only so many expressions of the same design. And yet, forsooth, we are very inconsistent to hold the "evangelical scheme" "responsible for the *fall*, as well as the *recovery*, of man." By what analogy in nature is such a system to be maintained? Here are the analogous facts: "Food is not given to all; health is not the inheritance of all; liberty, peace, and wealth, are diffused unequally among men." That these are facts, we readily admit; but whence come they? *Come they not even of the lusts*, the vices, and follies of men, rather than by "the design of God?" Who shall say that destitution, disease, and servitude are mere manifestations "of the purpose or decree of God," rather than the necessary concomitants of that "existing state of evil" which man has brought upon himself? But the existence of this decree, binding these evils upon our race, must be proved—must be demonstrated, before we can find any parallelism between them and the purposed or decreed partial application of a universal atonement. If *God* meeteth out liberty to one and servitude to another, then let not the victim of oppression complain of the oppressor in his nightly orisons, but thank God for the manacles that fetter his rust-eaten sinews. Do peace and war come and go absolutely at the bidding of God? and are they only "expressions of his design?" Is the fact, that one man pines away in sickness and poverty, while another rejoices in health and riots in luxury, to be considered as a mere manifestation of "the purpose of God?" And this, too, under the new "*statements*" of Calvinism? Then let us go back to "the rough-cast system," to the earlier and more honest "*statements*" of the doctrine.

We will tax the patience of the reader with the consideration of but one more of the positions of the essayist: "Is it owing to any

act of man that the bark of Peru was so long unknown, or that the silver of Potosi slept for ages unseen by any human eye? Is there not evidence that it was the good pleasure of the Giver that the favor should not be bestowed on men till Columbus crossed the main?" &c. We reply, these blessings, for aught we know, might have been discovered and enjoyed long before, had it not been for the moral degradation and barbarism of that portion of our race. At any rate, these treasures were there, they existed, and were applicable to the use of men; nor have we any evidence of any decree that rendered them inapplicable up to the time of their discovery. If it be urged that the atonement was made, and made for all; still I reply, the purpose of God, according to the system we are combating, rendered it absolutely inapplicable, a mere nullity, so far as it concerns a portion of our race. For that unhappy portion of our race, the atonement is a solemn mockery; the perishing are told that there is a healing balm, but not to be applied to them; the famishing are told that there is a rich "banquet of immortal food" provided for them, but a decree that they shall not be admitted to it; those groaning under the bondage of moral darkness and death are told that there is a city whose streets for ever glitter in the sun-beam of God's countenance, and where the tree of life for ever yields its healing fruit, and that for their admission the ample price is already paid, but, alas! the "decree" has gone forth, and to them its pearly gates shall never open.

Such is a brief outline of this futile effort to find analogies in nature for a doctrine so obviously absurd. The effort was indeed plied with ingenuity and commanding ability; but what architectural skill can rear the stately dome, or form the beautiful temple out of inapt and disjointed materials? The effort is in perfect keeping with many others of a sect that is not satisfied with titling its peculiar and sectarian organizations, "American,"—"National," &c., but that seems to consider itself an exclusive proprietor of every standard evangelical work that can be made to give countenance to its peculiarities, whether the author designed it or not. Butler has reared a pillar of truth of no common magnitude and durability; but the man who essays to shove it under the crumbling and tottering fabric of Calvinism has no ordinary task to perform. We protest against this and all other attempts to amalgamate error; peculiar, partial, and sectarian views, with a work so evangelical in its general character—a work altogether too elevated to be made, by any possible contortion, to stoop down to any exclusive sectarianism.

Amenia Seminary, Jan., 1842.

Art. IX.—CRITICAL NOTICES.

1. *A Discourse on the Administration of Discipline.* By Elijah Hedding, D. D., Bishop of the M. E. Church. 24mo., pp. 91. New-York: G. Lane & P. P. Sandford. 1842.

This manual, small as it is in its dimensions, is a work of very great interest to the church. "The administration of discipline" is one of the most delicate and difficult duties which devolves upon the pastor of the flock of Christ. Embarrassments often arise from the want of specific rules in the New Testament to meet particular cases, and the difficulty with which such cases are reduced to a class, which would naturally come under some established general principle. And hence the great diversity in the administration of church discipline in the best-regulated churches.

Uniformity in all essential points in the administration of the rules of the church is vastly important to the unity and harmony of the body. And there is no doubt but we, as a church, come as near to this as could be reasonably expected. There are not many points of importance upon which the different administrators of the discipline have *settled* upon divergent courses.

There are, however, many points of great importance which are so far from being explicitly settled in our generally excellent book of Discipline, that especially young and inexperienced administrators are liable to take different views, and to pursue a different course of action. From such causes, beyond a doubt, much injury has befallen the church. In our church the subordinate is so immediately under the eye of his superior, that some degree of caution in proceeding in difficult cases, and a timely reference to constitutional instructions and advisement, will generally prevent fatal mistakes.

But all are not equally cautious in their movements. Some construe the language according to what they conceive its legitimate meaning, without any reference to usage or to the harmony of the whole system; while others study the philosophy of the rule, examine its connections and relations as a member of a complete system. These two processes often conduct men to quite different results; and hence arise injurious and mortifying discrepancies in the administration of the laws of the church. These discrepancies, if not remedied, will generate factions and feuds, and the peace and harmony of the church must give place to strife and discord.

The bishop's Discourse is designed to settle many queries which have arisen in relation to the manner in which some of the rules of the Discipline are to be applied. This is done in a manner as plain, as

natural, and as satisfactory as could be expected. The great experience of the author, in matters of discipline, has furnished him with a variety of facts. He has seen all the difficulties arising from the practical operations of the whole system of Methodism, and of all its various parts. He has been called upon to settle, both in private and in the chair, the thousand and one queries which may be raised upon some obstruse and doubtful points. In addition to his great experience, the venerable bishop has a mind peculiarly adapted to such an analysis and exposition of the Discipline as would be a safe and necessary guide to the inexperienced administrator, and would settle points which sometimes perplex even the wisest heads.

The work is executed with the bishop's characteristic precision and logical skill. The style is simple, perspicuous, natural, and forcible. The expositions are somewhat like axioms, or first principles, in reasoning, self-evident—carrying with them their own evidence. Where reasons are judged necessary, they are given in few words, to be sure, but they are never inconclusive and unsatisfactory.

No preacher, old or young, will be likely to neglect this little book; and most who have any thing to do with the administration of the discipline of the church will make it a pocket companion, certainly, until its contents are stored up in the recesses of the mind.

But the work under consideration is not only a directory to the ministry, it is such an analysis of the government of the Methodist Episcopal Church as should be examined by all. both of the friends and foes to our economy, who may desire to find within a small compass the philosophy of our system truly delineated. And who can read what is here so graphically presented upon the subject of the duties and responsibilities of a bishop, without being deeply affected? Our truly apostolic bishops are the direct antipodes of those who in some portions of Christendom bear the title. Their honors are the censures of the indolent, the ambitious, and the worldly; their emoluments, weariness, painfulness, perils, and poverty; and their relaxation, ceaseless journeyings from conference to conference, far from kindred and earthly home. Their ears must ever be open to the petitions, remonstrances, and complaints of the preachers and their families, and the church at large. The burden of the whole church is upon them.

And yet we sometimes hear of their pride of power, and of their want of sympathy with their sons in the gospel, and their wives and children, in their privations and afflictions! If, indeed, our bishops lived at their ease—laid burdens upon us that they refused to touch with the tip of their fingers; if they rolled in wealth and splendor while the preachers were required to sacrifice all their worldly prospects and comforts, there would be some ground for complaint. But

considering that the inequality of our system is all against them, surely complaint on our part is entirely out of place. We travel little, they much—we are from our families days, they months; we have the care of a circuit, a station, or a district, they have the care of the whole continent.

We have long been fully convinced that the difficulties in which our bishops are involved in making out the appointments, are not fully appreciated by the people. They petition for a particular man, and can see no earthly reason why *their man* should be given to others but upon the principle of *sheer partiality*. The fact is, they see but one side of the question, and frequently they take but a partial survey even of so much as this. They are looking out for themselves, and often, as the bishop suggests, make a poor selection, not knowing the men. The superintendent looks out for the interests of the whole field, and is sacredly bound not to favor one portion of that field at the expense of another.

Under these circumstances the bishop may often seem to the people to decide without good reason; for he may be in possession of facts which delicacy requires should not be made public. All these matters are set forth in so clear a light in the Discourse that we can but hope it will have the desired effect upon our leading laymen. We would most respectfully suggest to this important class, that soon after the conference opens, they carefully read over Bishop Hedding's "Discourse on the Administration of Discipline." If the official board, when they meet to take into consideration the subject of supplying their place, would first have this tender, cogent, matter-of-fact discourse read publicly as an introduction to the business, it would prepare them well for the right kind of action in the premises. For ourselves, we most cordially thank the bishop for this Discourse. And as it is printed in a volume of the size of the small edition of the Discipline, we presume that all who wish the bishop's exposition at hand, when they want light upon the rules or forms of proceeding. can be accommodated with the two bound together.

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2. *Sermons on Various Subjects.* By Rev. Thomas A. Morris, one of the Bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church. 12mo., pp. 355. Cincinnati: J. F. Wright & L. Swormstedt. 1841.

It is no easy matter to give sufficient interest to a volume of *sermons* to procure an extensive reading. This species of composition is too didactic and dry to meet the taste of the present age. But

this is not a valid reason why a choice collection of instructive sermons should not occasionally emanate from the press. Indeed, the taste of our people must be corrected in this respect. They should not be satisfied with mere fugitive matter. Their appetites should be formed for substantial nourishment, the great truths of religion set forth in a plain, neat style, and urged with divine authority.

The volume, whose title-page we have placed at the head of this notice, is just what any one, acquainted with the author, would expect from him:—a volume of *good sermons*, full of the *marrow and the fatness of the gospel*. The great doctrines and duties of Christianity are here presented in their true character, unsophisticated and unadorned. Such discourses will feed the hungry soul, and give strength and comfort to the feeble and the afflicted.

The author does not hide his sense under a multitude of words without meaning. He leaves no one, not even a child, in doubt as to what he intends to communicate. His expositions of Scripture are usually sustained by a comparison of parallel passages, and a course of argument which commends itself both to the understanding and to the better feelings of the heart.

We are happy to be able to present to the notice of our readers this book from one of our bishops: and have no doubt but the church will consider that the author has brought her under a new debt of gratitude for this effort to sustain her doctrines and institutions, and to improve her character.

The following is taken from the preface, and will afford the reader a correct idea of the plan of the discourses, and we hope beget in him a desire to read them:—

"In the selection of subjects, while variety has not been neglected, as the work will show, usefulness has been the prominent object at which I aimed. As far as any distinguishing doctrinal views appear in these discourses, they will be found to accord, substantially, with the standard works of our church; though but little reference is made to any book except the Bible, and from that quotations are numerous, and, I trust, appropriate. The plan of the Sermons is quite plain; in most cases only the general divisions are announced, and the formality of numbering the subdivisions, by prefixing figures, is generally dispensed with. In regard to style, I have endeavored in writing, as in preaching, to observe plainness of speech, omitting as far as practicable all difficult and unusual words, and adhering as nearly as convenient to Scripture phraseology. How far I have succeeded, or failed, in accomplishing these objects, let those determine who feel sufficient interest to examine for themselves. The publication of the work is an experiment; and its success will depend on the blessing of God, to whose care and favor it is now commended, in the name of Jesus. May he make these Sermons the means of instruction and

consolation to thousands of souls, after the author of them shall have gone 'the way of all the earth!'"

We will just add, that the mechanical execution of the work is such as would be creditable to any publishing house in this country.

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3. *The Golden Grove.—A choice Manual, containing what is to be believed, practiced, and desired, or prayed for; the Prayers being fitted to the several Days of the Week. To which is added, a Guide for the Penitent, or, a Model drawn up for the Help of devout Souls wounded with Sin: also, Festival Hymns, according to the Manner of the ancient Church; composed for the Use of the Devout, especially of younger Persons.* By JEREMY TAYLOR, D. D., Lord Bishop of Down and Connor. 18mo., pp. 155. New-York: D. Appleton & Co. 1842.

THE author of this little work was a most excellent devotional writer. His Holy Living and Dying have been productive of an incalculable amount of good. By means of these books, in connection with others of a similar character, the Wesleys were first aroused from their spiritual sloth. "The Golden Grove" is adorned with flowers of the finest tints.

The contents are, "A Short Catechism, embracing the principles of religion;" "An Exposition of the Apostles' Creed;" "Things to be done,—a rule to spend each day religiously;" "A short Method of Peace and Holiness, with a Manual of Daily Prayers;" "Things to be prayed for,—a paraphrase, expounding the Lord's prayer;" and prayers for various occasions; "A Guide for the Penitents;" and several "Festival Hymns." From the "Method of Peace and Holiness" we have selected the following instructive passages for the reader's edification, and as specimens of the work:—

"What availeth knowledge without the fear of God? An humble ignorant man is better than a proud scholar, who studies natural things, and knows not himself. The more thou knowest, the more grievously thou shalt be judged. Many get no profit by their labor, because they contend for knowledge rather than for a holy life; and the time shall come, when it shall more avail thee to have subdued *one lust*, than to have known *all mysteries*."

"Patiently suffer that from others which thou canst not mend in them, until God please to do it for thee: and remember that thou mend thyself, since thou art so willing others should not offend in any thing."

"Know that if any trouble happen to thee, it is what thou hast deserved, and therefore brought upon thyself; but if any comfort come to thee, it is a gift of God, and what thou didst not deserve. And, remember, that oftentimes when thy body complains of trouble, it is not so much the greatness of trouble, as littleness of thy spirit, that makes thee to complain."—Pp. 43, 46, 47, 48.

We cannot, however, withhold from the reader the fact that there are occasional blemishes in this generally excellent little book. The address "to the pious and devout reader" savors of the spirit of the stormy times in which the writer lived, and there are scattered through the work occasional *churchisms*, if we may coin a word, which will not enhance its value in the views of our Methodist readers.

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4. *Treatises upon the Life, Walk, and Triumph of Faith.* By the Rev. W. Romaine, A. M. 12mo., pp. 392. New-York: Robert Carter. 1842.

The author of this work was an *evangelical Churchman*, and a contemporary with the Wesleys. Like the divines of his class, his theology took its hue from the original Calvinian doctrine of "imputed righteousness." Of course a book upon "faith" from such an author would be expected to make war against the "legal spirit," and, in its prosecution, logically, though not professedly, supersede "works of righteousness," and "works meet for repentance."

The reader will see the author's meridian in the following extracts:—

"Although the believer has an old man, corrupt according to the deceitful lusts, always warring against the new man, the Lord God has promised a free and a full pardon; because he has imputed sin, all thy sin, to the Son of his love, who bore it in his own body upon the tree."

"He finds that he is still a man in Adam—still he carries about him a sinful nature, an old man as well as a new, a body of sin with all its members; he has spirit, but he has also flesh, and that which is born of the flesh is flesh, nothing but corruption, as that which is born of the Spirit is spirit. The old man has flesh still, with all its appetites and lusts: the new man is by the Spirit of life, that is in Christ Jesus, alive to God. In the same person sin dwelleth, as we read, 'When we were in the flesh, the motions of sin, which were by the law, did work in our members to bring forth fruit unto death. And the new man liveth, who, after God, is created in righteousness and true holiness.' The apostle, in Romans, chap. vii, not only confesses that he had nature and grace in him at the same time, but also describes it at full length. Indwelling sin was his continual grief, and his heavy burden: an apostle in Christ, and yet he felt the plague of his own heart: and it was his daily cross, which he was forced to bear—and his constant enemy, against which he was always at war—no peace, no truce could be made."

"O what humbling lessons does he [the believer] learn in all his approaches to God: he knows his privileges, and he wishes to live up to them, but he cannot. When he would draw near to God in the prayer of faith, the spirit is willing, but the flesh is weak. On his bended knees desiring to confess his sins, and to humble himself under

the mighty hand of God, imploring pardon through the redemption that is in the blood of the Lamb, and expecting it freely, as the most sovereign mercy that a poor sinner can receive—alas, alas! even then shame and confusion cover his face. He desires to keep his thoughts from wandering, he would have his whole heart engaged in the duty, but he cannot."—Pp. 38, 375, 376.

The two latter passages are found under the head of "the triumph of faith." If, in these passages, we have an exhibition of "the triumph of faith," we scarcely know what would be the *triumph of unbelief.*

But, after all, Romaine was unaffectedly pious, not, at least in practice, suffering his *Antinomian* theory to authorize an irregular life. It is happy for the church and the world that mistaken men do not always carry out into practice what they receive in theory. Their lives are much better than their creeds. Another relief often experienced in these cases, is, that much good is mingled with what is bad, and goes, in some measure, to neutralize it. So in the work now upon our table, there is encouragement, instruction, admonition, and warning, which will ordinarily make a stronger impression than the *Solifidian* notions which are but too common. In this we do not say these erroneous views are harmless. God forbid. We have not the least fellowship for them. We would warn the unwary against them. But, withal, we are happy to find much that has a tendency to neutralize their evil effects upon the human heart. And we hope the reader of *Romaine on faith* will have the wisdom to "gather out the good, and cast the bad away."

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5. *Live while you Live.* By the Rev. Thomas Griffith, A.M., Minister of Ram's Episcopal Chapel, Homerton. 18mo., pp. 168. New-York: Robert Carter. 1842.

How to *live right* while we live in the world is the great question to be studied and properly settled. How few estimate life at all! The mass of men, and it is to be feared many professing Christians, are prodigal of their precious time. Instead of living *while they live*, they live in *anticipation:* they never get ready to commence living until death comes and takes them away, and then, alas! *it is too late.*

The work upon our table is a systematic and well-digested discourse upon life: considering life, 1. As a pilgrimage; 2. A race; 3. A conflict; 4. A blessing; and, 5. A seed-time for eternity.

The author breathes a spiritual atmosphere. His appeals are earnest and impressive, and can but awaken the attention and stir the feelings of the reader who is at all susceptible of impressions from the assaults of truth. In an age of worldly excitement and unholy agita-

tion, such efforts are peculiarly appropriate. The press must, by the help and blessing of God, repair the injuries it has inflicted upon the moral sentiments of the age, or moral desolation will sweep over the nations like an overwhelming deluge. And, thank God, there are wise heads and warm hearts, in vast numbers, at work with this potent lever, trying to dispel the gloomy forebodings of the church, and bring on a more healthful condition of the public mind. We hail all these efforts, from whatever quarter they come, with joy and gratitude. We wish them God-speed. We will, in our humble way, try to co-operate with all who are engaged in this work of faith and labor of love.

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6. *Decapolis; or, the individual Obligation of Christians to save Souls from Death: an Essay.* By David Everard Ford. 18mo., pp. 120. New-York: Robert Carter. 1841.

This is a spirited and pungent appeal to slumbering Christians on behalf of the perishing multitudes around us. At the rate at which the Christian church is moving on, it would, on grounds of human probability, appear doubtful whether the gospel will ever finally triumph over the world. While so many heathen nations are without the light of the gospel, and such multitudes of the rising generation are coming up without the forming hand of religious instruction, how can those who believe in the cardinal doctrine of *eternal retribution* be contented to sit down in spiritual sloth? Will Christians let the world go to the devil without interposing a tear, a prayer, or a sigh! What an enlarged benevolence! what a spirit of holy enterprise! what self-sacrifice! what labors are called for by the emergencies of the times!

"Decapolis" is designed to produce effect;—to awaken the Christian to a sense of his high responsibilities, and to call forth the efforts of the church to stop the downward course of the world. The author's arguments are drawn from the future world—from heaven, and from hell. He writes as though he considered these things something more than mere fictions. There is a pathos and a power in his appeals, which can scarcely fail to produce the desired results. We earnestly recommend this little volume to the attention of the serious reader, and, with all sincerity, thank the publisher for giving it to the American public. We should rejoice to see this timely and impressive Essay, with the discourse recommended in the preceding notice, in the hands of parents and children. Suited as they are to make timely and early impressions, we would that they might precede, or rather supersede the *small trash* which is at present in such high request.

7. *The Natural History of Selborne.* By the Rev. GILBERT WHITE, A. M., Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford. 18mo., pp. 335. Harper & Brothers. Vol. 147 of the Family Library.

THIS charming work may be considered a classic in natural history, and should be familiar to every lover of nature. The style is simple and elegant, and the character and habits of the various animals observed by the author are described in a most entertaining and striking manner. The effect of the book must be to inspire the reader with higher sentiments of the goodness of God, and with kindlier feelings toward his creatures. There are numerous engravings of birds, &c.

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8. *Beauties, Harmonies, and Sublimities of Nature.* With Notes, Commentaries, and Illustrations. By CHARLES BUCKE, author of "Ruined Cities," &c. 18mo., pp. 329. Harper & Brothers. Vol. 145 of the Family Library.

WE might apply the same general remark to this work that we have to the one last noticed—that it is calculated to elevate our thoughts of God by the contemplation of his works. It is, perhaps, somewhat too disconnected and discursive in its character, but abounds in beautiful thoughts, and striking and curious facts. The author is evidently an enthusiastic admirer of nature; but he does not forget through nature to look up to "nature's God." In the last article he reasons admirably against atheistical objections to a future state.

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9. *Lives of the Ancient Philosophers.* Translated from the French of FENELON, with Notes, and a Life of the Author. By the Rev. JOHN CORMACK. 18mo., pp. 299. Harper & Brothers.

THERE is in the history, character, and sentiments of the ancient Greek philosophers much that is worthy of being studied. We may see in them how dark and uncertain is the highest human wisdom, without the guiding light of revelation. The wisest and most virtuous of the heathen fell far below the Christian standard. The Christian, therefore, may be profited by reading this volume. It is unnecessary that we should say any thing of its literary merits, as it is from the pen of the celebrated archbishop of Cambray, and the translation appears to be a good one. The work is No. 140 of the Family Library.

10. *Essays on Property and Labor, as connected with Natural Law and the Constitution of Society.* By FRANCIS LIEBER. 18mo., pp. 225. Harper & Brothers.

WE notice this work because it has a very important moral bearing. Whatever is calculated to set us right in regard to first principles, or, in other words, the equitable rules established by God for the government of his moral creatures, is of the first consequence. Now, nothing connected with the worldly interests of society is of greater importance than a just appreciation of the rights of labor and property; inasmuch as these lie at the very foundation of the social system. In the main we are pleased with Dr. Lieber's views. He very justly considers that there is a right to property established in the necessity and nature of things—independent of and prior to human laws; or, in other words, that the moral purposes of God could not be answered without it. At the same time we could have wished that he had been more clear in some of his expositions—nor is his style by any means faultless. Still the work is well worthy of careful perusal; and we are pleased to see it in the Family Library.

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11. *Narrative of an Expedition to the Polar Sea, in the Years* 1820, '21, '22, *and* '23. Commanded by Lieutenant, now Admiral FERDINAND WRANGELL. 18mo., pp. 302. Vol. 148 of Harpers' Family Library.

THIS appears to be the first published account of an expedition of a very remarkable character. Its object was to attempt to reach the north pole by means of sledges drawn by dogs over the ice. Four successive journeys were made for this purpose; and though they all failed of accomplishing the design for which they were undertaken, the history of these enterprises will be found exceedingly interesting. Much curious and valuable information is also given in relation to the dreary and inhospitable regions of Northern Siberia, and the various tribes which inhabit them. It appears that the Russians have various missionary stations among these barbarous and distant tribes, though from the accounts here given, we should think but little good could be expected from them.

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12. *Parlor Melodies, comprising Music, original and selected, for the Piano-Forte and Organ, with several Tunes for the Harp and Guitar; adapted to a Series of original Songs, moral and religious.* Arranged and edited by Mrs. M. B. LLOYD, and Miss M. E. BAILEY. 4to., pp. 112. Harper & Brothers.

THE cultivation of music has become so general, that it is of great importance that the books designed to teach it should be as unexcep-

tionable as possible. This work has been got up for the purpose of correcting some striking defects in most previous collections, particularly in regard to the words. The ladies, for whose use it is especially intended, cannot but be gratified with the good taste evinced in the selections, and in their arrangement, and with the entire exclusion of those light and frivolous songs and vulgar sentiments so common in too many books of the kind, and so utterly at variance with the genuine feelings inspired by the concord of sweet sounds.

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13. *Scandinavia, ancient and modern; being a History of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway: comprehending a Description of these Countries; an Account of the Mythology, Government, Laws, Manners, and Institutions of the early Inhabitants; and of the present State of Society, Religion, Literature, Arts, and Commerce; with Illustrations of their Natural History.* By ANDREW CRICHTON, LL. D., author of the "History of Arabia," &c., and HENRY WHEATON, LL.D., author of the "History of the Northmen," &c. Vols. 136 and 137 of Harpers' Family Library.

A CONDENSED and comprehensive history of the kingdoms of Northern Europe, presenting a clear and accurate account of the early character, superstitions, social and political institutions, wars, &c., of the Scandinavian nations, has been much wanted; and such is the work embraced in these volumes. Mr. Wheaton's residence at Copenhagen for several years as American minister afforded him unusual advantages for studying the antiquities, &c., of the Northmen; and of the fidelity with which he improved these advantages we have other evidence than that furnished by his contributions to this able and interesting work.

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14. *Ruins of Ancient Cities, with general and particular Accounts of their Rise, Fall, and present Condition.* By CHARLES BUCKE. Harper & Brothers.

FEW things speak so eloquently to the heart as the moldering remains of those proud monuments which man has vainly reared to perpetuate his fame. The author of this work has collected a vast number of highly interesting facts in relation to the most remarkable ancient ruins; and the Christian reader will find much in connection with many of the places here noticed, as Babylon, Nineveh, Tyre, Petra, (Edom,) Jerusalem, &c., exemplifying in the most surprising manner the truth of Scripture prophecy. These volumes are 134 and 135 of the Family Library.

15. *History of the Expedition to Russia, undertaken by the Emperor Napoleon in the Year* 1812. By Count Philip de Segur. 2 vols., 18mo., pp. 662. Harper & Brothers.

History scarcely furnishes a parallel to this mighty expedition, and its disastrous termination was, perhaps, the most impressive rebuke ever given to unhallowed ambition. Long will the horrors of this frightful campaign be remembered, and it is hoped it will be a salutary lesson to restrain the nations from the madness and guilt of war. The narrative is powerfully written, and by one who was an actor in the scenes he describes. The work is accompanied by a map, and forms Nos. 141 and 142 of the Family Library.

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16. *History of Michigan, from its earliest Colonization to the present Time.* By James H. Lauman. 18mo., pp. 269. Harper & Brothers. Vol. 139 of the Family Library.

We are glad to see the enterprising publishers of the Family Library adding to that valuable series well-written histories of the different states. The history of Michigan, embracing, as it does, a multitude of interesting circumstances connected with the early settlements of the French, their policy, their fur trade, &c., affords rich materials for the historian. Mr. Lauman has skillfully availed himself of these, and produced a very entertaining as well as useful work. The missionary operations of the Jesuits among the Indians, while the country was in the hands of the French, present a very striking picture, and some useful lessons.

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17. *A System of Latin Prosody and Metre, from the best Authorities, ancient and modern.* By Charles Anthon, LL. D. Harper and Brothers.

Dr. Anthon's editions of the Greek and Latin classics, and his different elementary and subsidiary works to facilitate their study, have, as every scholar knows, rare merit; and their republication abroad, and extensive introduction into the seminaries of Great Britain and Ireland, show that they are no less highly esteemed there than here. The object of the present work (a very important one in the series) is to supply the classical student with greater helps than he has hitherto been able to avail himself of, in regard to the true quantity and accent of Latin syllables, and the correct scanning of Latin verse—upon which the force, harmony, and beauty of the language, and, of course, the gratification of the reader, and a just appreciation of the author, so much depend. Like the works which have preceded it in the series, it is very fully supplied with critical annotations, to settle doubtful points, and correct existing errors.

18. *Travels in Europe and the East, embracing Observations made during a Tour through Great Britain, Ireland, France, Belgium, Holland, Prussia, Saxony, Bohemia, Austria, Bavaria, Switzerland, Lombardy, Tuscany, the Papal States, the Neopolitan Dominions, Malta, the Islands of Archipelago, Greece, Egypt, Asia Minor, Turkey, Moldavia, Wallachia, and Hungary.* By VALENTINE MOTT, M. D., President of the Medical Faculty of the University of New-York, and Professor of Surgery, &c., &c. 8vo., pp. 452. Harper & Brothers.

THIS work will doubtless excite no little curiosity, from the high standing of its author; and we regret that we have no more space to devote to it. But as our limits will not allow us to follow the learned professor in his extended course of travel, we must be content with a brief notice. Books of travels have so greatly multiplied of late years, and readers have been so often entertained with descriptions of the same things, that it has become a matter of no small difficulty to give to works of this kind sufficient novelty to render them generally interesting. Of this the writer was apprised; and he has very judiciously, we think, in the first part of his book, abstained from the more common and familiar topics, and devoted it almost exclusively to matters relating to his profession. Thus he introduces us to the most distinguished schools of medicine and surgery, and to a familiar acquaintance with the character, manners, &c., of the most eminent living medical and surgical writers and practitioners. In the less enlightened countries of the East, the author found, of course, but little of special interest connected with his profession. This part of the work, therefore, is of a different character, and consists principally of personal adventures, and of descriptions of the people of those countries, their antiquities, present condition, &c. If we are here presented with few things that are absolutely new, the writer evidently observed what came under his notice with a critical eye, and has given some *new and striking views;* particularly in regard to the Pythian oracle; the temple of Apollo at Delphos; and the religion of the ancient Egyptians. But we must say, upon the whole, the work does not come up to our expectations. The perpetual recurrence of *ego, ego,* and the general sterility of this work, certainly deserve criticism. It is got up in very handsome style, with beautiful type, paper, and binding, and will suit poor eyes much better than poor purses.

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19. *The Glory and the Shame of England.* By C. E. LESTER. In two vols., 8vo., pp. 253, 292. Harper & Brothers. 1841.

THE bold and romantic spirit of this work has already procured it no small share of attention both in this country and in Great Britain. The developments here made of the condition of the poor in England, making due allowance for the luxuriance of the author's fancy, are of a most fearful character. His predictions of a revolution will be tested by time. The work has its excellences, and we wish we could say it has no defects.

20 *The Mother's Assistant and Young Ladies' Friend.* William C. Brown editor. Vol. I., 8vo., pp. 283. Boston. 1841.

A copy of this excellent miscellany, neatly bound in muslin, has been politely forwarded to us by the editor, and is now upon our table. We have not space to exhibit its merits at length. We can say with confidence that it occupies a high rank among a class of publications altogether more important to the best interests of the age in which we live than any other whatever. We refer to works which have for their object the intellectual and moral improvement and refinement of the *female mind.*

The editor has secured several able contributors to his pages, and his selections are in good taste. The work is decidedly serious in its cast, and religious in its tendency. We heartily wish this good enterprise of our excellent friend, the editor, all the success that his enlarged benevolence can desire.

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21. *The Enquirer: devoted to free Discussion as to the kind of Wine proper to be used at the Lord's Supper, &c.*

The first number of a new quarterly bearing the above title has recently appeared, in royal quarto. It is published at Albany, and contains fifteen letters from Edward C. Delavan, Esq., the editor and publisher, in vindication of his favorite project of banishing from the communion table all fermented wine. The "free discussion" is, therefore, all on one side, and it is but little more than a repetition of the plea for unfermented wine in the sacrament which was presented in the American Temperance Intelligencer in 1835. This paper was abandoned in consequence of the injurious effects of the discussion upon the cause of temperance. A correspondent of that paper, and a clergyman too, having been permitted by Mr. Delavan deliberately to propose the substitution of *water* in the communion, instead of "the fruit of the vine," which is the Scriptural element in this divinely appointed ordinance, nothing but the abandonment of the mischievous discussion could satisfy the Christian friends of temperance, and hence the paper and the discussion were given up. Indeed, many of the best friends of total abstinence belonging to the Christian ministry were constrained by their conscientious convictions of duty publicly to withdraw from the temperance societies, seeing that they were usurping the prerogatives of the Christian church.

Such having been the obvious mischiefs of the discussion at that time, the friends of temperance found it necessary to disclaim and repudiate all interference with the question of "wine at the sacrament," as a subject belonging exclusively to ecclesiastical discipline. Thus only were the friends of "total abstinence from all intoxicating drinks *as a beverage*" able to rally their forces, and prosecute their enterprise with any prospect of success.

That Mr. Delavan should now renew this fruitless and mischievous discussion, and thus jeopard the cause of temperance at this most interesting period of its history, is greatly to be lamented. That he should devote this periodical to this single topic, is a singular instance of the influence of the pride of opinion; at the shrine of which he seems prepared to sacrifice a cause, to the service of which he has consecrated many years of his life, and much of his fortune. It is true that he declares his opinion that the "cause of total abstinence from intoxicating drinks as a beverage is no longer in danger from an unpopular, or even a wrong movement by an individual member:" but though this may be true of some individual members, yet the position and relation so long held to the cause by himself, renders his course matter of painful apprehension. And though he "desires it expressly understood that it is as a Christian, and not as an officer of any association, that he makes his appeal; and that no temperance association is at all responsible for his errors," still this only proves that he is willing to forfeit his deservedly high position in the temperance ranks, if he can only carry out his crusade against fermented wine in the sacrament. To this he appears to have pledged "his life, his fortune, and his sacred honor."

That both duty and inclination should prompt those whose province it is to provide the elements for the Lord's table, to procure for the purpose pure wine, or the "fruit of the vine," in as great purity as possible, no one will deny. But that the use of fermented wine at the communion is a provocative to intemperance, or that it vitiates the ordinance when employed for the purpose, as Mr. Delavan would maintain, we hold

to be essentially preposterous. Moreover, we insist that if this question is to be mooted at all, it is a subject for the consideration of ecclesiastical bodies as such. Nor can such discussion as that of Mr. Delavan in the Enquirer be conducted without results to the temperance enterprise which every true friend to the cause must most heartily deprecate.

In the Appendix to this number of "the Enquirer," among sundry other documents, we find a number of articles, which merit unqualified approval, and our only regret is to find them stitched in the same cover with the letters on "wine at the sacrament," being wholly irrelevant. These are important testimonials from distinguished men, who are competent to judge, against the use of wine, and other intoxicating drinks *as a beverage*, and they possess neither identity nor congeniality with the subject to which the Enquirer is "devoted." The most valuable of these is the letter of Thomas Sewall, M. D., of Washington, on the pathology of drunkenness, illustrated by drawings of the human stomach. We concur with a contemporary editor in the opinion that the circulation of Dr. Sewall's letter and plates in a distinct form, separate from the "discussion of the communion question," with which they have nothing to do, would indeed supply a desideratum. And we are gratified to learn that this hint has been adopted, and that the letter, with the accompanying plates, has been issued, and may be obtained by the friends of temperance who will order it in this form from the publisher. We commend it, and especially the drawings, to the attention of the public, as worthy of their patronage. Let the rising generation look upon these graphic delineations of the mischiefs of alcoholic liquors, and they will be trained up with an instinctive horror of the drunkard's drink, which may fortify them against the ruinous snares of intemperance.

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22. *The Baptist Memorial and Monthly Chronicle.* Vol. I, No. 1. New-York, January, 1842. By an Association.

THE above number came to our office superscribed "Methodist Quarterly Register." Knowing there was no "Methodist Quarterly" published in New-York but ours, we tore off the envelop and commenced running over the pages. Finding a paragraph marked, we read it with no little interest, whereupon we found it to be part of a notice of Mr. Wycoff's discussion of the question between "the American Bible Society and the Baptists." In the marked paragraph we are told that the preface sets forth "the reasons which make such a publication in a permanent form desirable:" and "among them is that of correcting the misapprehensions and misrepresentations which prevail in regard to the origin and intentions of the American and Foreign Bible Society." And "among the periodicals which have been the most zealous in misrepresenting" the Baptists in relation to this matter, the writer has "the Methodist Quarterly Register."

Now if these gentlemen really know that *we* have misrepresented them, they certainly ought to know our *name*. Have our Baptist brethren read and refuted an article which appeared in our October number, signed F.? If so, they ought, at least, to know where they found it. And we hope we shall not offend them by suggesting that it would not have been an extraordinary instance of courtesy had they sent us a copy of the refutation. We must find the book at our earliest convenience, and avail ourselves of all its light. In the mean time, we hope should these good friends have any communications to make to us, they will please direct them to *The Methodist Quarterly* REVIEW, 200 Mulberry-street.

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23. *Psychology; or, Elements of a new System of Mental Philosophy, on the Basis of Consciousness and Common Sense.* By S. S. SCHMUCKER, D. D.

24. *An Epitome of the History of Philosophy. Being the Work adopted by the University of France for Instruction in the Colleges,* &c. Translated from the French with additions. By C. S. HENRY, D. D.

THESE works possess sufficient interest to require a thorough examination, but not having the space necessary for this purpose, we must defer it until our next number.

☞ Several interesting pamphlets have been received which, we regret to say, we have no space to notice in this number.

Painted by J. Neal

Engraved by E. Mackenzie

REV. A. RICHARDSON.

of the New York Conference

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THE

METHODIST QUARTERLY REVIEW.

JULY, 1842.

EDITED BY GEORGE PECK, D. D.

ART. I.—*Life of John Knox, the Scottish Reformer; abridged from M'Crie's Life of Knox.* Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication. 1839.

To anticipate much, and reflect but little, is characteristic of the present age. We are far more occupied with the promises of the future than the facts of the past. While eagerly pursuing allurements in prospect, we are in great danger of forgetting the conditions upon which we hold the good we now possess, and of neglecting the experience necessary to teach us how to value and how to preserve it.

The power-press has been greatly instrumental in driving to excess this natural disposition of the human mind. It has often stimulated, when it should have strengthened; roused to action, when it should have furnished materials for regular and permanent exertion.

For some time, books almost ceased to be works. Literature came to be a thing of confectionary and spices, rather than aliment; the substitute for reflection, rather than material for thought. Happily, this evil is beginning to be corrected. The general distribution of the Bible is creating a better taste. The purity and simplicity of its style, the sublimity of its doctrine, and the habit of lofty reflection which its study begets, are leading men once more to prefer substantial to showy literature, and the press is beginning to multiply copies of valuable and most interesting works.

History is resuming its place in the library and the drawing-room. The mind, wearied with vain efforts to penetrate the future, or dizzy with gazing upon the rush and whirl of passing events, is led away to the calm contemplation of things that have been. The student of history looks back upon a vast scene where all is still and motionless, as though some petrifying blast had suddenly blown over the living world and chilled it into stone.

Death has been there, and at his icy touch every moving thing has stiffened and congealed. From all that vast multitude there comes up no clink of the hammer, no warrior shout, no laughter of gladness, no wail of lamentation. There is no sound, no change, to distract the observing mind or confuse the deliberate judgment. The false lights that threw their deceitful glow and shade upon the living actors in those once animated scenes have all grown dim or expired, and the sun of truth pours, through mist and coloring, its unsparing rays upon the naked realities of the past.

There the architects of the present stand before us. We see the men who, in a great measure, constructed the moral edifice in which we dwell. We look upon the artizans of the good and evil of our present world. We learn how all that is valuable in the institutions we inherit has been won for us by the courage and self-devotion, the labor and the genius, of some that have passed away; and from the closet and the battle field, and the scaffold and the stake, we gather their estimate of the legacy they have bequeathed us, and their warnings, more eloquent than words could convey, to cherish and defend it.

Of all the publications of the day none are more interesting, or more likely to produce great and happy results, than popular histories of the early reformers, and books which throw light upon the all-important scenes in which they were actors. With the hope of attracting the youth of the country to the study of those extraordinary times when infant liberty was cradled in iron, and thus fortifying them against the deceit of popery and Puseyism, the Presbyterian board of publication have printed abridgments of the lives of several of those eminent Scotchmen who, under God, were the authors of modern liberty. The board seem to be more concerned for the defense of the Protestant faith than the Presbyterian creed, and they deserve the gratitude of all the churches for the efforts they are making to vindicate the honor of the reformers and the Reformation from the odium that is so diligently heaped upon them by all who hate the beauty of holiness.

No period of history can be more interesting to us than that of the Reformation. This was by no means a merely religious change. The Reformation was not only the deliverance of mind from superstition, but man from tyranny. It was simply the restoration of the Bible to its place, as the great charter of personal rights, as well as spiritual privileges. There is, therefore, no man, Protestant or Romanist, in the whole civilized world, who is not indebted for a great part of the liberty he enjoys to the forcible developments of human rights, and the bold resistance to tyranny,

made in the days of the Reformation by the men of the Bible, and especially by John Knox. To deny this is to state absurdity. It is to say that modern liberty has no origin, and free institutions no history.

We glory in liberal opinions. We look abroad over the world and see them everywhere loosening the shackles of mankind; breaking down the prejudices that have walled in communities; extending the circle of human sympathies; thrusting down the proud, and raising up the humble. Their controlling power has reached the chosen habitations of cruelty. They have restrained the barbarity of the Turk, even when his victim was a Jew. We exult in the spread of these glorious doctrines; we talk of their power; we anticipate their universal triumph. But what are they? They are John Knox's opinions.

The mighty multitude slumbered, unconscious of their strength, until he evoked the disenchanted spirit of the resistless mass. Like some powerful magician, he stood by the sleeping sea of nations, and stretching his wand over the dead and putrid waters, stirred them into life. It was his voice that heaved from the depths the giant wave, whose onward roll, bearing down thrones and dominions, and tossing crowns and sceptres on its scornful crest, is now beating with resistless fury upon every hold of usurpation.

We do not say that Knox originated liberal opinions. In all ages some have had correct views of human rights. But Knox was the apostle who preached what others trembled to think; and it is, mainly, to his preaching that the world is indebted for the prevalence of liberty without licentiousness.

The history of some men is the history of their age. The name of Pericles is identified with the palmy days of Athenian glory, and that of Napoleon with the terrible time when all Europe resounded with the clangor of the trumpet, and trembled under the tread of armed nations. The story of John Knox is also, to a great extent, the story of his times, but in a sense far more honorable. Pericles and Napoleon shone in the splendor of the ages whose glory they respectively represent. Pericles is, to us, the focal point where the scattered rays of Grecian genius are concentrated and distributed to posterity. Bonaparte appears in the grand panorama of history, as a man of iron, glaring out of a furnace of fire. He lived when the hell of human passion was let loose, and with the superior power of a higher fiend, he played with firebrands, and sported in blood. But Knox owed his glory to no attending circumstances. Catching the pure light of truth as it streamed un-

sullied from the throne of the Eternal, he scattered the heavenly radiance far and wide over a land of darkness and of death. He was a beacon lighted by the Almighty hand, and sustained in unquenchable brightness by the breath of God.

The religion of Jesus, which had been introduced into Scotland soon after the ascension, became prevalent in that country in the latter part of the second century. Though the greater part of Britain had been subdued by the Roman arms, the inhabitants of the Highlands still maintained their independence, and when the second terrible persecution was proclaimed against the Christians, multitudes of them fled from the lower countries, and sought refuge in the Scottish hills. Among these fugitives were men of learning and exalted piety; some of whom becoming attached to the rude people who had protected them in the day of trouble, remained after the persecution had ceased.

Imitating the custom of the Druids, they made their homes in caves and recesses of the forests, and to these retreats their well-deserved reputation for learning and piety attracted many whom they instructed in letters and in the religion of the Bible. These Christians were called Cultores Dei, or worshipers of God, and hence, by abbreviation and corruption, Culdees.

By their efforts Christianity was gradually propagated in the country, notwithstanding fierce opposition from the Druids; and when subsequent persecutions drove many other pious and learned men from the adjoining countries to Scotland, they were gladly received by the king, Crathalinth, who was himself a Christian, and by their aid the true religion was completely established throughout the kingdom; so that, before the death of Crathalinth, which occurred in 312, idol worship was abolished, the sacred groves cut down, and Christianity acknowledged as the national religion.

In the mean time, some of the more learned and pious refugees, misled by the mistaken notions then prevalent about the superior sanctity of hermit life, withdrew to distant parts of the country, and especially to certain islands, where they formed communities. From their retired life, they were called Μοναχοι, *Monachoi*, and, by abbreviation, "Monks."

But few points of similarity are to be discovered between these Μοναχοι, and the monks of later days. The retired Culdees took no vows. Like Abraham and Enoch, they married wives; and besides these differences, they were the very antipodes of our monks in another respect, for they were burdensome to none, but supported themselves by the labor of their own hands. In their

retreats the Culdees founded schools, which long were celebrated, and much resorted to. In fact, their societies were rather colleges than monastic establishments.

In order to maintain discipline among themselves, the Culdees selected certain men, eminent for piety, learning, and wisdom, to oversee the rest, and keep them to the discharge of their duty to the people, to whom they appear to have acted as pastors as well as teachers. These superintendents, or "Episcopoi Scotoram," as they are called by papal writers, performed their functions in any part of the kingdom, indiscriminately, as delegates from the body that appointed them, never assuming rank superior to that of their brethren. By this arrangement, which, doubtless, was that generally adopted by the primitive church, the religion of Christ was happily maintained in Scotland for nearly two centuries.

In the year 452, one Palladius, who had been sent from Rome by Celestine, the bishop of that city, to arrest the progress of Pelagianism in Britain, was invited to Scotland by the reigning prince, to assist in combating the same error, which had gained ground in that country also.

By the intrigues and influence of this man, the primitive ecclesiastical establishment was modified by little and little, until prelacy was established upon the ruins of Culdee episcopacy. For a while, indeed, the Culdees were permitted to nominate the prelatic bishops, but after the latter had managed to get possession of large property, they became too powerful for the poor and pious Christians of the primitive church, and the appointment of bishops became a privilege of the pontiff at Rome.

The admission of prelatic episcopacy proved to be the "first downward trembling into ill," and for nearly a thousand years subsequently, the Scottish church continued to plunge deeper and deeper into darkness and corruption. The prelates set themselves, perseveringly, to increase their wealth and importance, and with the augmentation of property, and the addition of privileges, they increased in arrogance, ignorance, and sensuality. Thick darkness fell upon that once enlightened country. Superstition took the place of faith, and wickedness reveled unrestrained, even by the presence of virtue.

The Culdee church, however, was not extinguished. True worshipers of God still bowed the knee in the solitary places of the hills; and when, in the beginning of the fifteenth century, some of the persecuted followers of Wiclif and Huss fled to Scotland, they were received with open arms by many a sincere lover of the truth.

Under the teaching of these men, the gospel began again to make progress in Scotland, and the frightened prelates determined to crush it in the bud. To effect this, they seized upon two of the Lollards, as these Christians were then called, Paul Craw and James Risby, and burned them at St. Andrews. The doctrines of the Bible, nevertheless, continued to spread. Copies of the sacred Scriptures were hidden in many houses. In the darkness of the night, the neighbors assembled around the hearth of the possessor of the priceless treasure, and then the venerable book was brought forth from the secret place, and the waters of life were eagerly quaffed, pure from the fountain.

In this way the little flock was kept together under the guardianship of the almighty Shepherd, and notwithstanding the power and cruelty of the enemies of the truth, it continued to spread, as is proved by the arraignment of thirty persons, sixty-five years after the murder of Craw and Risby, for holding opinions at variance with the dogmas of the papal church. The articles of accusation against these persons have come down to us in the form in which they were recorded, and are interesting as showing how completely the opinions of Bible Christians of that day coincide with the Protestant doctrines of the present. Thus Scotland was prepared for the mighty revolution that was speedily to come.

The corruptions which, before the Reformation, had everywhere destroyed the spirituality and beauty of the Christian religion, had progressed to a more insufferable extent in Scotland than in any other country overshadowed by the raven wing of papal supremacy. The people were sunk in the grossest ignorance. Of religion, they had nothing but the name, while they were chained to the chariot wheels of the priests by the most degrading superstition. The clergy had monopolized full one half of all the property in the kingdom, and all the principal offices of state. They were not amenable to the civil law, and thus were free to wallow in licentiousness, setting at defiance the authority of God and man. The inferior benefices were openly put up to sale, or conferred upon men of infamous character, the pot-companions or illegitimate sons of the bishops, while the higher places in the church were prizes contended for with the utmost violence, and often seized by force of arms.

The profligacy of the clergy was open, shameless, and unbounded. So much so, that decency forbids more than a general allusion to their conduct. The people groaned under the burden of supporting swarms of lazy monks, who, like Pharaoh's frogs, were in every man's oven and kneading trough. There were friars

black, and friars gray; canons regular, and of St. Anthony; Carmelites and Cartusians; Cordeliers and Dominicans; Franciscans and Hospitallers; Jacobines and Observantines, with others too numerous to mention, besides nuns of various kinds, and colors to match the motley brethren.

The clergy and monks were, for the most part, grossly ignorant, not only of letters, but of the elementary principles of religion. The Bible was not read, either by priests or people. Even bishops were not ashamed to confess that they had never read more of it than they found in their missals. The higher clergy never deigned to preach, but contented themselves with mumbling over the services of the church in a dead language, which they understood but imperfectly, and the people not at all.

Some idea of the ignorance of the clergy may be derived from an anecdote of Andrew Forman, bishop of Murray, and papal legate for Scotland. When this prelate was in Rome, he gave an entertainment to the pope and cardinals. In attempting to ask a blessing, he blundered so grossly in his Latinity that his holiness and their eminences lost their gravity, which so disconcerted the bishop, that he suddenly wound up by giving "the fause carles to the deil, in nomine Patris, Filii, et Sancti Spiritus," to which imprecation his guests, not comprehending his Scotch more readily than his Latin, devoutly responded, Amen!

The clergy had managed to transfer the hearing of all important civil cases to Rome, and for the conducting of these, and the purchase of benefices, immense sums were constantly drained from the country, and for this money the people received no other return than "palls, images, old bones, and similar consecrated trumpery." Thus the land was impoverished by the taxation necessary to provide for the intellectual degradation and moral corruption of its people.

We have observed that the bishops never deigned to preach. This duty was intrusted to the friars, who performed it in a manner peculiar to themselves, and impossible to be described. Their sermons were farragos of disgusting lies, intolerable twaddle, and gross buffoonery, and as destitute of doctrine as the howls of a bacchanal, or the responses of the Delphic oracle. Under such a ministry, it is needless to say, the people perished for lack of knowledge.

Such was the state of things when Patrick Hamilton returned from the continent, and began to proclaim the truth in his native land. This young man was of noble birth, and well-cultivated mind. Having embraced the reformed religion, while traveling

abroad, he burned with an irrepressible desire to preach it to his countrymen. Though perfectly aware of the consequences of such a step, he embarked for Scotland, and immediately, on his arrival, began to avow and enforce his opinions. But the term of his apostleship was short. He was soon seized by Cardinal Beaton, who then ruled the country with a sceptre of iron, and, notwithstanding his noble birth, committed to the flames, in the twenty-fourth year of his age.

This inhuman murder resulted in consequences very different from those which Beaton and his coadjutors expected. The dust of Hamilton seemed to possess a vivifying power. In every quarter toward which the winds of heaven could waft his ashes, multitudes started up to confess the doctrines for the sake of which the young martyr had died. The attention of the whole country was aroused to these new opinions. Bibles were sought with avidity, and read with intense interest, and believers multiplied so rapidly, that the cardinal and his Satanic clergy were driven to that extreme of madness which is the immediate forerunner of destruction. Despising the lessons of experience, these blind and ruthless men breathed out nothing but threatening and slaughter. Christians were seized and burned in every part of the country. The fierce bigotry of the clergy, urged on by the terrors of their coward hearts, demanded nothing less than the thorough extermination of all who dared to differ from their teachings.

The tiger may be gorged with blood until he loathes the banquet. Even the wolf may tire with slaughter, and turn from the gory feast. The fiercest instinct of the most ravenous beast may be appeased by repletion; but an apostate priesthood, fired with bigotry and trembling with fear, have ever been insatiable. Millions have been sacrificed to their unholy lusts, and when even trained soldiers have sickened with fullness of blood, and the very vultures have loathed the too abundant carnage, the Romish priests have still clamored for their prey, and lapped the blood of the last victim with an appetite as fierce as when they gloated upon the first.

In other countries the bishops and monks had been careful to throw around their diabolical proceedings the forms of civil law. With a demure hypocrisy, scarcely less hateful than their infernal cruelty, they declined to shed the blood for which they thirsted. They hunted the miserable victim from every wretched hiding place with the pleasure and patience of well-trained hounds; but when they had seized their prey, and sported with his agony until exhausted nature could yield no further pleasure to its tormentors, they washed their hands, like conscientious Pilate, and delivered

their victim to the secular arm for execution. But Beaton put no screen between him and the execrations of mankind. He was a bold and shameless villain, who scorned to pay to virtue even the compliment of hypocrisy. While living in open and unblushing profligacy, trampling under foot all the laws of almighty God, this sanctimonious butcher was filling Scotland with the blood of innocence: on one occasion ordering four men to be hanged, and a woman, with a nursing infant at her breast, to be drowned, because they had wounded the delicacy of his priestly conscience by being suspected of having eaten a goose on Friday! Yet even this fiend has found defenders; and so has the bloody Claverhouse; and so has Laud! When shall we have the defense and eulogy of Ahab, and Jezebel, and Judas Iscariot?

Notwithstanding these atrocious cruelties, the good cause continued to spread. Like the bread which Jesus blessed, the persecuted body of Christ multiplied as it was broken, and in 1540 the reformed doctrine numbered among its converts many persons of rank and influence, besides multitudes of the common people. It was in vain that the clergy plotted to destroy all the Protestants at a blow. God baffled their designs, and greatly multiplied their sorrow by the rapid increase of his worshipers.

While things were in this state there appeared one in the north of Scotland, whose name should be enshrined upon the heart of every man who reveres what is noble, and loves what is good. This was George Wishart.

Gentle in temper, modest and meek in deportment, profound and sagacious in judgment, of powerful mind, well-cultivated intellect, ardent piety, and dauntless courage, this extraordinary person united in his character all that is amiable and admirable in man.

In full expectation of martyrdom, he preached Christ, openly and powerfully, with the eloquence of an angel, and the calmness of self-immolation. Crowds flocked to hear him, and multitudes were converted to that Jesus whom he preached. Among these was a young man, a priest, who already had been led to doubt the dogmas of popery, and whose willing heart gladly drank in from the holy lips of Wishart the glorious doctrines of Christ. This young man was John Knox.

George Wishart had but one business to do on earth. Deliberately and solemnly he had devoted himself to God, though he knew well that a terrible death must end the work which was given him to do, and God, who accepted the sacrifice, crowned the willing victim with the garlands of his love, and poured upon him the oil of consecration. George Wishart was honored with marks of

divine approbation seldom vouchsafed to man; and by these his spirit was sustained unbroken in the midst of the horrible tempest that incessantly beat upon him, from the time that he unfurled the standard of Jesus, until that standard was planted in his grave, and waved gloriously over his dust.

Under the bold and powerful preaching of this very remarkable man, multitudes were converted to the truth. Wherever he went, crowds flocked to hear him, and Beaton, in whose heart the venom of the old red dragon was ever active, devised various schemes to entrap and destroy him. From all, however, he was delivered, until the time approached, when, according to his unwavering presage, he was to seal his testimony with his life.

Being at the house of Joseph Watson, of Innergowrie, Wishart was observed to rise before day and walk out to the garden. Certain circumstances led two of his friends to follow him. At first he was observed to pace the walk for some time, uttering deep sobs and groans, and then he fell upon his face, and in this posture continued for an hour to agonize in prayer. On the next morning, being interrogated as to the matter which weighed so heavily upon his heart, he replied, "I am assured that my travail is nearly ended. Pray God, that now I shrink not when the battle waxes most hot."

Soon after this he was seized and carried to St. Andrews, and an ecclesiastical court was immediately summoned for his trial. This proceeding was altogether illegal, and in open contempt of the authority of the regent, yet none dared to lift hand or voice against it.

When brought before this self-appointed tribunal, Wishart defended himself with great power and boldness against the various specifications of heresy. Charge after charge was screamed in his ears by a furious priest, who, his mouth foaming with rage, and his face running with sweat, shouted the allegations, mingled with abuse and execrations; but with the utmost calmness Wishart drew from Scripture such pointed replies, that the crowd that filled the body of the church were astonished, and many of them convinced, while the prelates writhed like detected felons.

To the thunder of their terrible anathemas, he made no other answer than the words of Malachi: "I will curse your blessings, and bless your curses, saith the Lord;" and to the charge of heresy, he replied by proving clearly, from the book of inspiration, that the Romish Church, and not himself, was heretical.

Maddened by his calmness, and the marks of approbation exhibited by the admiring crowd, the prelates condemned him to immediate death.

While the stake and pile were in preparation, Wishart was re-committed to the castle. The captain of the fortress, who was a devout man, asked him if he would breakfast with him and some friends. Wishart replied that he would do so with pleasure, as he knew them to be godly men.

After all were seated around the table, Wishart requested them to bear with him for a little while, and then discoursed for half an hour concerning the Lord's supper, and the death and sufferings of Jesus. Then, giving thanks, he blessed the bread and wine, and bidding them remember that Christ died for them, and exhorting them to feed spiritually upon him by faith, he administered to each of them, and partook himself, the memorials of our dying Lord. He then returned thanks and prayed for them, and saying that he would eat and drink no more in this life, he left the table.

Immediately afterward he was led forth to execution, being first clothed with a black robe, hung around with bags of gunpowder. The pile was prepared at the west gate, and, immediately opposite, the windows of the castle were hung with rich hangings, and velvet cushions were placed for the cardinal and prelates, who lolled upon them to enjoy the torments of the noble martyr.

Just before Wishart expired he looked toward the cardinal, and said, "He who in such state, from that high place, feasteth his eyes upon my torments, within a few days shall be hanged out at the same window, to be seen with as much ignominy as he now sitteth there in pride!" This prediction was literally fulfilled a short time afterward, when Norman Leslie, and a little band of sixteen desperate men, surprised the castle, which the cardinal had fortified with great care, and driving out ten times their number, killed the prelate in his bed-chamber. His body was hanged out of the window in order to convince the populace that the tyrant was really dead.

The preaching and martyrdom of Wishart wrought a wonderful change in public sentiment. The common people, as well as the higher classes, were led to examine the pretensions of the priests with boldness, and when once the charm of superstitious reverence was broken, the native shrewdness of the people was sufficient to detect the falsity of the doctrines they had been taught to regard as sacred. An amusing anecdote has been preserved, which may throw some light upon the state of public feeling at that time.

Shortly before the death of Wishart there came a man from Rome bringing a quantity of relics, and other wonderful things, which he exhibited for sale. Being near Haddington, on a holyday, he opened his pack, and offered his sacred wares to the country

people who gathered round to hear his wonderful stories, and see his miraculous merchandise. Among other things, the man exhibited a little bell, to which he ascribed the singular power of detecting perjury. "If," said he, "any man shall swear, with his hand upon this bell, if he swear the truth, he may remove his hand, and the bell will present no difference of appearance; but if he swear falsely, his hand shall stick to the bell, and, stranger still, the bell will split asunder." At this statement the simple people began to wonder, and admire the blessed bell which was possessed of such mysterious and awful power; but among them there happened to be a farmer who had been somewhat enlightened by Protestant teaching. He stepped forward, and requested leave to take the bell in his hand and examine it. This being granted, he asked the owner of the holy wares if he would permit him to make oath upon the bell in presence of the company, as he wished to swear concerning a very important matter. The man, of course, consented. Then the farmer, laying his hand upon the talismanic bell, turned to the people, and said, "I swear in the presence of the living God, and before these good people, that the pope is antichrist, and that all the rabble of his clergy, cardinals, archbishops, bishops, priests, and monks, with the rest of the crew, are locusts come from hell to delude the people and withdraw them from God: moreover, I promise they will return to hell." Then lifting his hand from the bell, he cried, "See, my friends, my hand does not stick, and the bell is not changed! it follows, therefore, according to this man's declaration, that I have sworn the truth." The conclusion was irresistible: the pious pedler made off, and none after this ventured to import relics and other Romish trinkets into Scotland.

On the night that Wishart was apprehended, John Knox begged to be permitted to accompany him to prison and to death. But this Wishart refused, saying, "No; return to your bairns"—meaning God's children—"May God bless you! One is sufficient for the sacrifice." Accordingly, Knox sought refuge in the house of a gentleman to whose children he acted as tutor, while he laboured diligently to propagate the truth, and watch over the feeble and persecuted church which Wishart had bequeathed him. Soon, however, he was obliged to take refuge in the castle of St. Andrews, which was still held by the party who had seized it. It was in this castle that he was first induced to take upon him the office of a preacher. The persons who held it were not Protestants; but as they were in arms against the Romish clergy, they permitted the reformers, as well as the papists, to preach under the protection of their cannon.

After accepting the ministerial office, Knox was not long idle. A certain dean, John Annan, a Romish ecclesiastic, had been very troublesome to John Rough, the reformed preacher, who acted as pastor to the little band of fugitives who had fled from persecution to St. Andrews. Knox, who was a far more able disputant than Rough, undertook, in his behalf, the controversy, which was first conducted in writing. Upon one occasion, however, Annan rose in the church, and denounced the Protestant doctrine in no very measured terms, and refusing to dispute with Knox, declared that the authority of the church damned all Lutherans and heretics, and therefore no disputation was necessary. Knox replied, "Before we hold ourselves convinced, we must define the church by the marks of the true church given to us in Scripture. We must discern the immaculate spouse of Jesus Christ from the mother of confusion—the spiritual Babylon—lest we submit ourselves to Satan, thinking that we submit to Christ: for as for your Roman Church, and the authority thereof, I no more doubt it to be the synagogue of Satan, and the head thereof, called the pope, to be that man of sin, of whom the apostle speaketh, than I doubt that Jesus suffered by procurement of the visible church of Jerusalem. Yea, I offer myself, by word or writing, to prove the Roman Church this day to be further degenerate from the purity which was in the days of the apostles, than was the church of the Jews from the ordinance given by Moses, when they consented to the death of Jesus Christ."

This was startling language, and such as had never before been openly spoken in Scotland. Casting aside every hope of remodeling the Church of Rome, Knox laid the axe at the root of the enormous upas. He boldly declared the dominant church to be a synagogue of Satan, the predicted Babylon, the apostate antichrist—and this, too, when all Scotland was prostrate at the feet of the pope, except a feeble band shut up in a solitary fortress, which they only held until the best conditions could be obtained from their enemies. But Knox was a stranger to fear. Though feeble in body, his spirit was as daring as ever animated a mortal frame.

As soon as he had made the bold declaration above mentioned, the people cried out, "If this be so, we have been miserably deceived, therefore we require you, in the name of God, that you prove what you have affirmed." Knox readily agreed, and the next Sunday was appointed for his first sermon. At the hour agreed upon, he ascended the pulpit, and took for his text Daniel vii, 24–26, "And another *king* shall rise after them; and he shall be diverse from the first, and he shall subdue three kings. And

he shall speak great words against the Most High, and shall wear out the saints of the Most High, and think to change times and laws: and they shall be given into his hand, until a time and times and the dividing of time," &c.

The sermon was plain, pointed, and conclusive, and well worthy of record did our limits permit. Suffice it, however, to say, that it was a plain avowal of Scripture doctrine, illustrated by the canon law and the well-known state of the Romish Church. It was listened to by the university, the sub-prior, and many canons and friars, to whom the preacher boldly referred for the truth of his quotations.

This was taking the bull by the horns in earnest. People were astonished at the daring of the man, as well as the cogency of his argument. The clergy summoned a convention to meet in the town, and called Rough and Knox to answer for their heresy. They both complied, and certain accusations were made against them, when Knox defended himself so ably, that the friar, who was put up to confute him, was driven from all his positions, and finally asserted, in defense of the sacraments, that the apostles had not received the Holy Ghost when they wrote the epistles, but that after the reception of this divine Instructor they instituted the sacraments. For this assertion he was immediately reproved by the prior; and being much confused, he plunged on from bad to worse, and attempted to prove the doctrine of purgatory from the sixth book of Virgil's Æneid. At last, beaten out of every other defense, the discomfited friar appealed to the authority of the church, that unanswerable argument against all reason and revelation. "The church," said Knox, "has no authority against the word of God." "Then," said the friar, "you will leave us no church." "Indeed," replied John, "I read in David, that there is a church of the malignants—that church you may have without God's word, and directly fighting against it; but as for me, I will be of none other church but that which has Christ for its pastor: which hears his voice, and will not hear a stranger." The result of the bold and able preaching of Knox was the conversion to the reformed doctrines of every man in the castle, and numbers of the inhabitants of the town. The clergy, being terribly alarmed, called a French force to their assistance, and invested the fortress so closely, that it surrendered upon certain conditions, which, however, were not observed, for Knox and many others were sent to the French galleys, contrary to stipulation.

In this terrible condition the Scotch prisoners remained for nearly two years, suffering what none can tell. Every effort was made

to induce them to renounce their opinions, or, at least, conform externally to the usages of the Church of Rome; but it is a fact as extraordinary as honorable to their memory, that none of these wretched prisoners could be induced, by promises or threatenings, to pay even the slightest respect to the host and images of the saints. Though chained to the oar, these fearless men treated the paraphernalia of popery with as much contempt as if their feet had been upon the heather, and their hands on the claymore. Whenever the host and images were paraded, those that had hats put them on, and those that had none covered their heads with whatever they could. At last the priests painted an image of the Virgin on a board, and caused it to be passed through the galleys with the command that each prisoner should do it reverence. One of the Scotchmen, feeling the same sort of abhorrence of the idols as a Jew might have felt at the contact of pork, watched his opportunity when the image was passed by him, and threw it into the sea, with a gruff admonition to her "ladyship to save herself by swimming, as she was light enough." After liberation from the galleys, Knox was invited into England to assist in the effort, making by Edward VI. and Cranmer, to reform the church, which Henry VIII. had merely modified. Here he rendered very important services, and, as a mark of royal approbation, was made one of the chaplains to the king, and offered a bishopric. The latter, however, he declined upon conscientious grounds. Upon the accession of bloody Mary, Knox was compelled to fly to the continent, and it was during this banishment that he wrote several powerful pamphlets, and, among others, the famous one entitled, "The First Blast of the Trumpet against the monstrous Regiment of Women"—the word regiment meaning government. This was an argument to prove that it is contrary to reason, experience, and the will of God, for a woman to rule a nation, and though the matter is not very complimentary, nor the style very elegant, the reasoning is of a kind not easy to be refuted. Knox did not believe a word about the divine right of kings. He regarded monarchy as a matter of mere expediency, and he perceived, as clearly as we now do, the absurdity of investing a female with legislative or executive power. As to the style of the pamphlet, it was abundantly polite enough for the Jezebel to whom it was addressed. Knox did not take up his trumpet to make sweet music for royal ears, but to blow a warning blast, and he was more anxious that it should give a certain sound, than agreeable melody. The publication, however, proved impolitic, as it brought down upon him the bitter hatred both of Elizabeth and Mary of Scotland.

While our reformer was abroad, circumstances occurred which led to an insurrectionary movement on the part of the Protestant nobility, who assembled in arms, and pledged themselves to protect each other in the enjoyment of the rights of conscience. Knox hurried to their assistance, and was greatly instrumental in bringing about the events which resulted in the deposition of the queen regent, and the establishment of Protestantism as the religion of the land.

His honesty and disinterestedness were above suspicion; his piety could not be questioned; and his daring courage, founded upon invincible fidelity to principle, was of so extraordinary a kind that, even in a time and country where almost all were courageous, he was reputed the "bravest of the brave." The intrepidity of Knox was not of that brutal or instinctive kind that springs from an incapacity to estimate danger; his boldness was reflective and calm. He knew when to fly from his enemies, and when to confront them; and he did neither without mature deliberation. It was during this revolutionary movement that he persisted in his design of preaching in a certain church, though forewarned that a party of soldiers had orders to fire upon him as soon as he commenced. This was not the rash act of a mad enthusiast. He knew that such an example of fearlessness and unwavering faith was needed at that time, to inspire courage in the timid, and excite emulation in the brave.

John Knox has been decried by some historians as a very Vandal; a rude, inconsiderate savage, who delighted in the destruction of noble buildings and beautiful works of art. Now the truth is, that the demolition of the monasteries and cathedrals was not the work of Knox, nor any other of the reformed leaders. It was everywhere the act of an incensed people, who had long been oppressed by the lordly prelates who inhabited these palaces, and officiated in these churches. Many of the religious houses, over the ruins of which certain writers whine in such melancholy strains, were notorious dens of licentiousness, and the people who dwelt in their neighborhood had long writhed under a species of tyranny, of all others the hardest to be endured, and for which terrible vengeance is always taken in the day of retribution.

The first of these acts of demolition was done at Perth. John Knox had preached a sermon against the mass in the cathedral of that city, then the head quarters of the Protestant nobles, or "lords of the congregation," as they were called. After service was over, and the congregation dismissed, a priest uncovered a rich altar-piece, and in the presence of some idlers, who still lingered in the

church, prepared to say mass. A boy, who stood near the altar, made some offensive remark, which caused the priest to give him a severe blow. The little heretic immediately retaliated by throwing a stone, which missed his reverence, and hitting an unlucky saint, who happened to be in the way, broke him to pieces. At this the bystanders rushed upon the rest of the ornaments and images, and dealt with them in the same way. A mob soon collected from all parts of the town, and finding nothing left for them to do, hurried off to the monasteries, which they forced, plundered, and demolished.

The leaders and preachers exerted themselves to the utmost to arrest the torrent; but the long pent-up indignation of the people was not to be restrained.

Another feeling than that to which I have alluded, impelled the poorer classes to sack the religious houses. A notion was widely prevalent among them that the revenues of the monks, and especially the receipts of the begging friars, were, of right, the property of the poor, whom God has appointed heirs of human charity; and they looked upon the fraternities of monks, who neither toiled nor spun, but monopolized the alms of the rich, as thieves who plundered the patrimony of the afflicted and the needy. An insight into the pantry and wardrobe of one of the monasteries of Perth, was well calculated to increase this feeling. The sheets, beds, &c., were found to be as luxurious as could be seen in any baronial castle in the kingdom, and although there were but eight monks attached to the convent, and it was then the middle of May, they found eight puncheons of salt beef in the cellar, besides quantities of other provisions, and wine, ale, and beer, in abundance. All this was distributed among the poor by a summary act of replevin. The example was followed all over the kingdom, and Knox, though at first he denounced these proceedings, was soon convinced that they were necessary and proper.

The people were in the midst of a civil war, the termination of which no man could foresee, and unquestionably it was proper to destroy the fortresses and provisions of the enemy. The wonder is, that the monks themselves suffered no violence from those who well knew that no mercy would be shown to them, if any reverse should place them in the hands of the Romish ecclesiastics. It is highly creditable to the people of Scotland, that they proceeded no further in their vengeance than to destroy the buildings which had so long harbored their oppressors. For this, independently of any vindictive feeling, there was justification enough in the remark of Knox, "If you would get rid of the rooks, you must pull down their nests."

One of the first acts of the parliament that dethroned the regent was to adopt a religious creed, which might be the basis of a national establishment. John Knox drew up the Confession of Faith, which was accepted. It is a noble instrument, simple, dignified, and forcible, and withal so carefully worded that, if ever the time shall come, and how soon it may come is known only to God, when it shall be necessary for the Calvinist and Arminian churches to draw closer together, and stand shoulder to shoulder in defense of their common rights, this creed of John Knox, with but little modification, would be an all-sufficient basis of confederation.

Having repudiated popery, the government next proceeded to organize a church establishment. For this purpose, Knox, with five other ministers, was requested to prepare a plan. These learned and pious men determined to disregard all existing forms of church government, and, taking the Bible for their guide, to construct the best system they could. The result was the establishment of the Presbyterian organization, much as it now exists, although the peculiar circumstances of the time rendered certain arrangements expedient which are now dispensed with.

This plan of church government, as submitted by Knox, is well worthy of our consideration from two circumstances. The first is, that it required the establishment of a public school in the bounds of each parish, thus originating the great measure of common-school education.

If John Knox was the savage he has been represented; if he was a gloomy fanatic; a despiser of authority, and a hater of women, this one gift which he bequeathed the world is enough to cover all his sins against popery and politeness, and elevate his memory to the highest place in our grateful recollections.

The other circumstance connected with this church organization to which we wish particularly to call attention, is, that it is founded upon the republican doctrine of equality, and seems to be the origin of that representative plan of elective government which has since been so generally applied to the civil economy of this country.

Knox's political creed was curiously republican for the age in which he lived. While he uniformly inculcated a conscientious obedience to the lawful command of rulers, as long as they did not trample upon obvious rights, nor cease to execute justice, he nevertheless maintained that no family, or class of men, has an inherent and personal right to govern a people without their consent, and that a nation has a right to require that certain laws, in accordance

with the divine laws, shall be established for the guidance of both the governors and the governed. He regarded all government as a mutual compact, either tacit or expressed, and when a sovereign violates such compact, and becomes a tyrant, he thought that the people had a right to dethrone him, and elect another.

Such are the opinions now known as liberal, and of these the despised and vilified John Knox was the apostle. He found them in the Bible; with the Bible they have come down to us; and as long as that divine volume shall be to us a holy and an open book, these opinions, and the free institutions based upon them, will be triumphantly maintained. But if that book be repudiated; or if it be shut up from the people; or if the common schools, which were instituted for the safe transmission of truth from generation to generation, be abandoned or abused, we may depend upon it that the spirit of freedom will depart, and the forms of it will soon follow.

Time will not permit us to dwell much longer upon the political and religious events in which Knox was concerned during the remainder of his eventful and useful life; but there is a part of history which we must glance at, as it has been the chosen subject of bitter invective and unmitigated censure. We allude to his behavior to Mary, queen of Scots.

A great deal of ingenuity and eloquence has been exhausted in the defense and eulogy of Mary, and the vilification of Knox. She was a woman and a queen; beautiful, accomplished; unfortunate, and a Romanist; and upon all these items the world has been surfeited with her praises. But all her winning qualities were external. Never was the striking illustration of the whited sepulchre more appropriate than as descriptive of her. Bigoted, crafty, unprincipled to an extent almost incredible; cruel, and perfidious; this remarkable woman covered over all these hideous features of character with an engaging countenance, a bewitching smile, a tender and affectionate manner, and all the arts of deception that could be learned in a French convent, and practiced at a French court.

In all ages women of this character have proved the greatest curses of the world. From Helen and Cleopatra, and the daughter of Herodias, down to Mary of Lorraine, and *her* daughter, the queen of Scotland, beautiful and profligate women have been the most dangerous of all evil doers.

When Mary arrived in Scotland, in pursuance of the invitation of the Protestant nobility, she found the reformed religion an inherent part of the constitution; and from that unhappy day which saw her land amid the shouts and congratulations of the too cre-

dulous multitude, until public indignation drove her, a branded murderess from the throne she had stained with a husband's blood, she never ceased to plot and work for the overthrow of the established religion, and the restoration of that terrible system of persecution which the nation had cast off by a convulsive effort of suffering strength.

On the very first Sunday after her arrival she caused the mass to be openly celebrated, in direct violation of law. A storm of indignation was immediately raised, but by flattery and smiles, promises and tears, she so wrought upon the rude nobles, who gathered around her, that the cloud passed harmlessly away, and the men, who had driven out the priests and the mass at the point of the sword, suffered both to return for the boon of a smile, or a sweet low confidential whisper, or an admirably wept tear!

As noble after noble arrived at court, each passed through a regular course of fierce indignation, calm toleration, and ardent devotion to the lovely woman, who dextrously wound round their rude hands the silken cords that held them more securely than fetters of iron. Lord Ochiltree was among the last of the lords of the congregation to arrive, and when he learned that the mass had been re-established already, he was exceedingly enraged: an old man, who stood by him, quietly remarked, "My lord, I see that the fire edge is not off you yet; but when the holy water of the court is sprinkled upon you, you will become as temperate as the rest; for I have been here now five days, and I have heard many say, when they first came, 'Let us hang the priest,' but after they have been once or twice to the abbey, their fervency was gone. I think there must be some enchantment about the court." The old man's prediction was verified, and Ochiltree was, ere long, as quiet as the rest.

There was one man, however, who was made of sterner stuff. and it was well for Scotland and for the world that God had reserved such a man to uphold the truth in the day of general defection. John Knox was the only serious obstacle in the way of the plan which the French court had matured for the subjugation of Scotland to the condition of a province of France, and a dependency of Rome. But he was an obstacle that could no more be moved by threats or flattery than could the Grampian hills.

On the very first Sunday after the mass had been celebrated. under the protection of Lord James Murray, and other Protestant leaders, Knox preached a sermon against idolatry, in which he said, "I fear a single mass more than an army of ten thousand men: for in God there is strength to resist and confound multitudes;

but if we join hands with idolatry, God's presence and defense will leave us, and what shall become of us then?"

The queen being informed of the tenor of the sermon, sent for the preacher, and upbraided him for his conduct; accusing him of various offenses against her authority, and especially of having written that unpardonable pamphlet, "The First Blast of the Trumpet."

Knox denied, respectfully, but firmly, that he had done any thing to invalidate her authority, and assured her that he was as loyal a subject as she had in the realm.

"Your book," said the queen, "denies my authority to govern." Knox answered, "Please your majesty, learned men in all ages have differed from common opinion on many matters of importance, and yet have submitted quietly to evils they could not mend; so, madam, if others find no inconvenience in the government of a woman, I shall live as well content under your majesty's rule as Paul did under the Roman emperor."

The queen rejoined, "You have taught the people another religion than their princes allowed, and how can this doctrine be of God, since he commands men to obey their rulers?"

"Madam," replied the intrepid man, who might well have felt indignant at the avowal of such detestable doctrines by the sovereign of the country, "true religion had not its origin in princes, but in the eternal God, and often princes are, of all others, most ignorant of God's religion. If the seed of Abraham had been of Pharaoh's religion, what piety would have been left in the world? and if the apostles had obeyed the religion of the Roman emperors, where would now be the doctrines of Christ? Daniel and his fellows were subjects of Nebuchadnezzar and Darius, yet they obeyed the religious commands neither of the one nor the other; for the three Hebrews said, 'We make it known unto thee, O king! that we will *not* worship thy gods;' and Daniel prayed in defiance of the royal command."

"Yet," replied the queen, "these resisted not with the sword."

"God," replied the reformer, "had not given them the means."

At this unexpected reply the queen lost her affected composure. A scowl came upon her usually pleasant brow, and she gazed upon Knox for more than a quarter of an hour without uttering a word. At length, recovering herself, she resumed her interrogatories, and finally, in reply to some remark of the reformer's, she fiercely exclaimed, "Yours is not the church that I will sustain: I will defend the Church of Rome, which I think to be the true church of God."

This bold announcement of the royal purpose to overthrow the established constitution, and bring back the fire and the stake, the superstition and the wickedness, which the people of Scotland had struggled so desperately to banish, was enough to arouse the indignation of a less ardent spirit than that which burned in the feeble body of John Knox. "Madam," he replied, "I offer myself to prove that the church of the Jews, who crucified Christ, was not so far degenerate from the ordinances of Moses as the Church of Rome is from the religion preached by the apostles."

"My conscience," replied the queen, "is different."

"Conscience," rejoined Knox, "requires knowledge, and of true knowledge I fear you have little."

"I have heard and read," replied the queen.

"So, madam, did the Jews that crucified Christ read both the law and the prophets after their manner."

We give but the outlines of this remarkable conversation, in which two acute and antagonist minds were measuring each other. From this time Knox thoroughly understood the purposes and the character of Mary. Being asked, after he left her presence, what he thought of her, he answered, "If there be not in her a proud mind, a crafty wit, and an obdurate heart against God and his truth, my judgment faileth me."

The progress of the popish plot was rapid. By little and little Mary won way for the return of the banished religion. She flattered the vain, encouraged the ambitious, who hoped to share her throne, threatened the timid, and cajoled the simple, until the success of similar movements in France enabled her to take higher ground in opposition to the Protestant religion, and she consummated her treason against the nation by signing the league with other popish princes, in which each monarch was bound to extirpate the reformed religion in his dominions.

News having arrived that some massacre of Protestants had been perpetrated in France, this Mary, this lovely, interesting, amiable woman, gave a ball in honor of the deed!

In those days there were no newspapers to denounce such deeds, and carry the news of them to every fireside. The pulpit, therefore, was the only means of communication upon matters of religious interest, and on the next Sunday Knox preached against balls in general, and the queen's ball in particular, and took occasion to denounce the queen's uncles, who had perpetrated the villany in question, in much such terms as they deserved.

For this offense he was again summoned to the queen's presence and charged with the misdemeanor. In reply, he recapitulated all

that he had said, verbatim, for the benefit of her majesty and her counsellors. After he ended, the queen turned her back on him, and Knox left the apartment, as he says, with "a reasonable merry countenance." Some of the queen's attendants, being offended at his smiling appearance, made some remarks as he passed through the ante-chamber, among which, Knox overheard the words, "He is not afraid," upon which he turned, and said, "Why should the pleasant face of a lady affray me? I have looked in the faces of many angry men, and have not been afraid beyond measure."

Notwithstanding Knox's faithful warnings, things went on from bad to worse. The probability of the queen's marriage to a Romish prince was publicly debated, and the cause of Protestantism was rapidly becoming desperate. In the midst of this general defection, John Knox again availed himself of the pulpit to warn the people of the calamities with which they were threatened, and particularly of the fatal consequences of such a matrimonial connection as Mary contemplated.

Again he was summoned to appear before the queen, who burst into a paroxysm of rage as soon as she saw him—scolding, weeping, and vowing vengeance against the man whom she had neither been able to disarm by flattery, which she had privately attempted, nor overawe by threats. Upon this occasion, all the formidable artillery of female wrath was combined with the fierceness of royal indignation to beat down the obstinate reformer; but Knox was proof against all these weapons, which so rarely fail to effect their purpose. He mildly insisted that the contemplated marriage would be ruinous to the interests of the nation, and exhorted the queen to dismiss all such intentions. At length, however, being moved by her tears, which, albeit, had more of rage than tenderness about them, he attempted a few words of apology, which, like the apologies of most straight-forward and simple-minded men, was rather awkward. He said he was really sorry to afflict her majesty; indeed, he did not like to witness the distress of any living being, and could hardly bear to whip his boys when they deserved it.

The queen now sought an opportunity to be fully revenged upon the intractable man who had resisted all her blandishments and threatenings, and she saw, with exultation, the day approach, when, stripped of his friends and his influence, by her arts, and the overshadowing authority of the crown, she might make him feel the weight of her long-hoarded indignation. At length the day arrived. By one means or other, the powerful friends of the reformer were

brought over to the royal interest, and Knox, with a few faithful ministers, was left almost alone to stem the current of popular feeling and royal influence. But so far as his conduct was concerned, it mattered little to John Knox whether all the world was banded against him, while assured that God was with him. Even the defection of these early friends, by whose side he had fought the battles of liberty, and the ungenerous reproaches of men whom he had long loved, could not break down the spirit of that war-worn veteran.

As the noble oak, stripped of its foliage by the frost of winter, tosses its arms as freely to the tempest, and offers its breast as boldly to the storm, as when it waved its leafy branches to the summer breeze, or dipped them in the warm light of the summer sun; so stood this doomed and forsaken man, steadfast and immovable.

Some Protestants having been cited to trial for riot, it was judged proper to send a notice to the principal Protestant nobles to attend the trial. Knox wrote a circular to this effect, and a copy falling into the queen's hands, it was tortured into an act of high treason, and Knox was summoned before the privy council for trial.

Previously to the day appointed, great efforts were made to intimidate him, and to induce him to acknowledge his fault, and throw himself upon the queen's mercy. His most intimate and powerful friends, even Maxwell and Murray, urged him to this course, declaring that they had had great difficulty in mitigating the queen's resentment, and nothing could save him but timely submission. Knox firmly refused to do any such thing. He said he was conscious of no crime, and, therefore, should confess none: and knowing that God would not forsake him, he cared but little what course any men might take.

On the day of trial the public anxiety was greatly excited, and all the avenues to the palace were thronged with people, waiting to hear the result. When the counsellors had taken their seats, Knox was made to stand at the bottom of the table, and then the queen, arrayed in great state, walked into the apartment, and seated herself at the head of the board. She had been assured that conviction was certain, and already she was anticipating the sweetness of long-coveted revenge. As soon as she saw the prisoner she burst into a loud fit of scornful laughter, and exclaimed, "That man has made me weep, and shed no tears himself. I will now see if I cannot make him weep."

In answer to interrogatories, Knox avowed himself the author

of the circular, but denied that it was treasonable. The queen's secretaries contended that it was so, and urged him to confess his fault, and his regret at having done a deed so wicked. As, however, they could point out no passage in the circular that could be tortured into treason except one, in which Romanists were accused of cruelty, Knox went into a defense of the assertion, and proved the cruelty of the Church of Rome so fearlessly and so effectively, that, notwithstanding the queen came to the rescue of her discomfited secretaries, and took the examination upon herself, the whole council, except the queen's immediate dependents, acquitted him of the foul charge—even the man who had accused him voting in his favor. Thus the Lord, in whom he trusted, granted him a triumphant deliverance, and covered his enemies with confusion.

Time will not permit us to follow any further the steps by which these two distinguished personages were conducted, the one to infamy, imprisonment, and the scaffold; the other to a peaceful and honorable death. Let it suffice to say, that the murder of Darnley, and the queen's precipitate and disgusting union with Bothwell, destroyed all her schemes when ripe for execution. The admiration and romantic affection which had made the most powerful nobles in the country her devoted slaves, was, by these monstrous acts, converted into fullness of loathing and abhorrence, and she was shut up from the sight of men, as an object too disgusting for the public gaze.

In the sixty-seventh year of his age John Knox rested from his labors, and fell asleep in the arms of Jesus. His end was serene and glorious. He had fought the good fight; he had kept the faith; and his soul was full of glorious anticipation of that crown which the righteous Judge would give him in that day. A few days previous to his death he sent for the pastor and elders of the church, in which he had so long labored, and gave them his parting benediction. On that solemn occasion he said to them, "The day now approaches, for which I have vehemently thirsted, when I shall be released from my labors, and be with Christ, and now God is my witness, whom I have served, that I have taught nothing but the true and solid doctrine of his gospel; and have had it for my only object to instruct the ignorant, to confirm the faithful, to comfort the weak, and resist the proud."

After repeated declarations of the fullness of his hope, and the joy of his triumph, John Knox was gathered to his fathers; and over his grave the regent Merton pronounced that noble eulogy, "There lies he who never feared the face of man."

It is one of the most remarkable evidences of the excellence of

Knox's character, that the gravest charge which even hatred can bring against him is, that of rudeness to a loathsome woman, whom some have chosen for their idol, seemingly under the influence of that singularly depraved taste which leads the heathen to select the most monstrous and hideous things to be their gods.

Some people have very odd notions of cruelty. Peter Pindar represents a French dandy as rebuking a wretch who was writhing on the wheel, because he made an exceedingly unpleasant and impolite noise; and really there are some "petit maitres" in our day who seem to be equally fastidious about breaches of etiquette. There are men who can read of the intolerable sufferings of a nation, under the wicked rule of a sovereign, and even of the murder of hundreds of obscure men, for the crime of worshiping God, without the slightest emotion of horror, and yet these exquisitely sensitive things are thrown into a paroxysm of sympathy when a free and fearless man has the harshness and hardihood to bring tears into the eyes of a beautiful queen, by telling her the plain truth—without a single redeeming grain of sugar to make it palatable.

There was once a rough man preaching in the wilderness of Judea, who called the dignified Pharisees "a generation of vipers." Doubtless they thought him very rude. Moreover, this same rough man forced his way through crowds of cringing things that disgraced the name of Jew, into the presence of Herod and his profligate mistress, and sharply denounced their conduct as wicked and scandalous. It is likely that the beautiful Herodias wept on that occasion, and that these same cringing and creeping things united their little voices to villify the barbarian who could thus disregard the passionate distress of royal beauty! But John was not a reed to be shaken by every breeze. He did his duty without fear or favor: he loved men too much to suffer sin upon them without rebuke.

Such a man was John Knox. We should not go into the moral wilderness, where the pioneers of truth are hewing their way through time-hardened obstacles, in search of men of soft manners, and silken garments, and courteous tongues. Such love to dwell in kings' palaces. We may find them in plenty, hanging about the skirts of power; watching each coming change, and trimming their little barks to every breeze of favor. But we must go to the waste places of history to find God's great men; those whom he honors; those who only deserve the name of *great;* men so nobly intelligent, and so beautifully good, that the mind can scarcely form an image of superior excellence without soaring above

humanity; men whose residence on earth may reconcile the most fastidious spirit to humanity, and the prospect of whose companionship in heaven may innocently mingle with our brightest anticipations of felicity.

"Names are things." It is unfortunate that they are so, for names are often inaccurately applied. Terms loosely transferred from the physical to the moral, have become permanently fixed by use, and often keep up erroneous analogies in the public mind. Thus the term "great," which in the material world is applied to things of superior size or vast extent, has been very improperly used as descriptive of moral excellence. Mere amplitude of intelligence, or of intellectual knowledge, cannot make a man *great*. In the natural world greatness is an element of sublimity; but in morals, sublimity is an element of greatness. Was Bacon great, who used his extraordinary powers to wheedle a woman; to secure a place; and to murder his friend? Was Carnot great, who prostituted an intellect, almost angelic, to sustain and perpetuate the government of the guillotine? No! no! There was nothing high—nothing superior to earth—nothing sublime in the character of these men: *they* were not great.

The essentials of greatness are purity of heart; a resemblance to the nature of Him who fills heaven and earth with the glory of his goodness; and united to this that wonderful "virtue" of which the apostle speaks; a courage which God only can bestow; and which, when given, makes the meanest man a hero.

God has many jewels. Some reflect his glory more brightly, others more beautifully; but purity and hardness are the essential qualities of them all. While impervious to all grosser things, their inmost depths are open to the rays of that luminary, for whom only they burn and sparkle; and with the serenest of them all, God can write his glorious name upon the highest and hardest tablets of this world's history.

If the possession of these jewel qualities constitutes moral greatness, then Knox was truly great. He was a man of clean hands, and pure heart, and fearless spirit. May God raise up many such who shall shine for ever, the crown jewels of Immanuel's kingdom.

Baltimore, March, 1842.

Art. II.—*The Coming of Christ.*

The celebrated prophecy of the destruction of Jerusalem, contained in the twenty-fifth chapter of Matthew, has furnished matter of triumph, alternately, to the Christian, to the skeptic, and to the Universalist.

The Christian has drawn from the particularity of its prophetic details, and the completeness of their fulfillment, a great argument for the prescience of its Author and the truth of his religion.

The infidel, however, arrests the Christian in the full tide of triumphant argument, by reminding him that the day of judgment is represented as "immediately after" the destruction of Jerusalem, and that both are, in fact, very much identified as one event. And this close and inseparable connection, he affirms, falsified as it has been by the lapse of subsequent ages, furnishes so glaring an instance of prophetic untruth upon the lips of Jesus himself, as to transform this argument for the truth of Christianity into a complete demonstration of its falsehood.

Thus the skeptical historian, Gibbon, assures us that in the apostolic age "it was universally believed that the end of the world and the kingdom of heaven was at hand. The near approach of this wonderful event was predicted by the apostles; the tradition of it was preserved by their earliest disciples; and those who understood in their literal sense the discourses of Christ himself, were obliged to expect the second and glorious coming of the Son of man in the clouds, before that generation was totally extinguished, which had beheld his humble condition upon earth." And this master of the "solemn sneer" adds, in one of his insidious notes, "This expectation was countenanced by the twenty-fourth chapter of Matthew and by the first Epistle of Paul to the Thessalonians. Erasmus removes the difficulty by the help of allegory and metaphor; and the learned Grotius ventures to insinuate that for wise purposes the *pious deception* was permitted to take place." And further to illustrate how substantial an item this is, in the floating infidelity of the day, we may refer to the conferences upon religion held with Lord Byron by Dr. Kennedy, in which the latter undertook to argue the noble poet into the Christian faith. "Is there not," said his lordship, "a prophecy in the New Testament, which it is alledged has not been fulfilled," namely, that "it was declared that the end of the world should come before that generation passed away?" Dr. Kennedy, like Erasmus, endeavored to remove the difficulty by the help of allegory and metaphor; and how satisfactory

his reply was likely to be to a shrewd, worldly man, may be inferred from Mr. Galt's closing remark, "It is manifest, without saying much for Lord Byron's ingenuity, that he was fully a match for the doctor."

Dr. Kennedy was, however, sustained by such critics as Dr. Bloomfield, Townsend, Macknight, and Dr. Clarke, and, indeed, we may say, by the main body of modern commentators, in thus applying to the destruction of Jerusalem those verses which describe the coming of the Son of man, in those glowing terms which are so obviously suitable to the judgment day alone. They have felt themselves forced to this expedient by the fact, that the latter of these two events appears to be "immediately after" the former; and by the declaration, that all these things should be fulfilled before that generation had passed away. And thus the Christian removes, or rather evades the difficulty, not much, perhaps, to his own satisfaction, and very greatly to the satisfaction, or rather the triumph, of his opponent.

The orthodox interpreter is scarce extricated from this opponent when the Universalist is upon him. This new champion hears with great gratification this clear concession, that terms which so explicitly describe a day of judgment are, after all, mere *allegory*. And then he claims, with great logical justice, that if the glowing description of the coming of the Son of man in verses 29–31, are merely an allegorical description of the destruction of Jerusalem, then, certainly, the "parable of the sheep and goats," chap. xxv, 31–46, occurring, as it does, in the same discourse, and being a mere expansion of the same thing, is allegorical too. And, then, if about the most vivid description of the day of judgment in the New Testament is mere figure, *a fortiori*, any other passage you may please to quote is still more certainly so.

All this difficulty arises from a single, though a prominent passage. But there is a whole class of texts in which appears the same obvious reference to the judgment, in which the skeptic finds the same affirmation that the judgment was to occur in the apostolic age; in which the orthodox endeavors to work the same transfer to the destruction of Jerusalem, much against the natural force of the word; and in which the Universalist obtains the same complete triumph from orthodox concession. Whoever is conversant with that part of religious controversy, can but see that this interpretation of those texts has been, in fact, the cockatrice's egg from which modern Universalism has been hatched. Such being the state of the controversy, we are deeply convinced that a thorough reconsideration of the whole subject may do import-

ant service to the cause of truth and to the interests of the church.

Let us first take our Lord's discourse as exhibited in the parallel passages of the three evangelists, Matthew xxiv, Mark xiii, and Luke xxi. What we would accomplish is, to prove, in the first place, against the skeptic, that the two events, the destruction of Jerusalem, and the end of the world, are not confounded, but, in fact, are distinguished and contrasted; and that our Saviour's words do not even seem to represent the judgment day as about to occur in the apostolic age: and in the second place, to prove against the Universalist that the passages descriptive of the coming of Christ are literal and not figurative, and referable directly and solely to the judgment day. And this without any use of allegory, metaphor, or double sense, but by a simple and legitimate resort to a gospel harmony.

The same course is obviously applicable to this and other *discourses* of our Lord, as is applied by harmonists to *events* recorded partially by different evangelists. For instance, in the calling of James and John to the discipleship, Mark relates that he found them "mending their nets." What a *vraisemblance* does it communicate to this circumstance, and what a confirmation to the whole account, when we find, by comparing Luke, that the miraculous draught of fishes had occurred just before, to break their nets! Thus a complete picture of the whole transaction is formed by the junction of the different parts, and what was before an inert clause, an apparently impertinent triviality, an unexplained allusion, and, sometimes, an apparent absurdity, is at once transformed into a confirmation of Bible truth. So when three evangelists give each an abridged sketch of the present discourse, if, without any marring or transposition, the sentences of one naturally fall into the hiatus of another, what is more just than that such an insertion should be made in order to explain the subsequent parts? What each reports must have formed a part of the discourse, and the only question is, how should the parts be made to succeed each other, so as in sound judgment to present a consistent and coherent whole.

Let, then, our readers take in hand a Gospel Harmony, (Robinson's Newcome, for instance,) or some other means of bringing together the sketches of the three different reporters, who have, we may presume, given this, as they have other discourses, with more regard to substantial truth than identity of words.

Upon our Lord's assuring the disciples that not one stone of the temple should be left upon another, they, in surprise, inquire, "Tell us, when shall these things be? And what shall be the sign of thy

coming, and of the end of the world?" This was an inquiry in regard to two very different events; and our Lord's discourse, therefore, consists of *two great divisions.* Division first terminates at the close of Matthew xxiv, 35, Mark xiii, 31, and Luke xxi, 33. All this first division treats (with the exception of a single parenthetic passage) upon the *destruction of Jerusalem.* Division second, commencing with Matthew xxiv, 36, and extending to the end of the twenty-fifth chapter, treats wholly upon *the day of judgment.* We shall first examine the first division.

As the disciples seemed by their confused manner of inquiry, as differently stated by the different evangelists, to confound together the two events, viz., the sacking of the city and the *end* of the world, our Lord employs this first division in correcting their mistake, and in giving them prudential directions for their own safety, embracing four successive paragraphs: 1. He directly tells them that the *sack* is not the *end;* 2. He draws a picture of the sack and indefinitely long desolation; which he contrasts with, 3, a parenthetic sketch of the *end;* and, 4, he gives direction how the sack might be escaped. We may analyze these paragraphs at length, combining the passages of the different evangelists.

First. *He warns them that the sack of the city is not the* END *of the world.*

Take heed that ye be not deceived; false Christs shall appear, pretending that (καιρος ηγγικε) the time hath approached of my second advent, Luke xxi, 8—terrible commotions may appear to you like a falling world, Matt. xxiv, 6. All these things must be, but *the end is not yet.* Matt. xxiv, 4–7; Mark xiii, 5–7; Luke xxi, 8, 9.

Many standard commentators refer *the end* here specified to the catastrophe of Jerusalem, and make this clause to mean—all these troubles must take place—but more still remain—their termination is not yet. But

1. It is far more natural to identify this "*end*" in our Lord's answer with the "*end*" just mentioned in his disciples' question. They ask, When shall be the end of the world? He replies, that false Christs will announce (what is not to take place until the final dissolution, namely) his advent, and national convulsions would seem like a falling world, but this is not what they inquired, namely, "*the end.*"

2. This phrase, "the end," occurs not only in their question, but it occurs twice again in the discourse which forms the reply. "He that shall endure unto the end, the same shall be saved," Matt. xxiv, 13. "This gospel shall be preached in all the world, and then shall the

end come," ver. 14. Arbitrarily to refer this phrase, four times used in the course of their question and his answer, in one verse to one thing, and in another verse to another thing, is no very scientific, and, perhaps, no very rational mode of interpretation. The very fact that "the end" of the world, as distinguished from the destruction of Jerusalem, forms the burden of both the question and reply, points to that as the true and uniform sense of the phrase. We may, therefore, now take it for granted, as we shall soon furnish reasons for believing that here, as elsewhere in the New Testament, "the end" designates that issue to which all our probation points—the final day—the judgment.

3. The fact that the end should not yet be, is mentioned as a motive for composure and comfort. See that ye be not troubled, *μη θροεισθε*, for the end is not yet. Be not dismayed, for you must face still more terrible disasters, they do not terminate yet—would be very cold comfort indeed. But, be not dismayed, the world will not fall—would to men, who, like the disciples, anticipated that event at the fall of the temple, a very tranquilizing speech.

4. This is evidently a cautionary and preliminary paragraph. Though false Messiahs announce that final event—Christ's advent presence—be not deceived: though the falling temple seem to presage the world's dissolution—be not dismayed. All these events do not demonstrate that one great event—these must be, but the END is not yet.

5. That the terms in this paragraph are general and preliminary is evident, for our Lord distinctly indicates that in the very next sentence—which commences the next paragraph—the details of the whole series commence: "The beginning of troubles"—the commencement of the series—would be contending kingdoms and nations, pestilences, famines, earthquakes, &c.

Second. *He pictures the signs—the sack—the dispersion—the mitigation lest the race perish—and the permanent desolation.* Matt. xxiv, 7-28; Mark xiii, 8-23; Luke xxi, 10-24.

The end, he informs them, is not yet; *for* the following events should occur previously:—1. National calamities, kingdom against kingdom, pestilences, famines, signs from heaven should be the beginning of troubles.—To the close of Matt. xxiv, 8; Mark xiii, 9; Luke xxi, 11. 2. Apostolic sufferings of persecution.—They should be violently assailed, but not a hair of their head should perish. Luke xxi, 18.—"In your patience possess ye your souls," Luke xxi, 19. The purpose and consequent result of this marvelous preservation follow, Matt. xxiv, 14, and Mark xiii, 10, namely, that the gospel might be perpetuated and be published

among all nations before the *end of the world* shall come. "And this gospel of the kingdom shall be preached in all the world for a witness unto all nations; and *then shall the* END *come*." The closing phrase, "and then shall the end come," shows that the reference extends to the final millennial spread of the gospel antecedent to the judgment day. The apostles were to survive at the destruction of Jerusalem, in order that the gospel might be preserved for this ultimate millennial diffusion. 3. The CATASTROPHE. —Jerusalem should be surrounded with armies and desolated. Luke xxi, 20. The Roman legions should possess the holy of holies. 4. Flight and misery.—To the close of Matt. xxiv, 21; Mark xiii, 19; Luke xxi, 23. 5. Those days should be shortened, lest the race should perish.—To the close of Matt. xxiv, 22, and Mark xiii, 20, omitted by Luke. 6. False Christs.—The Christians must not be deceived by them into the imagination of his (second) coming, for that would be sudden and blazing as the lightning. "For as the lightning cometh out of the east, and shineth even to the west, so also shall the coming of the Son of man be," Matt. xxiv, 27. An event like this, they need by no means confound with Jerusalem falling like a prey under the Roman eagles: "For wheresoever the carcass is, there will the eagles be gathered together," Matt. xxiv, 28. 7. General massacre and dispersion throughout the world.—"And they shall fall by the edge of the sword, and shall be led away captive into all nations," Luke xxi, 24. 8. The desolation of Jerusalem for an indefinite period, perhaps of ages.—"And Jerusalem shall be trodden down of the Gentiles until the times of the Gentiles shall be fulfilled," Luke xxi, 24. This expression of our Saviour is precisely parallel to the prophecy of the apostle, Romans xi, 25, "Blindness in part hath happened unto Israel, until the fullness of the Gentiles be come in." The apostle speaks of the rejection and judicial blinding of the nation; our Saviour speaks of the desolation of their city; the former would continue blind until the πληρωμα, the *full amount* predicted by God's foreknowledge, and required by his providence *of the Gentiles, should*, by conversion, *come into* his church; the latter should remain under Gentile subjection until that destined period. Our Saviour implies, and the apostle expressly predicts, their subsequent restoration.

Thus then, we have, delineated by an omniscient mind and rolled out before us, the grand prophetic chart of the fall and desolations of Israel through the lapse of ages, even to the period of the restoration. It is made out by simply treating our Saviour's words as, in all fairness they should be treated, namely, by taking all he

said together, and letting the different parts of the same discourse exercise their proper influence in explaining each other.

And here is perhaps the place to show, in confutation of the skeptical view, most conclusively, that the divine speaker did not represent or imagine that the dissolution of the world would be coincident in point of time with the destruction of Jerusalem.

1. If we have rightly interpreted the first paragraph of the discourse, its whole purpose is, to distinguish the end of the world from the convulsions of Jerusalem's downfall. If any one will carefully weigh the generality of the terms in which those convulsions are alluded to, such as, that they should "hear wars" ακουειν πολεμους (they would not, of course, take part in them, though their ear should be stunned with their clangor) "and rumors of wars," "and commotions," "and false Christs," their comprehension is sufficient to denote as far as it was as yet necessary, the whole troubles of the times. These general terms are, of course, more specifically developed and expanded in the subsequent paragraphs; but the rough outlines are struck out in the first. The false Christs, in particular, which are alluded to in the first paragraph, are delineated minutely in the latter part of the second paragraph, as taking place in prophecy as well as in history, even after the downfall. And then how sweeping is the last phrase, (compare Matthew and Luke,) "ALL *these* things must come to pass, but the END is not yet." It is needless to add, that if this be a correct interpretation, it is the whole purpose of our Lord to *deny* the very identity of those two events which the skeptical interpretation understands him to *affirm*.

2. We must maintain, equally against the orthodox commentary and the skeptical insinuation, that the prediction of the preaching of the gospel *unto all nations, and then shall the end come*, is a prophetic glance at the ultimate millennial spread of Christianity. We will not stop here to inquire how illegitimately Protestant commentators, in order to sustain the application of this prediction to the apostolic days, have resorted to the use of those legends which send the apostles upon missions into Thrace, Scythia, and even India, but which they are ready, in a controversy with papists, themselves to condemn as probably little better than religious romance. But the very form of the passage itself is very indicative of our view. To say that the whole world shall be evangelized, and then the whole world shall be dissolved, is a very well-balanced antithesis; but to say the whole world shall be evangelized, and then a city shall be subjected, is rather a lame and impotent conclusion. It is giving that strange and undue importance to the

sack of the Jewish city, which we shall have further occasion to show has disfigured modern theology, and given birth to Universalist heresy. Our interpretation of this passage brings it into harmony and mutual confirmation with all those passages that describe the latter day glory. And it serves to confirm the other proofs which we bring that our Lord contradicts the idea that the downfall of Jerusalem and the end of the world were to be cotemporaneous events.

3. More decisive, however, is the proof which we may draw from the passage (Matt. xxiv, 22; Mark xiii, 20) that the days of destruction should be shortened lest the race should perish. Why terminate the days of trouble in order to continue that race, if, at that very termination, the world was to be dissolved, and the whole current of the human race was to cease. Not only were the apostles not to perish, but the Jewish race was to survive; nay, a special shortening was to be provided that that race might be perpetuated. Most assuredly, then, the whole human race was to be continued. This seems incontestible.

4. Not only was the city to be destroyed, but (Luke xxi, 24) the Jews were to be led into captivity among all nations, and Jerusalem was to be trodden down by the Gentiles until certain times were completed. Now, it would take time, after the sack, for a whole people to be led off among all nations, and there be settled in captivity. The natural idea it presents requires a protracted period. Then the treading down of the city is expressed in terms of indefinite and permanent continuity. To the apostles the designation of the time might not have been very precise, but the continuity of this state of things has shown that these ominous intimations had a meaning. The whole air of the passage shows, in fine, that our Lord meant to represent a captivity of the race among all nations, and a subjection of the city of a mysterious and protracted length; and certainly when combined with the fulfillment, it must not only prove that our Lord did not expect the immediate dissolution, but must show an agreement between prediction and event very perplexing to skepticism and very confirmatory to Christianity.

5. The voice of ancient Christian history testifies that no Christian perished in the destruction of Jerusalem. Instructed and guided by the details of this very discourse, the disciples were inspired with the assurance, and informed of the means of escape and safety. So well did they understand its consolations and directions that every individual, watching the signs of desolation, fled to the city of Pella as a safe retreat from every danger. Demonstrably, then, the immediate auditors of our Lord understood,

and rightly understood, his words to declare that *universal destruction was not at hand.* They fled because they were taught to flee. They escaped to a place of safety, because they were taught that they could attain safety. They survived the destruction of Jerusalem, because they were taught, not that all flesh should then perish, but that the ruin might all be avoided and they remain unharmed. Whatever, then, may be the cavils of skeptics, or the misconstructions of errorists, this discourse taught its immediate audience that the dissolution of the world was not at hand.

THIRD. *A parenthetic sketch of the* END.—Taking it as proved, then, that in the first paragraph of his discourse, our Lord distinguished the downfall and subjection of Jerusalem from the dissolution of the world, and that, in his second paragraph, he depicted the former of these two events, it is natural that, by way of further distinction and contrast, he should draw a brief distinctive sketch of the latter. As this is not, however, yet his main subject, he would only fling it in subsidiarily, and then resume his former thread of discourse in the next paragraph. More clearly to mark the parenthetic character of this brief passage we shall present the phrases by which it is introduced in the evangelists in three parallel columns, but give more fully the passage as it is most fully given by St. Matthew only:—

MATTHEW xxiv, 29.	MARK xiii, 24.	LUKE xxi, 25.
Ευθεως δε. BUT immediately after the tribulation of those days the sun shall be darkened, and the	Αλλα. BUT in those days, after that tribulation, the sun shall be darkened, &c.	AND there shall be signs in the sun and in the moon, &c.

moon shall not give her light, and the stars shall fall from heaven, and the powers of the heavens shall be shaken: and then shall appear the sign of the Son of man in heaven: and then shall all the tribes of the earth mourn, and they shall see the Son of man coming in the clouds of heaven with power and great glory. And he shall send his angels with a great sound of a trumpet, and they shall gather together his elect from the four winds, from one end of heaven to the other.

We have already avowed our belief equally of the futility and the danger of solving this passage by means of "metaphor and allegory." We will now state one specific objection. If, as is usually explained, the sun, moon, and stars signify the luminaries of the Jewish state—the magistracy—this passage is both misplaced and untrue: for the Jewish government was demolished, and anarchy

established long before the city was finally sacked; but this passage is placed long after the sack, and, in Luke, even after the captivity and desolation—it is, therefore, upon this hypothesis, misplaced. But both Matthew and Luke *expressly state* that the downfall of these luminaries was "*after the tribulation;*" if then, as is historically certain, their downfall was before, it would be untrue.

But the most objectionable mode of allegorizing is, the expedient of a double sense. If commentators could make out a literal or a figurative sense, clear of difficulty, they would adopt it. But as they cannot do this, they destroy the difficulty by doubling it. Because they cannot make it either, they make it both; and thus make our Lord utter about two subjects at the same time, what seems to them to be applicable to neither.

In order to justify the allegory, parallel passages of highly poetical character have been produced from the Old Testament prophets. But one decisive rule of interpretation destroys their parallelism with this passage. No passage can be allowed to be all at once loftily allegorical in the midst of a prosaic context. Now this whole discourse is genuine prose. It is one thing to describe, as our Lord does, agitated scenes in plain terms, and another thing to describe, as our Lord does not, plain things in figurative terms. The Saviour is describing exciting objects and events; but he calls the object by its simple name, and states the event as it visibly occurs. If a figure is used, it is of an illustrative nature, and but an instant's duration.

Taking the passage, then, to be strictly literal, the only question now to be discussed is this,—Is there a true and clear transition from a picture of Jewish desolation to a picture of the coming of the Son of man to judgment? We will only adduce the following several arguments:—

1. *From the completeness of the previous picture.* We have shown, merely by combining the different sketches, without any violation of their actual order, that our Lord traces the whole progress from the first signs of ruin to the crisis, through the massacres, even down (Luke xxi, 24) to the dispersion and implied restoration. The picture is there complete, the subject done; what more natural, then, than to take up another? He had answered now the question of his disciples with regard to the temple's destruction; what more natural than to allude to the answer of their other question touching the end of the world?

2. *From a special notice of the time* (in Luke xxi, 24) *which was to intervene between these events.* It is this verse alone which traces the prophetic history of Israel through her later massacres,

captivities, and down-trodden oppression. "*And they shall fall by the edge of the sword, and shall be led away captive into all nations; and Jerusalem shall be trodden down of the Gentiles until the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled.*" What a stream of predictive light does this fling through centuries of Jewish history! The prophetic character of the verse itself, added to the inspiration of the evangelist, doubly proves the accuracy of his hearing of his Lord's words. Now when we consider that these words were most assuredly uttered by our Lord; that they are omitted by the other evangelists; that they naturally form the closing part of the picture of Jewish troubles; that they are placed by Luke before the words of this paragraph, as if to mark the break in the discourse, it seems quite certain that after this verse a chasm takes place between an old and a new topic.

And, what is decisive upon this point, this verse separates the two events, the sack of the city and the judgment day, in point of time, immeasurably apart. The chasm between them is indefinitely wide; and standing like separated continents, between them the waves of uncounted centuries are rolling. This verse presents to our view the whole successive ages of Israel's "tribulation," and Mark tells us that it is indefinitely somewhere in the times succeeding this tribulation, that the Son of man is to appear—*in those days* (which are) *after this tribulation, the sun shall be darkened*, &c.

3. *From the particles of transition and the introductory phrases.* Although the above verse in Luke fully prepares us for the transition by closing the previous picture, and bringing us down to the latter days, he has not marked the transition from the *desolation* to the *judgment* so decisively as the other evangelists. As his is the briefest and most sketchy report of the discourse, he places merely the continuative particle *και*, which "is put very frequently, in the New Testament particularly, in narrative style, where classic writers either put nothing, or use some other particle, as *δε*, *αλλα*, *τοτε*, and the like." (See Robinson's New Testament Lexicon.) There is, therefore, no contradiction in sense between Luke and the other evangelists who use those other particles. Matthew uses *δε*, which unfortunately is wholly *omitted from our English version*, and Mark uses *αλλα*, particles which, of course, are the proper indications of antithesis and contrast.

4. *From the probable emphasis of the introductory clause.* If, as is frequently the case, interpreters find the sense of a phrase decisively influenced by the emphasis, even in written style, this must be specially the case in a spoken discourse. If we may

suppose our Lord to have placed the emphasis upon the phrase, *those days*, in Matt. xxiv, 29, and Mark xiii, 24, the transition and the contrast would both be marked between the two pictures in the two paragraphs. The meaning, then, would be,—such and such is the picture of the temporal calamities of the Jews, particularly during our own time; but, on the other hand, in THOSE days to which you allude, in which the *end* comes, events of a much more stupendous and supernatural character shall take place. And this remark will serve to reconcile the introductory phrases of Matthew and Mark.

MATTHEW.—But immediately after the tribulation of THOSE DAYS the sun shall be darkened, &c.

MARK.—But in THOSE DAYS after that tribulation the sun shall be darkened, &c.

If, as some may do, we make the *those days* of Matthew mean the days of Jewish commotions, and the *those days* of Mark refer to the latter days—the ante-judgment days—there will be a slight but very important discrepancy. Matthew will then say, that the judgment will immediately follow and join upon the termination of the desolation, occupying the place of the restoration; whereas Mark only says, indefinitely, that the judgment will take place in *those* latter *days*.

But by supposing our Lord to have uttered the emphasis in Matthew upon the phrase, *those days*, we may easily understand them to denote the ante-judgment days, and thus agree with Mark. The antithesis would be—such is a picture of the woes of these previous days; but immediately after the tribulation of THOSE ante-judgment DAYS the sun shall be darkened, and nature's dissolution shall occur. And this will harmonize with the passages which teach, as we shall show, that there will be a tribulation—an apostasy—in the last days.

5. *From the contrast in the nature of the two paragraphs.* Every reader, we think, perceives that he has made a stupendous transition from a series of natural events to the supernatural—from the terrestrial to the celestial—from the earthly order of things to the breaking up of the whole system. When, therefore, we take all these considerations into one view, which show an antithesis between the two great events described in these two paragraphs, namely, that one picture is completely done before the other is introduced; that the twenty-fourth verse of Luke xxi separates the two events immensely apart in time; that the clearest adversative particles and transition clauses and distancing marks of time are used, and finally that the texture and structure and specific terms

of this paragraph all demonstrate a new body of events as the subject, what can be more plain than that the two events are as different as possible in nature, and as wide as ages apart? What is more clear, than that one event, namely, the destruction of Jerusalem, is named in order to show that it was at hand, and that the coming of the Son of man is named in order to show that it was not at hand?

6. Were it a clear point, that in every case where the παρουσια (*coming*, taken substantively) of the Son of man is mentioned in the New Testament, it designates his judgment advent, then would it be placed beyond all contradiction, that the παρουσια *coming*, mentioned both in the disciples' question and in our Lord's reply, designates distinctively the judgment day. We hope soon to make this evident by proof, but if we may now take it for granted, it is decisive upon this point.

For it is by this very word that the transition is prepared, and this paragraph is introduced. In Matthew, the two previous verses introduce two contrasted illustrations of the two events, namely, the παρουσια advent, and the πτωμα downfall. One should be like lightning flashing from heaven, the other like a carcass beneath the eagles. How natural, then, is the transition! He has described the falling carcass at full length; he has, in two concise similes, marked the contrast between it and the advent; and then, we have a brief glimpse of the advent itself, which, however, is immediately interrupted until the closing warnings and proper directions are given, in order to complete his whole discourse upon the first event. "For as the lightning—so shall the παρουσια advent of the Son of man be—and then shall appear the sign of the Son of man coming in the clouds of heaven," Matt. xxiv, 27–30.

7. The historic argument applies here also with great force. With the immediate hearers and readers of this discourse, there was no indistinct blending of the two great events. If it be true that the word παρουσια always designates the next visible advent of the Son of man, it must be equally true that they did not expect that great and final event, the παρουσια of this paragraph, to be coincident with the national downfall. Nor could they have imagined that the final παρουσια of this passage would, before that generation should pass, close the current of human events. The desolation of the previous paragraphs, and the judgment advent of the present paragraph, must have stood before their minds in clear and bold contrast. All this is certain, because it was by the clear delineations of this discourse that they knew the signs of ruin, the moment of escape, and the security of their refuge and preservation until the indignation should have passed away.

This passage, then, we consider as introduced *parenthetically*, in order, without changing the main subject, to suggest the contrast between the two great events. We may suppose that a summary of this entire division of the discourse may well be given in these words :—

"Be not deceived; the destruction of the city is about to happen, not the end of the world. And in order to distinguish the two events, I will warn you that the former will be preceded by the most ominous signs. Famines, pestilences, earthquakes, wars, persecutions, which will not destroy you, since the gospel must be preserved in you for ultimate promulgation—the siege—the destruction—the indefinitely long desolation—these shall constitute that train of calamities against which I warn you, (while, on the contrary, that sudden event, against which no warning can be given, and of which no time can be assigned, will consist of nature's dissolution and the visible presence of the final Judge,) in order that, watching the omens of this train of events, you may prepare and avoid them; for, be assured, that this generation shall not pass until all these things shall be fulfilled."

We may now take up the last paragraph of this first division.

Fourth. *Earliest omens of the downfall.*—Our Lord, having concluded his description of the destruction, brings our minds back to the commencement of the calamities, in order to give directions for watching and escaping the opening omens. 1. At the very beginning, they were to lift up their heads and look for their redemption. Luke xxi, 28. 2. He illustrates the signs of approaching ruin by the signs of approaching summer, put forth by the budding fig-tree; and, in the approaching catastrophe, they were to recognize the kingdom of heaven—the exhibited sovereignty of the Messiah—and confidently might they watch the events of this catastrophe, "for verily I say unto you, this generation shall not pass until all these things be fulfilled," Matt. xxiv, 34.

There need be no difficulty with this last expression. The scope of this whole paragraph (and the main scope of the whole discourse thus far) embraces the calamities of Jerusalem alone, and, therefore, they alone are comprehended in the phrase, "all these things." This expression has just the same comprehension as the similar phrase in the first paragraph, "all these things must come to pass—but the *end* is not yet."*

* It seems to us that some very unwarrantable and licentious modes of wrenching this sentence from its natural signification have been adopted by some orthodox commentators. Dr. Clarke, with unconcealed distrust, refers the phrase, η γενεα αυτη, *this generation*, to the Jews; others, with equal

Thus far extends the first division of our Lord's discourse, embracing the answer to the first part of the question proposed by the apostles. That it afforded to the minds of his audience, consisting, it would seem, of four disciples, a distinctive view of the event which it describes, a knowledge of the mode of escape, and the hope of a survivorship of an indefinite length after that event, is clear, both from the internal and the historical evidence. How clear a view the intimations of our Lord may have furnished them of the length of the period to intervene between the destruction and the judgment, is much less certain. To these intimations, *time*, the only infallible expositor of prophecy, has given an incontestable commentary.

Our Lord closes this first division of his discourse, and makes his transition to the next in a style of the utmost dignity. He is now about to pass from the destruction of a city to the dissolution of a world; and he introduces that last solemn event in the same breath with an asseveration of his divine veracity—*Heaven and earth shall pass away*—but my words shall not pass away.*

justice, and more than equal positiveness, refer it to the Christians; and we see no reason why it may not with equal propriety be referred to the Romans, whose race or descendants are still existing; or to the whole human species. An interpretation which makes a text mean vaguely any thing, makes it mean nothing, and is therefore good for nothing.

When the expressions, generation *of the righteous*, or *of the wicked*, are used, these adjective phrases, of course, fix a distinctive meaning to the word, and we easily understand it. But when we hear any one mention specifically THIS *generation*, without any other qualifying term than the previous adjective, it seems perfectly plain that he designates the present existing generation of men in contradistinction from the generations that have preceded and will succeed it. The natural antithesis to *this* generation is the last generation, or the next generation.

* The following harmony presents a synopsis of the three evangelists thus far:—

First Paragraph.			*Second Paragraph.*			*Second Paragraph.*		
MATT.	MARK.	LUKE.	MATT.	MARK.	LUKE.	MATT.	MARK.	LUKE.
4–6	5–7	8, 9	13		18, 19	22–28	20–23	
Second Paragraph.			14	10		—	—	24
7, 8	8	10	15	14	20	*Third Paragraph.*		
9	9	11	16		21	29	24, 25	25, 26
	10, 11	12, 13	17	15		30	26	
10	12	14	18	16	22	31	27	
9	13	15, 16	19	17	23	*Fourth Paragraph.*		
11			20	18				28
12		17	21	19		31–35	28–31	29–33

SECOND DIVISION.—We may easily imagine that as he passes from the less to the greater topic, the features of the divine orator should gather a new solemnity; and that, as he pronounces the thrilling words, "HEAVEN AND EARTH SHALL PASS AWAY," his frame dilates with the momentous thought, and, pointing to the heavens whence his sign will yet appear, he utters, with a thrilling emphasis, the first words of his next discourse, "But of THAT DAY knoweth no man; no, not the angels which are in heaven—nor the Son—but the Father only." And then follows the most solemn discourse perhaps ever uttered in human ears, descriptive and admonitory of that day for which all other days were made.

He had already, by anticipation, allusively pictured the Son of man coming and sending forth his angels to gather his elect. Every simile is used to illustrate most strikingly the suddenness with which the Son of man shall appear, and the selecting angel shall separate the righteous from the wicked. Like the flood pouring upon a world in the midst of wedding revelries; like the storm of fire bursting upon licentious Sodom; like a thief stealing upon the slumbering householder; like the bridegroom's midnight cry pealing upon the ten sleeping virgins, was to blaze forth the coming of the Son of man. And when his commissioned angels came to select his chosen from the wicked, it should be as two women grinding at the mill,—the one taken and the other left. The various illustrative parables of the abusive servant, the ten virgins, and the journeying lord, close with the scene at which both righteous and wicked meet again, though in separate bands, to receive the final judgment sentence.

This discourse upon the judgment day is for all the world in all generations. It is matter of record, preserved for the warning of every candidate for judgment until that day arrive. Those four disciples listened—not alone for themselves, but—for the universe. They stood representatives of the great whole; and in that character our Lord addressed them—"What I say unto you, I say unto ALL—WATCH." The church of Christ must never slumber, but expectantly *wait* until he come. The great ceaseless law is this: *that day shall take the world by a fearful surprise, and the*

This entirely corresponds with Newcome's Harmony, with the very important exception, that we place Luke xxi, 24 at the close of the second paragraph, whereas he places it opposite to Matt. xxiv, 21, and Mark xiii, 19, with which verses it has no resemblance. We place it between Matt. xxiv, 28, 29. There is a large hiatus in Luke; Newcome puts Luke xxi, 24 before the hiatus, and we put it after. The very nature of the verse shows that it finishes off the whole picture of Jewish calamities.

only way for every human being to escape its woes is to be prepared for its arrival. And this mode of viewing the subject removes at once all the difficulty arising from the apparently immediate approach which our Lord seems to ascribe to that event.

Upon a view of the whole discourse, two things, we trust, have been made evident. First, that our Lord did hold the judgment day to be really and literally at a great distance; and, second, that he has made it the duty of every individual ever to *feel* it near. This mode of treating this momentous subject undoubtedly characterized the entire style of the New Testament writers. And as very possibly this discourse formed the model from which they adopted their style, so our remarks upon it may form the basis upon which to found a solution of that whole class of passages in which the skeptic has attempted to find a falsified prophecy of an immediate judgment. Specimens of this class are the following:—"The end of all things is at hand; be ye sober, therefore, and watch unto prayer," 1 Pet. iv, 7. "Behold the Judge standeth before the door," Jas. v, 9. "Wherefore be patient, brethren, unto the coming of the Lord," ver. 7. "And you that are troubled, *rest with us*, when the Lord Jesus shall be revealed from heaven with his mighty angels, in flaming fire taking vengeance on them that know not God," &c., 2 Thess. i, 7, 8.

We cannot agree that either of these texts refers to the destruction of Jerusalem. The very excellent commentator, Dr. Macknight, reckons four several comings of Christ, and his views upon the subject are adopted and republished by Dr. Clarke.* These four comings are, 1. To destroy Jerusalem; 2. To destroy the man of sin; 3. At the death of the Christian; and, 4. At the final judgment. We must be permitted to believe that, properly, there is but one substantive "*coming*," namely, the second advent, and we fully believe that the reference of such texts as 1 Pet. iv, 7,

* Let us not be suspected of any want of respect for this eminent man. To have made acquisitions, and have achieved labors like his, was truly wonderful; to have been perfectly accurate in them all, would have been miraculous. But we regret to say that many of Dr. Clarke's comments have brought him under a most unmerciful load of popularity with a certain sect of pseudo-theologians. Had Dr. Clarke been well acquainted with that new and original invention in theology, modern Universalism, his attention would doubtless have been called to such a reconsideration of the texts in question as would have secured him from being their text-book whenever they wish triumphantly to confirm their misinterpretations with an orthodox concession. See his commentary on Matt. iii, 7–10; xii, 32; xxv, 31; Acts i, 25; James v, 3; 1 Pet. iv, 18; 2 Pet. iii, 3, and other similar texts.

and James v, 7, 9, and many others of the same nature, is *erroneous, unsatisfactory,* and *deleterious.*

It seems to us *erroneous,* for it is depriving words of just that meaning which every one cannot but consciously feel they do in themselves possess, and substituting a meaning which they do not possess. It is *unsatisfactory,* for the purpose of this substitution is to solve the difficulties of the rationalizing and skeptical—just the last men in the world to allow an unnatural and arbitrary meaning to be palmed upon a sentence, in refutation of their objections. It is *deleterious,* for when the orthodox and evangelical commentator indulges in arbitrary interpretations, and allows any words to mean any thing, he has no hold upon looser and liberalizing interpreters, and he may be well assured that they will use quite all the liberty his example sanctions. And experience has in this instance most painfully verified this assurance. What could modern Universalism do without its favorite solution of all the threatenings of divine punishment, *the destruction of Jerusalem?* This serves them in the place of an atonement; it bears away all the sins of the world, and takes all the curse. It serves as a common receptacle, in which, by a wholesale process, all the intimations of judgment and hell are promiscuously precipitated. Whether Paul at Thessalonica, or Peter at Babylon, threaten divine retribution upon the wicked, it is all at the city of Jerusalem. And to such a licentious extreme have they carried this that they have made the destruction of Jerusalem the main topic of the New Testament. It has been closely computed by an ingenious writer, Rev. Parsons Cooke, that, according to Universalist interpretation, of the amount of Christ's discourses in the gospel of Matthew, more were employed upon the destruction of Jerusalem, than on all other subjects put together, by the amount of one chapter! And the same author very justly remarks, "If I ever succeeded in digesting this monstrous absurdity, I would be honest enough to call things by right names, and label the New Testament, JERUSALEM'S DESTRUCTION FORETOLD." But these errorists find an ample justification for their wild outrages upon all interpretation, as they affirm, in the examples of their orthodox opponents, who concede to them that the only way to explain these passages, consistently with their expressions of immediate time, is to refer them all to that great cotemporary event.

We do not hesitate, nevertheless, to refer all those passages which Dr. Macknight quotes to sustain his fourfold coming of Christ solely to the judgment advent. And with regard to those expressions, which indicate the apparent proximity of that event,

we affirm three things, namely: 1. That it is certain that the apostles expected that event would be postponed far beyond their own day; 2. That for all those expressions of proximity there is an obvious and natural solution; and, 3. That this solution is expressly stated, and fully and repeatedly maintained by the apostles themselves.

In the first place, in the discourse of our Lord, we have exhibited ample internal evidences that he did not place the destruction and judgment of the world at the destruction of Jerusalem. We have ample historical proof that the apostles and early Christians understood him to place them immensely apart. And if this alone did not settle the question with regard to the views of the apostles, Dr. Macknight's argumentation on that subject is perfectly conclusive. St. Paul placed the judgment day at an indefinite distance, for he expressly stated that it would not occur until after the rise and fall of the man of sin and the restoration of the Jewish nation. Rom. xi. St. James (Acts xv, 17) indefinitely postpones it until the accomplishment of the same great event. St. Peter expressly affirms that in the last days men would argue from the permanent course of nature, that the promise of his coming was falsified. And St. John, in Revelation, gives a prophetic chart of ages yet to intervene before the final event. The only question then is, how to find the solution of those verbal indications of its close proximity.

A close collation of those various passages will perhaps bring out the following general result. While, as a matter of abstract doctrine, the New Testament writers affirm that the judgment advent is literally and physically at a great distance, yet, as a matter of feeling, they endeavor ever to maintain it before the mind as practically and *conceptually* near. All that is necessary to make this a certainty is to find not only that the apostle believed in the great distance of the judgment day, but that for their apparent implications of its proximity, there is a clear solution well founded in the nature of the human mind, and that this is the very solution which the apostles themselves carefully and repeatedly give.

1. This language, by which the dissolution of the world and judgment day, although acknowledged to be *physically* distant, is presented as *conceptually* near, is in perfect accordance with the spirit of early Christian faith and feeling. A whole system of conceptions, unknown, or but dimly and distantly descried by the heathen and even Jewish mind, surrounded, with a close contact, the soul of the Christian. As heathen, or Jews, they had known no Saviour; but an apostle could now tell even those who had never seen the

Saviour, that Jesus Christ is "set forth *visibly*, crucified among you." Philosophic theism had placed God at an infinite remove from all human concerns; but now, "ye are *brought nigh* by the blood of Christ." The supposed eternity of matter had infinitely postponed the end of the world; but the word now was, "The end of all things is at hand; be sober, therefore, and watch unto prayer." The insensibility of men's consciences had theoretically abolished the throne of divine retribution; but now one "is *ready* to judge the quick and the dead," 1 Pet. iv, 5. And this was not a proximity of position, but a nearness of relation. Nor was it verbally and literally accurate; but to the conception momentously true. Just as in speaking of the Deity, the abstract doctrine was, that God is a spirit without parts or members, while to the conceptions a more vivid sense of his existence was communicated by strong terms of anthropomorphism; so in regard to the judgment, while the sound doctrine was, that it was physically at an indefinite distance, the Christian could best impress the closeness of its relation to him upon himself, by holding it, both in *conception and language*, as ever approaching and ever present.

2. Nor was this feeling likely to cease so long as the church was conscious of having to do with the mind and language of a divine Being, before whose glance all distance is near and all time a moment—a Being who quickeneth the dead, and calleth things that are yet to be as though they were. All measurement of space and time is comparative. Compared with one's morning walk, Europe is distant; compared with the distance to the moon, it is near; compared with the distance to the sun, it is here. And thus the mind of the prophet, supernaturally elevated to a comprehensive view of immense ages at once, brought the judgment immediately near to the contemplations of the church. And this solution of this mode of expression is given with a philosophical precision by St. Peter, 2 Pet. iii. Scoffers, he tells us, in the last time would come, who would affirm a contradiction between the protracted continuance of the order of nature and the prophetic promise of His advent. That advent, according to prophecy, they would say was at hand; but an interval of one, two, or three thousand years is removing it to an unknown distance. But the apostle immediately elevates the minds of his readers into a more suitable comprehension of the language of Him, to whom he asserts that one day is as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day. In the divine dialect of such a Being an event might be pronounced as close at hand—at the door—and all the while these terms for a few days might designate a few thousand years.

3. And such a Being might be rationally supposed, when he spoke through his organs, the prophets, not to address men of the present time alone, but entire generations at once. And this solution is furnished by the whole tenor of the language of prophecy. The divine oracle was given not for the prophet nor for his contemporary auditors—for to him and to them it might be unintelligible—but for those who should behold or succeed its accomplishment. Thus the Jews, who possessed the sacrificial types, little understood their import, which the real sacrifice of the antitype has made so full of meaning to the entire Christian church. When Daniel had received his wonderful prophecies, he tells us, "And I heard, but understood not; then said I, O my Lord, what shall be the end of these things? And he said, Go thy way, Daniel, for the words are closed up and sealed till the time of the end." It was not to his eleven apostles alone, but through them to all the generations of his genuine ministry, that the Saviour promised, "Lo, I am with you to the end of the world." He also identified the four disciples to whom he addressed his discourse on the judgment with all to whom that judgment shall ever be a matter of interest, "What I say unto you, I say unto all, Watch." And St. Peter explicitly assures us, "That to them (the ancient prophets) it was revealed, that not unto themselves, but to us they did minister the things which are reported to you unto whom the gospel is preached." It is, therefore, to his universal church, filling not only all nations, but all ages of the world, that he to whose infinite movements a thousand years are as one day, declares, "Behold, I come quickly, and my reward is with me." It is over the great congregation, whose ranks extend through the range of centuries, that his advent is ever impending. The interval must not be measured by the span of individual life, but by the great life of the church. Her destinies are fast unfolding, and even before they seem completed, his advent may cut them short.

It is in this spirit that the New Testament prophets, in depicting the resurrection scenes, identify both themselves and the whole church with the generation upon whom they shall come. St. Peter, in the very chapter in which he explains the nature of the divine designations of time, gives a vivid description of the final dissolution, and a solemn warning of preparation to meet it. 2 Pet. iii. Similarly St. Paul identifies himself and the general church with those who shall be alive at the resurrection. "We shall not *all* sleep, but we shall be changed." The words "*we*," "*all*," evidently include the whole Christian church, part of whom should sleep, but not *all*. "The trumpet shall sound, and the dead shall

be raised, and we shall be changed," 1 Cor. xv, 51, 52. "We which are alive and remain unto the coming of Christ shall not *prevent* (*go before* into heaven) them which are asleep." "The dead in Christ shall rise first, and then *we* which are alive and remain shall be caught up." But as if to deny all specification of time in all this, he immediately adds, "But of the times and the seasons, brethren, ye have no need that I write unto you. For yourselves know perfectly that the day of the Lord so cometh as a thief in the night," 1 Thess. v, 1, 2. And when the Thessalonians, nevertheless, misunderstood this language, he expressly corrects their error, and however he may have painted its stupendous scenes as conceptually near, he assures them that events of unknown extension precede that final day. "Now we beseech you, brethren, (such is Macknight's translation,) concerning the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, and our gathering together around him, that ye be not soon shaken from your purpose, nor troubled, neither by spirit, nor by word, nor by letter, as from us, intimating that the day of Christ is at hand," 2 Thess. ii, 1, 2. So clearly do the New Testament writers guard their expressions of the "ideal presence" of the advent from being confounded with a real approach.

4. But there was a high practical purpose in thus cherishing, both in language and in conception, a close contiguity between the present hour and that final scene—between the responsible act and its divine judgment. That is likely to be the holiest church, and the holiest individual, who forgets the interval of time and lives in the very judgment presence. It is good to stand, not only near the atoning cross, but also near the adjudging throne.

And this was all the more natural from the fact, that with each individual and each one generation, the termination of life immutably fixes their state for the judgment. And this furnishes a solution of those passages which Dr. Macknight quotes to identify "a coming" of Christ with the Christian's death. As death puts them in their judgment state—as their cases were then irrevocably made up and their destinies unchangeably fixed—it was the most natural combination in the world ideally to identify death and judgment. When the eye contemplates two objects in the same optical line, the intervening distance is lost, and the conception identifies them as the same point. When the astronomer perceives two stars in the same optical line, he leaves out of mind the interval between them, and pronounces them "in conjunction." So when the eye of Christian faith, looking forward, beholds death and the judgment in the same optical line, it drops out the intervening distance, and

both are identified as one. By omitting the element of time—the only effect of which is to dim the true impression and produce a false security—that dread event is brought in all its just reality upon the mind. In comparison with the great future, eternity indeed—that line endlessly produced in the same direction—this intervening period becomes infinitely small—is nothing. And hence whether they came into the judgment presence through the portals of *death*, or through the *resurrection change*, in either case, there was a profound reason, as well as a high moral purpose, in viewing its awful adjudication as an event of unknown nearness and incalculable suddenness. These reasons seem to us to furnish a reconciliation between those passages in which the judgment day is *vividly depicted* as near at hand, and those in which it is *logically defined* to be at an indefinite distance, not only well founded in nature, but actually and explicitly stated by the writers themselves. Permitting them, therefore, to be their own expositors, we have no hesitation to apply to the judgment day all those passages which others have, on account of their apparent reference to immediate time, forced out of their natural meaning, and arbitrarily applied to a nearer event.

1. To the judgment day we unhesitatingly refer all those passages which designate a point of time when the result of our probation will be decided. Generation of vipers, who hath warned you to flee from the wrath to come—*μελλουσης οργης*—wrath about to come—impending wrath. Matt. iii, 7. "Exhorting one another daily, and so much the more, as ye see the day approaching," Heb. x, 25. "For yet a little while, and he that is coming will come, and will not tarry," ver. 37. So also the passages which speak of the *end* to which our probation points. "Who shall also confirm you unto the *end*, that ye may be blameless in the day of our Lord Jesus Christ," 1 Cor. i, 8. "If we hold fast unto the *end*," Heb. iii, 6, 14. And similarly in our Lord's discourse, Matt. xxiv. "He that shall endure unto the *end*, the same shall be saved," ver. 13. "All these things must come to pass, but the *end* is not yet," ver. 6. "What shall be the sign of thy coming and of the *end* of the world?" ver. 3. "The gospel shall be preached unto all nations, and then shall the *end* come," ver. 14.

2. All those passages which mention substantively a "*coming*," *παρουσια*, of Christ. We do not dispute that the verb "come," (*ερχομαι*,) and its present participle, are frequently used in another sense. They, in fact, are used to designate every powerful moral movement in which Christ "*comes*" forth to revive his church, and

establish, or extend, or chasten his kingdom on earth. In this sense Christ is constantly "*coming*" in the power of his kingdom, ever since his ascension. This is according to his promise to his disciples: "There be those standing here which shall not taste of death until they have seen the kingdom of God come with power," Mark ix, 1; "Until they see the Son of man coming in his kingdom," Matt. xvi, 29. Compare Matt. vi, 10; 1 Cor. iv, 20; Rev. ii, 5. Very different from the sense of ἐρχομαι is that of παρουσια, which, when applied to Christ, always designates *a visible and personal presence*. It is always rendered substantively "*coming*," but might properly be always rendered his JUDGMENT ADVENT. For as the lightning cometh out of the east, and shineth even unto the west, so shall the (παρουσια) JUDGMENT ADVENT of the Son of man be. Matt. xxiv, 27. What shall be the sign of thy *judgment advent*, and of the end of the world. Ver. 3. Christ the first-fruits, afterward they that are his at his *advent;* then cometh the *end*. 1 Cor. xv, 23. Before God, even our Father, at the *judgment advent* of our Lord Jesus Christ with all his saints. 1 Thess. iii, 13. We which are alive and remain at the *advent*. See also 2 Thess. ii, 1; Jas. v, 7, 8; 2 Pet. i, 16; iii, 4, 12; 1 John ii, 28; 2 Thess. ii, 8. All these passages fix their own application, with the exception, perhaps, of the last, which is the only one which Dr. Macknight quotes to sustain his second definition of Christ's *coming*, namely, a coming to destroy "the man of sin." "And then shall that wicked be revealed whom the Lord shall consume with the spirit of his mouth, and shall consume with the brightness of his coming," or *judgment presence*. We understand this verse to affirm that the man of sin is to be destroyed by moral influences. As, on the one hand, he is destroyed by the *gospel*, which is the spirit or breath of the Lord's mouth; so also by the blazing terrors of the *law*, which emanate from the *judgment throne*. But as it is the real *mouth* of Christ from which the gospel first originates, so the blaze of his law takes its ultimate origin from his real *judgment presence*. Hence the παρουσια of this text must mean his literal judgment. And we may further remark with regard to this whole prophecy of the man of sin, that although the apostle very properly introduces his rise and fall as proof that the judgment day was not at hand, it does not follow, nor does he say, that the judgment will *immediately* succeed his fall.

3. The same reference we make of one class of all those texts which designate *a final period;* such as the phrases, *last days*, and *last day*, *last times*, and *last time*. Such terms, of course, being in their nature relative, can have no independent meaning; and

their reference must always be decided by the connection in which they stand. The *last days* must always refer to some *first days*, with which they form an antithesis. Ascertain the *first*, and you fix the *last*. A close analysis will perhaps discover three different classes of these texts, and three different meanings of these phrases. 1. The Christian dispensation in contrast with the Jewish dispensation, which was *the former days;* 2. The *last days* of the apostolic age; 3. The *last days* of the world.

1. It was perfectly natural for the Old Testament prophets and the Jewish writers to designate the age of the Messiah the *latter* or *last days*. "The Jewish doctors," says Whitby, "lay this down as a rule, that wherever we find the phrase '*in the latter days*,' we are to understand it of *the age* or *the times* of the Messiah." So St. Paul, "God who spake in *times past* unto the fathers by the prophets, has in these *last days* spoken unto us by his Son," Heb. i, 1. See also Acts ii, 17; 1 Pet. i, 20.

2. The *last days* of the apostolic age. A comparison of different passages will, perhaps, clearly indicate that these phrases are used in this sense by St. Paul alone, and by St. John in allusion, perhaps, to him. St. Paul uses them to designate the time of that apostasy which was to arrive before the termination of the lives of those whom he addressed, namely, Timothy, the Ephesians, and the Thessalonians. This apostasy, which was to spring up within the church, we suppose, in spite of the vehement assertions of Tittmann to the contrary, to be the dogmas of Gnosticism, as they developed themselves in the early church, became imbodied in the antichrist of St. John, and ultimately came to a head in the papacy.

The only passages in which he uses the phrases in question are the two following:—"Now the Spirit speaketh expressly, that in the *latter times* some shall depart from the faith," &c., 1 Tim. iv, 1. He then gives a description of those errors which have been reasonably considered as belonging to Gnosticism, and thence adopted into papacy; and warned Timothy to guard the church against them. "This know, also, that in the last days perilous times shall come," &c., 2 Tim. iii, 1. This passage is a re-inforcement of the former. These passages, compared with 2 Thess. ii, will show that this apostle had a peculiarly clear foreboding that there should arise within the church, even before those whom he addressed should pass from the world, the commencing developments of a mighty antichristian principle. "For I know this, that after my departing shall grievous wolves enter in among you. Also even of your own selves shall men arise," &c., Acts xx, 29, 30.

With St. Paul's ὁ ἀντικειμενος, man of sin, in its Gnostic stage of development, we do not hesitate to identify St. John's ὁ ἀντιχριστος antichrist; and with the ἐσχαταις ἡμεραις last days of the former, the ἐσχατη ὡρα last time of the latter. "Little children, it is *the last time*, and as ye have heard that antichrist cometh, even now are there many antichrists; whereby we know that it is the *last time*," 1 John ii, 18. If we may suppose that the church whom St. John addressed, had, as the passage indeed itself clearly indicates, become impressed with the prediction of St. Paul, and perhaps others, that they were on the eve of the development of the antichristian elements, we may suppose St. John to identify the time of his epistle, as the predicted *latter days* and *last days* of St. Paul. We may then suppose St. John in effect to say, *Little children, it is the last hour* of Christian prophecy; for as ye have heard that it is in the last hour that antichrist is to come; so now, since many elemental antichrists are appearing, it is evidently St. Paul's predicted "*last time*."

3. The last days of the world. There is no admissible doubt that 2 Peter iii, 3–14, applies the phrase "*last days*," to the closing period of the world. "In the last days scoffers shall come," ver. 3. This passage is evidently quoted by St. Jude in the same sense. "Beloved, remember ye the words which were spoken before by the apostles of our Lord Jesus Christ, how that they told you there should be mockers in the *last time*, who should walk after their own ungodly lusts," Jude 17, 18. "Salvation ready to be revealed in the *last time*," 1 Pet. i, 5; the judgment advent, as appears from ver. 7. "Ye have heaped together treasures for the *last days*," Jas. v, 3; that is, the final retribution. In the singular number, the *last day* signified the resurrection and judgment.

Our exposition is now, perhaps, sufficient to present a harmonious view of the representations of our Lord and his disciples upon this momentous, but somewhat intricate and misunderstood subject. The principles which we have stated are obvious, and their application so natural that they guard the word of God, we would hope effectually, at once from skeptical cavil and heretical perversion. If any others have felt any similar difficulties, have gone to the wisdom of commentators with as little relief, and shall find in these views as satisfactory an elucidation as ourselves, we shall be doubly satisfied. If we shall have stirred up some more competent mind to a still clearer solution, greater still will be our reward.

Wesleyan University, Jan., 1842.

ART. III.—*An Epitome of the History of Philosophy, being the Work adopted by the University of France for Instruction in the Colleges and High Schools. Translated from the French, with Additions, and a Continuation of the History from the Time of Reid to the Present Day.* By C. S. HENRY, D. D., Professor of Philosophy and History in the University of the City of New-York. 2 vols., 18mo., pp. 587. New-York: Harper & Brothers. 1842.

IT is undeniable that the taste for philosophical studies has been greatly increasing among us for some years past. The indications of this fact are numerous, and continually multiplying. The range of inquiry, too, is wider, its spirit more profound, more independent, more critical. Time was, indeed, when the very term philosophy was a word of ill odor—synonymous, in good men's minds, with materialism, fatalism, atheism, and associated with all the abominations of the French revolution. But it has at length come to be recognized that philosophy should no more be condemned for these things, than chimistry for the quackeries of the alchemists; that the only way to put down false philosophy is to put forward sound philosophy; that it is absurd to seek to avoid the mischievous errors which have resulted from perverse speculation by attempting the impossible task of destroying the spirit of speculation altogether: for, by the necessity of his rational nature, man will never cease to speculate—to ask after the grounds of his convictions. It is begun to be seen how still more absurd is the course so long pursued by theological authority in the high places of public instruction, in marking off a certain domain of licensed philosophy, hedging it round with the Westminster Catechism to prevent all outbreaks of vagrant speculation, and yet, at the same time, installing, as master within that domain, the very father of French materialism and atheism, with Edwards on the Will as the special drawbridge to span the chasm between fatalism and accountability, to solve the contradiction between the allowed system and the dictates of conscience.

All this is good progress; for philosophy of some kind we must have, and it is high time that its true position and just claims were understood. It is a science of *facts;* facts that can neither be made, unmade, nor altered this way or that way, by any arbitrary assertion, denial, or mutilation; facts, therefore, which, as in every other science of facts, claim to be impartially observed apart from any foreign interest, to be accurately described and fairly reasoned from.

It is, moreover, the universal science—*scientia universalis;* because its fundamental principles are recognized by every human being, and because its facts are the universal principles of knowledge and truth for man. Every other human science derives from this science its foundations—its grounding principles. The facts of philosophy—the fundamental laws of human thought and belief—furnish the principles which are implied and proceeded upon in the construction of every special science. Not only so, but the whole life and activity of humanity, with all its infinitely diversified phenomena, is but the perpetual evolution of those fundamental laws of the human mind which it is the province of philosophy to recognize and describe, put in clear light, and arrange in their complete whole.

Now it may be thought that, as philosophy is a science of observation, the leading principles of which are to be found in every one's own mind, the study of its *history* can be only a matter of curious interest, of little importance in enabling one to come to satisfactory conclusions; and even that the ten thousand different opinions comprised in this history must rather serve to perplex than to aid the inquirer. Such a notion would, however, be as superficial and unsound in regard to the history of philosophy as in regard to the history of any other science. Impartial history is always a light, always a guide; and in nothing more so than in the history of human opinions concerning the great questions of philosophy. There are only a certain number of great problems which the human mind can propose to itself for solution; and there are only a certain number of possible solutions which those problems can receive. The history of philosophy shows this: all philosophical speculations for three thousand years are only attempts to solve a few problems, the same in every age; and all the systems that have existed in every philosophical period are only the recurrence of the same determinate number of solutions, differing in phrase and form, and in the different relative prominence given to them in their respective systematic connections, but ever at bottom substantially the same.

Surveying thus comprehensively, under the guidance of the impartial historian, the progress of human opinions, observing in every period, notwithstanding all differences of form, the same great questions coming up, and the same circle of answers continually recurring, the inquirer is put in the most advantageous position possible for forming his own conclusions. He sees why and how it is that so many and such contradictory answers have been given to the same few great questions. He sees the true

nature and real relations of the innumerable systems, and how they all fall within a very few general systems. He sees that the number of contradictory and incompatible systems is far less than at first appeared, and the decision upon their claims becomes comparatively easy. He learns the invaluable lesson of discerning between the substance and the form of things, of distinguishing the great question from the false or insufficient answer it may have received. He perceives that the same ideas, the same truths which he is accustomed to express in the forms of his own age, are to be found in almost every age in different forms of expression; and thus he is cured for ever of one of the most fool-born traits of the ignorant and shallow—that of despising the unfamiliar as necessarily the untrue or ridiculous.

We hold, therefore, that if the study of philosophy be made a part of every course of education, (as it certainly should be, and as the practice of all higher institutions admits,) the study of its history should ever be united with it. Hitherto, however, we have had not only no comprehensive work to put into the hands of the student, but absolutely none at all. The old work of Stanley is entirely out of question—a huge folio, yet covering less than half the ground. The more recent abridgment of Brucker, by Enfield, is equally useless for purposes of instruction—being too bulky, and, at the same time, extremely defective. A very poor translation of Tenneman's History of Philosophy has been published in England: but even if the translation were a good one, the original work is chiefly valuable to the advanced scholar for its *literature*, (as the Germans call it,) or references to the sources of history; while for the purposes of elementary instruction it would be of little use, from its want of positive details, and from the influence of the peculiar system under which it was written.

In the Epitome of the History of Philosophy presented to us by Dr. Henry, we have a good book where, properly speaking, we had nothing before. It supplies a real and great want, which has hitherto been altogether unsupplied; and it supplies it well. It is an excellent contribution to a most important department in the course of public instruction. Besides being adapted to academical use, and the only work in the language that is at all adapted to this use, it has also the merit of being, at the same time, a better, more complete, and trustworthy book of reference for the general scholar, than any other which can be named.

It is comprehensive—embracing a complete survey of philosophy from the earliest times to the present day. It divides the history of philosophy into five periods: the oriental philosophy, the Greek,

the first centuries of the Christian era, the middle ages, modern philosophy.

It is judicious. It is not—like too many, we may say most histories of philosophy—a series of disquisitions upon the systems that have prevailed, leaving the knowledge of the systems themselves to be supplied by the reader's previous study, or else vaguely inferred from the disquisitions; but it is full of positive expositions; it tells us precisely what the systems were. On the other hand, it is not a mere undiscriminating assemblage of all facts, all opinions, the significant and insignificant alike, partial and isolated conceptions, as well as true philosophical systems. It follows the course and history of philosophical theories in the proper sense of the term—conceptions which present a class of systematic ideas on the general questions, the determination of which decides the place and character of particular views. While, therefore, it presents to the student a great mass of positive notions, yet they all serve to show the general progress of philosophy in its different periods, and the logical connection of the various systems.

The plan is well adapted to an elementary work. The exposition of every system is preceded by such brief biographical and historical notices as are indispensable; then follows the summary of the system; then critical observations upon the system analyzed.

In analyzing every system, more care is had to bring out its fundamental characteristics and its chief systematic results, than to follow it into all the variety of its minute developments. The expositions are in general characterized by remarkable clearness; and, taken in connection with the observations, enable the student to get a more accurate and distinct view of the great systems of every epoch and their logical relations, than any work to which he can be referred.

Finally, the spirit of the work is admirable. It well exemplifies the remark of one of the most celebrated living philosophers: "That the true muse of the historian of philosophy is not hatred, but love." What we mean is, that there are in this work no traces of prejudice, party spirit, bitterness; no displays of the *odium theologicum*, nor "odium" of any kind. It is written with the greatest calmness, candor, and impartiality. Not that the writers of this work manifest any real or affected indifference, whether skeptical or contemptuous, for the truths at issue between the various conflicting systems which they analyze. They make no studied pretension of having no opinions of their own, nor caring to have: on the contrary, their personal opinions are by no means hard to be perceived.

Such are the general characteristics of this book. To the original work, as published by the directors of the college of Juilly, Dr. Henry has contributed important additions, forming nearly one-third of these volumes. The original work ended with the eighteenth century—with Reid, in England; Kant, in Germany; and Condillac, Helvetius, &c., in France. Professor Henry has brought down the history from that period to the present time in all those countries—presenting in a brief compass the results of an examination vastly extensive and laborious. He has, besides, made some important insertions into the body of the original work, particularly the period of English philosophy between Locke and Reid. These additions are made on the same plan as the original, and they render the work more comprehensive. We think he deserves the warmest thanks of all students of philosophy, and of public instructors, for the care he has bestowed in preparing this work, and especially his sketch of the history of philosophy in the nineteenth century—a task which but few persons in the country could well have undertaken, and perhaps none have better accomplished. It is a good work—a work of far higher intrinsic character and rank than it puts itself forward to be. It is not a book for the mere tyro: it is one that should be among the books of every intelligent reading man, as well as one that should be introduced into all our institutions for higher education. As a book for colleges and schools it demands, indeed, that faithful and earnest *teaching* on the part of the instructor should be combined with the study of it on the part of the scholar. This is the case with all elementary books that are of any worth; and where these two conditions are combined, the use of this work will, we are confident, be a rich source of instruction and mental discipline.

We add, in conclusion, one thing more, which, in our opinion, constitutes an eminent merit of this work. It puts, in a strong light, the important truth that there can be no real contradiction between philosophy and revelation. No one can attentively read it without arriving at the salutary conviction that all philosophical theories which contradict the fundamental truths of revealed religion, may be clearly shown to be either false or purely hypothetical; while philosophy itself furnishes the means of negatively vindicating every great truth of religion—that is, of nullifying every objection made on speculative grounds. The careful student of this work will not fail to be strongly impressed with this; and will thus learn a lesson of great and inestimable value, both in itself and as establishing the true position and just claims of philosophy.

New-York, April, 1842.

ART. IV.—1. *Herder's Præludien zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit.* 1770, 1774.
2. *Herder's Ideen zur Geschichte der Menschheit.* 1784.
3. *Hegel's Vorlesungen über die Philosophie der Geschichte.* 8vo. Berlin. 1837.
4. *Schlegel's Vorlesungen über du Philosophie der Geschichte.** Vienna. 1828.

I. *A philosophy of history is no chimera.*

THE course of universal history is regarded by many, perhaps by most men, as a mere circling of unprogressive changes, or an accumulation of fragments, and its most perfect written form as a piece of cunning mosaic; or, at best, they represent it as a vast process of crystalization, advancing only by external accretion, and destitute, as a whole, of any vital organism or rational significance, or moral end. The common prejudice, which we must meet and combat at the threshold, is, that a philosophy of universal history is a chimera. This prejudice results from the point of view in which the subject is regarded. To him who takes a trivial view of a subject, that subject cannot be expected to assume a philosophical aspect. "But whoever looks rationally upon the world, to him the world looks rational," says Hegel; and it is no greater paradox that the history of the world, through all the manifold variety of its phenomena, should preserve the unity of its animating and informing principle than that we ourselves, through all the changes which we experience in the substance, texture, and form of our bodies, and in the habits and capacities of our minds, should preserve our personal identity from childhood to old age.

In the first place, either a philosophy of history is possible, that is, it is rational to seek for its principle of unity, or else the past, beyond its immediate and palpable connections with the present, is as dead—as truly nothing to us as the images and scenes of the ideal world. *Why, then, should the study of history be preferred to that of fiction?*

Because it is more *attractive?* But who is insensible to the charms of fancy's fairy world? Does not the mind instinctively rejoice in the consciousness of creative power, and in retracing its exercise by kindred minds? Independence, not indeed of the laws

* Herder's Introductory Essays to the Philosophy of Universal History.
Ideas toward the History of Mankind.
Hegel's Lectures on the Philosophy of History.
Schlegel's Lectures on the Philosophy of History.

of the nature within and around it, but of the bare facts of external life, is its chosen element. Hence the mythologies of antiquity, the fables of the golden and heroic ages, and the world-creations of the epic and tragic muse. Hence the legends and romances, the tales and novels of later times. And who is ignorant of their attractions? When a person will use the strongest expression for his enjoyment in reading a book, he does not say, "It is as interesting as Herodotus or Hume," but, "It is as interesting as a novel."

Does the advantage, assumed for history, consist in the *absolute inherent superiority of truth to falsehood?* We speak of truth and falsehood with great looseness of meaning. There is truth in the fictions which emanate from genius, as well as in the facts of proper history—and that, too, truth of the highest kind—truth to the laws of nature and reason; while the truth that is wanting is only that of external actuality. But if fiction led us to study and taught us to appreciate the former kind of truth, and history failed to elevate us above the latter, history, instead of being superior to fiction, would fall below it in utility as well as dignity.

There is more of truth than hyperbole in Prospero's moral,—

> "We are such stuff
> As dreams are made of."

And while external things have their unreal side, the creations of poesy have also their substantive nature. They are phantasies, fictions, if you will, but they are none the less realities, for,

> "As imagination bodies forth
> The forms of things unknown, the poet's pen
> Turns them to shapes."

And those "shapes" are not arbitrary and accidental; otherwise there would be no distinction between genius and the want of it; one man could construct an epos or a drama as well as another.

The Julius Cesar of Shakspeare is no less a reality than the Julius Cesar of actual history, when the latter is isolated from all preceding and subsequent history. Homer's Achilles and Milton's Satan, King Lear and the famous knight of La Mancha, may have had no personal representatives in the actual world; but are they, in themselves, any the less great and significant realities for the human mind?

Compare the characters of Prometheus, the Cid or Hamlet, the tales of Old Mortality or of the later Oliver Twist, with the real histories of Herod or Caligula or Sardanapalus; and if these stories and histories are considered in their *insulated* significance,

who that is qualified to judge but would prefer the fictitious narrative, notwithstanding the inherent superiority of truth to falsehood?

But it may still be supposed that the practical instruction which may be derived from an *analogical use of history* gives it its great advantage over fiction. "History," it is said, "is philosophy teaching by examples. What has been may be again." True; and what has not been may yet come to pass also; for certainly the saying of the wise man, that "there is nothing new under the sun," applies not so much to an individual or specific as to a general view of things, not so much to separate facts as to the laws and principles on which they depend. In any other sense we may more truly say, "There is nothing old under the sun." No two leaves in the forest, and no two events in history, are exactly, and, in all respects, alike. Provided a work of imagination be true to nature, it may furnish, as well as actual history, a *norma* and a guide in practical life. Take the allegory of Menenius Agrippa, and was it any the less persuasive to the Roman plebeians because all who heard it knew it was a fable? Take our Saviour's parable of the good Samaritan, and as far as its interest, instructiveness, or effectiveness is concerned, of what manner of importance is it whether it were ever actually realized or not? In all the relations it involves, it is true to nature, and is, therefore, susceptible of all the application, by way of analogy, of which any history whatever is susceptible.

Perhaps it may here be objected that, if history and fiction be thus confounded, we shall in the end have no rule to determine what is natural.—But the test of truth to nature is not to be found exclusively or even chiefly in the narratives of real history; it is to be derived primarily from the laws of our personal consciousness and actual experience; without which, as a basis, neither history nor fiction could teach us any thing. Esop's fables are true to nature; by what tests do we discover it?

If, then, we read history as a collection of separate stories, as a mere narration of facts and events; if our interest in it is proportionate to the rapid succession and startling character of the incidents it contains; if conquests and battle-fields, and bloody revolutions; if diplomatic negotiations, political crises, and court intrigues constitute both the form and the substance of what we look for in it; in a word, if we neglect the causal connection and interdependence of the facts; or if, while we trace this connection partially, and within a certain limited sphere, we nevertheless do this in entire unconsciousness, or with a directdis belief and denial that there is a unity in universal history to which the

portion we are considering pertains, as an element or stage of progression—then, indeed, would it be difficult to show wherein the study of actual history is more profitable than that of poetry or genial fiction. If a limb be lopped from the tree, it retains its life and natural character no longer. It is thenceforth subject only to mechanical laws and artificial applications.

Has history, then, no advantage? We would not be thought for a moment to hold such an opinion. We are far from professing to maintain or believe that, in dignity or usefulness, fiction is equal to actual history. History, rightly considered, is far grander than any drama or epopée the mind of man is capable of creating; and its study, rightly pursued, is one of the most humanizing and elevating of all employments. But "rightly considered," and "rightly pursued," are important qualifications. How, then, should history be viewed? We answer in one word, *Philosophically.*

The mere common study of the details of history is not without its use, for it furnishes the facts in which the philosophy of history is imbodied; and these facts constitute one of the best studies for early youth, because they are then devoured with the same avidity as if they were fairy creatures, and are impressed indelibly on the memory.

There is a certain sort of philosophic view of history about which men talk very currently, and which they praise very highly, but which occupies a quite subordinate place in the scope of our present meaning. It is the pragmatic view. It consists in a sort of attorney's ratiocination and weighing of evidence; and, unless the historian is perfectly impartial, it often degenerates into special pleading. It is scrupulous in deducing the genealogy of the meanest trifle. It is never content until it has formed or presumed some immediate inferior cause—some rational, or perhaps selfish motive for every event or action. But it never carries the mind beyond the details and their immediate mechanical connections; it never rises so far above the surface as to command the whole field at one view. Such is the character, for the most part, of the histories of Hume and Gibbon, who are often styled philosophical historians. But nothing deserves the name of philosophy which has not placed before itself the idea of unity as its goal.

That philosophy to which we refer proposes to elevate history far above an equality with the noblest creations of mere human wit. It looks upon it as one great whole, whose parts are in organic, or at least indissoluble relations to each other, and which unfolds itself according to some leading idea that is its soul and centre.

We are aware there are those who are disposed to ridicule such a notion as this, who deny that the history of the world contains any such principle of unity, or if it do, that the mind of man is able, with any attainable data, to ascertain and unfold it. But is there, indeed, no higher philosophy of history than that minute and meagre one which traces the series of cause and effect from point to point, and makes no further generalization? Or must we wait till we have anxiously scrutinized every particular before we can be sure of having ascertained the general idea? Must we thread out the course of events in the mêlée of a battle-field, or plod through the details of a commissary's department to apprehend the scope and spirit of a national conflict? But if there be any philosophy of history for one age or nation, then there undeniably may be a philosophy of the history of all ages and nations. If any ruling spirit be discoverable in the history of a given period, then may a ruling spirit be discovered in the history of the world. Nearly two centuries since, Bossuet—and surely no man will accuse Bossuet of any unusual tendency to extravagant speculation—in his admirable discourse on Universal History, expressly aimed at the apprehension of this spirit, and made a gigantic effort toward it; but his ideas had not become sufficiently fused together to form one consistent whole. The political and religious history of the world he treated too much as constituting two parallel and independent series, while the progress of philosophy and of the useful and elegant arts was almost entirely neglected. While he expressly recognized an overruling Providence, and one grand design in universal history, he traced out the course of events in their mechanical succession, rather than with reference to any organic laws—he did not develop, he arranged. He spread before us, after all, a dead and formal chart, rather than an exposition of the living, breathing reality.

True it is, that when we survey the grand panorama of the world's history in all its variety and confusion—when we consider this medley of changes; empires rising and falling; civilization now advancing, now retrograding, now taking up its favorite abode in one region, now in another; forms of religion, once omnipotent, decaying, and abolished; systems of philosophy, once prevalent, growing obsolete; flourishing literatures passing into oblivion; whole races of men exterminated from the lands where once they lived and wrought, leaving behind some mighty pyramid or broken column, some sculptured idol or unintelligible hieroglyphic, mutely to proclaim their power and skill; and, on the other hand, races, comparatively barbarous, swarming from their forest hives, and

growing up to manhood and civilization in those same regions which their own hands had strewed with desolation, enthusiastically resuscitating those very letters which they themselves had buried under ruins and rubbish—distracted by such a view as this we are ready to exclaim in despair,—Man may determine the laws of motion which govern the wandering stars, the waves of the sea, or the winds of heaven; but the laws of his own historical development he may strive in vain to reach. Bewildered in the boundless confusion, he may be thankful for even a well-executed chart.

"We sail and traffic on the sparkling cerulean deep while under us lie the treasures and the bones of those who fared joyously on the same voyage before us. We should shrink from surveying the uncovered bottom, strewed with skeletons, monsters, cannon, moldering trinkets and parchment, and water-worn statues of gods. States advance slowly in strength, their full bloom is transient, loathsome their slow decay. How long must the barbarians gnaw away at the Roman empire, until one bird of prey had devoured the other, a scene as revolting to the eye as if the great bog-serpent should swallow stranglingly down the living crocodile! How long did Islamism gluttonize on ethereal Greece! And let no heart hope for aid or deliverance in the pursuit of any noble end. Undoubtedly an arm may be stretched down from the clouds, but as often to tear up by the roots an oak on the mountain top, as to hold it erect against the storm. Then think of what once was, and never will be again—an Alexandrian library, ships and cities full of the beautiful forms of art for ever sunk beneath the wave—and the irreparable thoughts of immortal Greeks! Sarcastically almost, fate has bound the freedom of a state to the spider-thread of accident—England's to a tailor's shears;* Genoa's to a skiff. There, however, it held, here it broke away."

Such is the language of despondency and skepticism. But the successful efforts of the human mind to ascertain principles, and introduce order into other departments of inquiry, should teach us not to despair, or doubt, or treat scornfully sincere and earnest attempts elsewhere. Those who think that the great fundamental law of history is to be discovered, if discovered at all, by a logical inference from mere passive induction, may well despair, for nothing lies before them but chaos and darkness visible. But that law is not thus to be inferred. It is not to be a sort of quintessence obtained by the sublimation of *all* the facts piled indiscriminately together in one vast crucible. It is, indeed, to be *suggested* by the phenomena, but only to the creative mind, to the mind familiar with

* "Robert Cotton is said to have found the Magna Charta at a tailor's, who was just on the point of cutting it to quite another measure. Fiesco's end is well known."—*Jean Paul Richter.*

the world of ideas, apt in the construction of theories, and possessed beforehand of some rule by which to distinguish the essential from the unimportant. Theory without induction is empty, but induction without theory is blind. Those, therefore, who are possessed with the prevailing prejudice that there is no way of inferring or learning any thing but from a plodding induction, may give up this search as bootless. But let us consider, for a moment, by what method the mind of man has succeeded in obtaining satisfactory results in other departments.

We see among the stars the far greater part passing from our eastern to our western horizon, night after night, and year after year, in the same relative positions; but a certain number we perceive wandering about among the rest, whose laws of motion, however, were long since determined by induction. Hence arose the Ptolemaic system

> "Which girt the sphere
> With centric and eccentric scribbled o'er,
> Cycle and epicycle, orb in orb."

Such was the complicated system "contrived to save appearances," as Milton says; and induction unaided could never have risen higher. Chaldean shepherds and European astronomers might have gazed at the heavens for ever; they might have made themselves so familiar with the laws of the planets' apparent motions, as to be able to predict for myriads of years their exact relative position at any given point of time; yet they would never, guided by this observation alone, have penetrated to the great central law of Copernicus. But that law, once conceived, dissolves as with a magic wand their cumbrous and intricate machinery, and renders the whole system so simple that a child may comprehend it. Now the point we here insist upon is this, that the discovery of this great central law was no mere inference from induction; it came from another and a higher sphere; it originated in a mind which was not a mere workshop, but which could create as well as elaborate, and which, uniting these two operations, was capable of producing a theory which so simply and satisfactorily explains all the phenomena that we are prone to think it might be learned directly from them.

"The wind bloweth where it listeth." It is the very symbol of capricious changefulness and uncertainty. Yet even the wind obeys laws which are, to some extent, discoverable. But he who, from its most general law of a tidal progress from east to west, resulting from the combined influence of the rarefying heat of the sun, and the diurnal revolution of the earth, should think to infer the course

of the wind at a given time on every point of the earth's surface, would greatly err; and he who, from observing the irregular and frequent changes in the course of the wind at any given place, should deny the existence of any such general law, would equally err. Nor is it by any means absurd to imagine that some inventive intellect, aided by careful observation, should ascertain the nature of certain modifying influences, certain minor and specific laws, whose discovery may be as applicable to the uses of life as the knowledge of the trade-winds.

None will deny that there is a general law of the ocean's tides; but that it is modified and entirely subverted in certain places and under certain circumstances, is equally undeniable; and he would be thought little less than insane who from this general law should think to deduce the height, form, and frequency of the series of waves in a given cove, or along a certain line of breakers.

Let these illustrations suffice. A philosophy of history is possible. And it is not to be denied, because it cannot be evolved by a mere generalization of the facts, nor even because it may sometimes seem inconsistent with, or diametrically opposed to, any portion of the details. The central idea of such a philosophy must not be conceived by solitary experience, but begotten upon it by a higher power. Apparent, partial inconsistencies, when we cease to apply this idea, are what analogy authorizes us to expect. It must, first of all, correspond with the higher laws of the universe which reason recognizes; and, secondly, be consistent with the *general tenor* of the most important historical phenomena, and serve as the key to their explanation.

What, then, is the great central principle of that indefinite series of changes and revolutions which at once arrests and distracts our attention? Whence come all these, and whither do they tend? Do they not all originate in a fountain of infinite wisdom? and do they not all concentrate to the accomplishment of some grand design? We observe the particulars; we trace their connection among themselves. This is one thing, and this is well. But what is the end and object of all these particulars? That is the great question. Instead of being satisfied with the beauty and gorgeous variety of the scene, like children gazing at the images of the magic lantern, we should inquire into the significance of what we see; through shadows and images, we should penetrate to realities; through facts and particulars, we should look for principles and laws. Analysis of the mere facts of history is but the dissection of a dead body. The vital principle is the true object of our investigation. History in the gross is unrefined ore; mere facts are the

dross; principles are the gold. Let no man, then, condemn the refining process because it is a *refining*, for only by means of it is the pure metal to be obtained. "We should look on history as rational," says Hegel, "not simply because its events, instead of being driven to and fro by mere chance, are held together by the indissoluble chain of cause and effect; rather we should look on it as *rational*, because it is the manifestation and work of conscious reason, which has proposed to itself a great end or idea, and is engaged in the process of its realization." We have first, then, to determine what this idea is; and, secondly, to show that it is in the process of being realized.

II. *Herder's scheme.**

Herder's leading idea in the work which we have placed first at the head of this article, was, *an organic development of the race analogous to that of the individual.* And though Herder afterward disclaimed this theory, yet as it naturally suggests itself on a

* John Godfrey Von Herder was born in 1744 at Mohrungen, in Eastern Prussia. His father permitted him to read only the Bible and the Hymn-book, but an insatiable thirst for learning led him to pursue his studies in secret. The clergyman of the place employed the boy as a copyist, and soon discovered his talents, and allowed him to participate in the lessons which he gave his own children, in Latin and Greek. He studied theology at Königsberg, where he became acquainted with Kant, who permitted him to hear all his lectures gratis. But he afterward wrote a severe criticism on Kant, entitled the Metacritic. He declined a professorship at Göttingen, and went to Weimar, where he led an active and highly useful life, and was on terms of intimacy with Göthe, over whom he exercised no inconsiderable influence. He died in 1803. In 1819 the grand-duke of Weimar ordered a tablet to be put on his grave, with the words, Licht, Liebe, Leben, (Light, Love, Life.)—*Vide Encyclopedia Americana.*

His "Spirit of Hebrew Poetry" is well known among us in an English dress. His works in the various departments of literature and philosophy have been published in Germany in forty-five octavo volumes. But his greatest work is that here under review. It was the favorite study of his life, and in it all the light of his great mind is concentrated.

Herder was distinguished for his philanthropy; he possessed the acutest sensibilities, and a most luxuriant imagination: and few authors have had a better influence on the public taste in Germany. As to his theological character, although he considered himself, and is considered by his countrymen, as standing in opposition to ultra-rationalism; there is much in his writings, and in his philosophy of history among the rest, (and, alas! how few German authors are free from the imputation,) which must grate harshly on the feelings of all who hold the Scriptures, of both the Old and the New Testament, to be, in the special and proper sense of the words, a revelation from God. In common with most German writers of all classes, he is apt to look upon the Bible from a position assumed to be higher than that which the sacred writers themselves occupied—to criticise, therefore, rather than to explain. Yet he

cursory survey of the history of the world, as it has been the favorite theory of many philosophers, and as it is one of the most prevalent, even in the learned world, at the present day, it must not be passed over without a few remarks.

According to this theory, the world first awoke to consciousness in the East, in the persons of the earliest generations of mankind, and there passed through its infancy under the immediate tutelage of the Creator and the subsequent sway of the patriarchs. Thence, as the world has advanced in age, and as the patriarchal sway in the East degenerated into despotism, the spirit of history has moved westward; first charging, as with electrical influence, the shores of Phenicia and Egypt, and then attracted to the islands and coasts of Greece and Italy, where it developed itself into the two poles of Grecian and Roman civilization. This period represents the sensitive and vivacious youth of the human race and the beginnings of soberer manhood. Afterward that progressive spirit was apparently annihilated, but really diffused and rendered latent by the thick exhalations and overwhelming floods that accompanied the corruption and downfall of the western empire; and finally, as the rust and rubbish were gradually removed, as the heavens again grew serene, and the atmosphere was purified from its corrupt damps and vapors, the same electro-spiritual principle began to manifest itself along the southern peninsulas of Europe, and afterward to develop a still greater intensity toward its western and northern shores. Having charged these, and culminating in the British isles, it has sent its sparks over the broad Atlantic, and lighted on the shores of America. This period is the mature manhood of the race.

There is something fascinating about such a theory, it must be admitted, and much may be said in its favor; but though it may be serviceable as furnishing an obvious and convenient bond of union for a looser view of the subject, it must be allowed to be quite insufficient as regards the exhibition of the true formal idea of universal history. Striking, pleasing, instructive, it may be; but it is too superficial. It does not penetrate to the real ground, the actual causes and connection of things, but seizes upon and gene-

seems to have been a man of deep and sound religious feeling. Few men, after all, have appreciated and loved the Scriptures better than he—particularly, however, the poetical parts of the Old Testament, and the evangelical histories of the New. He never meant to attack religion, but rather to defend it; and, doubtless, he felt and thought that he was so doing, even while suffering his mind to be led astray by the secret influence of a false philosophy and illuminism, which, in its full development and naked form, he rejected with disgust.

ralizes the mere external characters. It is like a system of mineralogy framed without the aid of chimistry. Besides, it is overhasty in reaching its conclusion, as all theories on subjects of this kind are apt to be. Assuredly if a Roman in the Augustan age had broached such a theory, he would have placed the maturity of the world's history in his own time and nation; and so might even a Greek at the time of Demosthenes and Alexander. Tertullian, in the second century of our era, having divided the history of the race into similar periods, actually placed its maturity in his own times. A modern European, and a German, of course places it in Europe at the present time.

But when and where are the old age and final decease of the world to come? Perhaps it will be suggested in reply, that a comparison must not be required to walk on all four. Nevertheless, if the world goes on, the fourth age must infallibly come, or the third must be unnaturally lengthened. In fact, America, if any thing is to be made of her by the supporters of this scheme, must represent the old age and decrepitude of the human race; unless, perhaps, they will call it the period of second childhood; or, reviving the fable of the eastern sorceress, they will suppose this continent the cauldron of rejuvenescence, whence, after due boiling and seething, the regenerated race shall recommence its westward pilgrimage. But must we give up our title to a share in the vigorous and genial age of our species? Is there really such a broad difference between the civilization and spirit of the race on the opposite shores of the Atlantic? Are we not still Anglo-Saxons? And are we not as fresh and youthful as our brethren? And, finally, is not this analogy to advancing age applicable rather to the rise, progress, and decay of separate nations, than to any similar phenomena of the race passing on through different longitudes?

That the culminating point of civilization has, in the course of history, been moving westward—and that the character of this civilization has changed as it has changed its seat—are facts, interesting and important facts; but that this diversity of character, as it has unfolded itself chronologically, should be compared to the diversity in the several stages of human life, savors rather of *poetry*, than of strict *philosophy*.

Ever since the earliest generations of mankind, as this culminating point has moved westward, men have looked back from its elevation upon an older world behind them. They have ever felt *themselves* in the vigor of youth and manhood. Thus *they* have felt successively, so *we* feel, and so, if we follow the teaching of experience, we must suppose that men will continue to feel

in subsequent ages, as this favored point continues its westward circuit.

But we must dismiss this theory as pertaining to the poetry rather than the philosophy of history. Herder's introductory work, which he entitled, "Preludes to a Philosophy of History," contained, besides a rapid outline, or rather a poetical epitome, in which this theory was the leading idea, an essay on the "Origin of Language," which received the prize from the Berlin Academy of Sciences; and the whole was published at least ten years before the "Ideen" appeared. Meanwhile, as with longer reflection, his views became more enlarged and definite, they seem to have grown more profound; at least he seems to have become more conscious of the difficulties of the problem he had undertaken to solve. In his preface to the "Ideen" he disclaims any serious intention of building an entire philosophy of history on the above-mentioned analogy.

"With the few allegorical words, childhood, youth, maturity, old age of our race; whose successive periods were applied, and were applicable to but few nations of the earth; it had never occurred to me to designate a highway on which even the history of civilization, not to speak of the philosophy of universal history, might be measured out with a sure foot. We must begin at a much deeper point, and the circle of ideas must be drawn with a much wider sweep, if the work is in any degree to be worthy of its title."

"Already in my early years, when the fields of science lay before me, adorned in all the beauties of the morning, from which the noonday sun of life detracts so much, the thought often occurred to me—as every thing in the world has its philosophy and science, whether that which concerns us most nearly of all, the history of humanity, viewed as a great whole, should not have its philosophy and science as well as the rest. Every thing reminded me of this, metaphysics and morals, natural philosophy and natural history; last, and most of all, religion. The God who hath ordered all things in nature by measure, number, and weight, and established accordingly the essence of things, their form and connection, their course and preservation; so that from the great temple of the universe to the grain of sand, from the force which holds the earth and sun to the thread of a spider's web, one and the same wisdom, power, and goodness, presides over all. He who, in the human body, and in the powers of the human soul, hath arranged all with such a marvelous and divine depth of intelligence, that if we attempt to follow the all-wise far in our thoughts, we lose ourselves in an abyss; how, said I to myself, should this God have foregone his wisdom and goodness in the formation and destiny of our race as a whole, and here alone have no plan?"

This plan may indeed exist, and we not be able to discover it; but if we are to have a philosophy of history, we must know or assume it, at least to a certain extent. What, then, is this plan?

According to Herder's maturer view, it would seem to resolve itself briefly into this—*that God created man with certain powers and impulses, and placed him in this world to act out his nature.* "Man's organization is fitted for a capacity of reason, for refined sensibility, for art and language, for noble impulses, and, consequently, for freedom; man is formed for humanity, religion, and the hope of immortality." That there are, likewise, in human nature, capacities for evil, is, of course, admitted. Thus framed and equipped, man is placed under an infinite variety of circumstances, and "his fate is given into his own hands." Hence Herder speaks continually of physical powers, of implanted tendencies, of an anima mundi, of *destiny.* The whole course of history becomes really, and notwithstanding all of Herder's special disclaimers, an unconscious process of blind fatality. "In all the periods of history every thing happens which can happen"—this is one of his fundamental laws. Of course there is properly no room for divine guidance after the orginal adjustment of the machine. Accordingly Rome, for example, *must* have risen and proceeded in every step of its whole history, just when and where, and as it did. "Under the circumstances it was impossible but that it should have been built on the banks of the Tiber, should have warred by land and sea with all the nations in those quarters of the globe, subjugated and trodden them in pieces, and finally found *in itself* the limits of its renown and the origin of its decay; just as it actually did. Every phenomenon of history is a physical product. All or nothing is accident; all or nothing is the result of immediate, positive will," [Wilkûhr, arbitrium.] By all this our author must mean to exclude all immediate divine guidance, adaptation, and agency; for, directly afterward, he expressly rejects as absurd and horrible the idea that, in any sense, the Roman empire was made, what it was, in order to prepare the way for the introduction of Christianity; as if, in that case, Providence or Christianity would be accountable for all the crimes connected with Roman history. "Indeed," he adds, "the philosophy of final causes has brought no advantage to natural history; but its lovers, instead of investigation, have contented themselves with plausible illusions. How much more would this be the result in the history of mankind, with its ten thousand ends involved and complicated into one another!" Nevertheless, is there not, even according to Herder, one grand focal end toward which all history is tending? If not, then there are no partial ends in the supreme Intelligence; every thing, as far as any design of Providence is concerned, exists for nothing beyond itself. If the Roman empire was not, in any sense, designed as a

preparation for the introduction of Christianity, then the Jewish state had no such design—then Christianity was not *designedly* introduced after the Jewish state and the Roman empire, in the accomplishment of their own destiny, had actually made preparation for it. At least Herder must admit this, for, according to him, "all or nothing is design." And further, if, as he says, God originally made man to be just what he has been, is, and will be, then, according to his reasoning here, why are not all the crimes of men to be laid to the charge of their Creator? Still more, if there is no principle to serve as a clew in history but the natural powers of man, and the physical laws of their development, then Christianity must be a mere product of nature—must, from physical necessity, have appeared just when and where it did, and have been merely one step in the natural unfolding of humanity; or—Christianity is no element of history. Here we join issue with Herder: "All is design, or nothing is design; all is fate, or nothing is fate." Either, then, Christianity is not of immediate divine origin, but a mere natural and necessary phenomenon, or God is still immanent in all his works, is still impelling, guiding, and governing the vast movements of the world's history.

> "There 's a divinity that shapes our ends,
> Rough hew them as we will."

Indeed, Herder himself, with strange inconsistency, sometimes asserts as much. He expressly allows and maintains a *providence* in history; he only asks that it should be *rightly understood;* of which the only consistent meaning would seem to be, that, while a providence is to be allowed in general, it is to be denied all particular application—which were a providence worthy of the gods of Epicurus.

If the admission and investigation of final causes in history is to be treated as profitless reverie, or as fitted for religious edification rather than for philosophical instruction; then, by parity of reasoning, how stands the case with the study of natural causes? Hume proved long ago that we don't immediately learn from experience the one kind of causes any more than the other. The facts are given. Why not state them and rest satisfied? Why go further, and investigate causes and principles? Is it in order to explain, arrange, and systematize the facts? The investigation of final causes performs the same office. Whatever reasons can be given for the investigation of natural causes will, in a philosophy of history, apply *a fortiori* to that of final causes. It is only by reference to the latter that we can approach to unity of view. But how can

we discover final causes? The facts are before us; by the aid of reason we ascertain their natural causes and connections; in like manner, by the aid of reason and revelation, we ascertain their object and end. This last process does not exclude the other. By no means; rather it *subsumes* and includes the other—it *cannot exist without the facts* and their natural connections—not, indeed, in their universality, but to a sufficient extent to betray their general tendency, or, in mathematical phrase, the law of their curvature.

It is a striking illustration of the confused or wavering character of Herder's views—at least according to our imperfect apprehension of them—that he closes the first part of the "Ideen," which contains a natural history of the earth, its productions, and inhabitants, with the remarkable statement that "the present state of man is probably the bond of union between two worlds." He says,—

"I cannot imagine that, as we are a middle species between two classes, and are in some degree partakers of both, the future state should be so far from the present, and so entirely cut off from all communication with it as the animal in man would gladly believe. On the contrary, many steps and results in the history of our race become to me utterly unintelligible without a higher influence. That, for instance, man has entered upon the path of civilization, and found out language and primitive science without higher guidance, seems to me inexplicable, and more and more inexplicable the longer a rude animal condition is assumed to have continued. A divine economy has certainly presided over the race from its origin downward, and gently led it along its path. But the more man's natural powers have come into exercise, the less he has needed this higher aid, and the less susceptible of it he has become; although even in later times the greatest effects on the earth have arisen from inexplicable circumstances, or been accompanied by them."

How, then, can we expect to obtain a philosophical view of the leading events of history without referring all to a divine economy, and humbly seeking for the grand design to be accomplished by the whole?

In his second part Herder establishes *the unity and Asiatic origin of the human race.* In his essay on the "Origin of Language," he had already proved the divine original and the *primitive unity of language*, and a subsequent confusion of tongues by some violent disruption. These results are the more worthy of notice, since Herder prosecuted his investigations independently of the authority of the Mosaic history, and openly professed himself ready to believe, in case the evidence should look that way, in *autochthones*, and the original plurality of the race: and the general cha-

racter of his researches shows him to have been sincere in this profession.

The third part of the "Ideen" contains a philosophical compend of universal history, viewed geographically and chronologically; from all which he derives the following laws, which may convey a tolerable idea of the various elements embraced in his theory:—

"1. *Humanity* is the final end of man's nature, and with this end in view, God has given the fate of our race into our own hands.

"2. All the destructive powers in nature must, in the course of time, not only yield to the conservative powers, but also, in the end, contribute of themselves to the general development.

"3. The human race is destined to pass through various stages of culture in various vicissitudes; but its permanent welfare is essentially and solely founded on reason and equity.

"4. According to their inherent laws, reason and equity must, with the course of time, gain a wider and wider influence among men, and promote a permanent humanity.

"5. A wise goodness rules in the fate of man; hence, there is no higher dignity, no more enduring and purer happiness than to act in furtherance of its counsels."

Thus Herder, after all, was compelled, by his philosophical instinct, to seek for some principle of unity. He found it, as he supposed, in the idea of *perfectibility*. He called it "humanity," that is, the realization of the ideal of human nature. Here is an end proposed, and the true end, if you will; but where is the law of progression, unless we admit an efficient providence, or resort to fate or the superficial analogy to the life and development of the individual? The most common notion in regard to the progress of the species is that of a gradual approximation toward perfection in general. This may be denominated the *popular* philosophy of history; and every true philosophical theory must include and satisfy it; but, at the same time, should furnish for it a more definite and appropriate expression. Of itself, it is too loose, too abstract and general to furnish any key to the great problem. It proposes a perfectibility without end or aim, or law of progression. The idea of human perfectibility lies, indeed, enfolded in the idea of immortality; but that the scene of this perfection is to be *here*, either in respect to the individual or the race, is neither implied nor so much as rendered probable by that idea.

"Human perfectibility" is a phrase which has been so constantly repeated, and so grossly abused by the French school of atheistic philosophers, that its very sound has grown disagreeable. With Turgot, Price, and Priestley it was a favorite idea. But to pass by the blasphemous ravings and reveries of Volney, perhaps no man

has ever carried out this idea more philosophically, thoroughly, and consistently—in the sense of the illuminist school—than Condorcet, in his "Sketch of a Historical Picture of the Progress of the Human Mind." According to him, the origin of Christianity was but a fortuitous event, growing out of the confusion and fanaticism of the times; and "its triumph was the signal for the entire downfall of the sciences and philosophy." He held Moses, Jesus, and Mohammed to be the "three grand impostors" that have deceived the world, and that "their religions, originating in one and the same source, are only the corruption of a purer worship paid by the primitive tribes to the universal soul of the world." (*Query*—Does this indicate, most, perfectibility or *corruptibility?*) He flatly declares all religion to be a sheer impediment to the progress of humanity; and yet, such is his hardihood that he even undertakes to "show how the religion of Mohammed, the most simple in its dogmas, the least absurd in its practices, the most tolerant in its principles, (!) seems to condemn to eternal slavery and incurable stupidity all that vast portion of the earth over which it has extended its empire; while *in modern Christendom we see the genius of science and liberty blaze forth* under the most absurd superstitions, and in the midst of the most barbarous intolerance." Thus he strikes the sun from the centre of his system, and it is curious to see what pandemoniac visions then rise upon his imagination. He has no doubt that the political example of republican France (with which he has the effrontery to couple the United States of America) will soon, and without fail, be imitated in all the civilized world. (Little did he dream of Napoleon and the holy alliance.) In his prophetic vision he hails the time when "brigand merchants" and "superstitious monks and missionaries" will cease to tease and torment the less enlightened tribes of Asia and Africa; and "will be succeeded by a race of missionary philosophers, employed in disseminating among them truths conducive to their happiness, and in enlightening them in regard to their interests and rights." (!) "The period, then, will arrive when the sun will no longer shine upon any but free men on the face of the earth—men who recognize no other master but their reason; when tyrants and slaves, priests and their stupid or hypocritical instruments, will exist only in the history of the past and in the plays of the theatre." One step further: "Among the advances of the human mind, most important for the general happiness, we must reckon the entire destruction of the prejudices which have established between the two sexes an inequality of rights, injurious even to the favored party." Nor is this all; there is to be an

indefinite progress in the sciences and useful arts; and in medicine among the rest; so that the time will come when the nature of all diseases will be understood, and they will be for ever abolished; "the time will come when death will be only the effect either of extraordinary accidents, or of the less and less rapid exhaustion of the vital powers; and, in short, the duration of the mean interval between birth and this exhaustion has no assignable limit." (And yet this same class of philosophers mock at the long lives of the patriarchs as impossible and absurd.) All the physical faculties are not only to be perfected in individuals, but that constantly increasing degree of perfection is to be transmitted by *hereditary descent.* "In short," he concludes, "may we not extend these same hopes to the intellectual and moral faculties? And our parents, who transmit to us the advantages or defects of their conformation, from whom we have both the distinctive traits of the countenance and the dispositions to certain physical affections; can they not transmit to us also that part of the physical organization on which intelligence, force of thought, energy of soul, or moral sensibility depends? And is it not probable that education, in perfecting these qualities, has an influence on this same organization, modifies and perfects it? Analogy, the analysis of the development of the human faculties, and even some facts, seem to prove the reality of these conjectures, which would roll back still further the limits of our hopes." There's perfectibility in its most illuminated form! With what face could such a philosopher scoff at the credulity of the Christian believer? We have made these citations, partly, as they exhibit a curious illustration of the manner in which a philosopher may theorize when his mind is no longer warped or clouded by any religious superstition; and partly as they show that the idea of human perfectibility is too indefinite a matter to determine with any precision the character of a philosophy of history, to which it may serve as a basis. Let us see, then, if we cannot find a more definite theory, which, at the same time, thrusts its roots more profoundly among real principles and vital causes.

III. *Hegel's scheme.**

According to the doctrine of several distinguished modern writers, and of all politicians, *the progress of human freedom is*

* George William Frederic Hegel was born at Stutgard in 1770. In 1816 he was invited to Heidelberg as professor of philosophy; and in 1818 he succeeded Fichte in the philosophical chair at Berlin, whore he died in 1836. He is considered one of the greatest of the modern German metaphysicians, and his philosophy has made an epoch second only to Kant's.

the central idea of the world's history. Hegel has constructed a philosophy of history *in extenso* on this apparently narrow basis.

"The Science of Logic" forms the basis and the centre of his system—a system which may be described as reducing not only all our ideas, but the essence of all reality itself, if not to empty logical formulas, yet to a mere process of pure thought. Nevertheless, it pretends to eschew all abstractions, and to be the most *concrete* system that could possibly be imagined.

Hegel has sought to reconcile the contradictions of metaphysics by asserting the logical identity (which with him is no less than the real identity) of opposites, as the basis of all truth. Thus, by laying down as a foundation the most monstrous of contradictions—as, for example, that God is at once absolute being and absolute nothing—he naturally finds room enough to accommodate, if not to reconcile, all possible contradictions. With a method so omnipotent, of course he shrinks not from the most difficult problems. It is no longer necessary to pursue the old thorny inquiry, whether *the one or the other* be true; he cuts the matter short by roundly asserting that *both are alike true.* He denies (our right of asserting) the *existence* of any thing which we may not fully know and comprehend. We have no right, for example, to assert *that* God is, unless we comprehend *what* God is, and only so far as we comprehend this; otherwise we "know not what we say, nor whereof we affirm." But even if Hegel himself had a clear apprehension of the meaning and bearing of his own assertions, (which may well be doubted,) certain it is that his disciples are as much at variance among themselves about the purport of his dicta as philosophers were before about the truth itself. They are divided into the right and the left Hegelians, according as they more incline to one or the other of the opposites which should have been harmonized—by mutual elimination. The latter party, sometimes called Hegelings, openly profess all the blasphemies and abominations of pantheism and atheism. Strauss, the author of a Leben Jesu, (Life of Jesus,) replete with bare-faced infidelity, and cool mockery (under the veil of philosophical criticism) of the most sacred mysteries and truths of our holy religion—Strauss, a professor of theology, may be regarded as quite too favorable a specimen of this party. The other side claim for the Hegelian philosophy a thorough universality, a logical consistency and strictness, and a high spiritual character, which pre-eminently fit it for a basis to a pure Christian philosophy.

Be this as it may, the pantheistic and rationalistic tendency of Hegel's system cannot be mistaken. And when we say that he calls a miracle a childish absurdity, and denies to the Deity any proper personal *consciousness* distinct from our own, we have said enough to stamp his theological character for this longitude.

His "Philosophy of History" has appeared among his complete works, which have been in a course of publication since his death, and have reached seventeen volumes, 8vo. It is a production which has some capital defects, undoubtedly, growing out of its author's philosophical system. But it must be admitted to be a masterly performance in its kind, displaying an astonishing grasp and precision of thought, and highly instructive for any one who may choose to see how the history of the world looks as surveyed from the point which he assumed as the centre of observation—that is to say, not the religious, but the purely intellectual point of view.

According to a favorite view of his metaphysical system, he holds that the reason (which is the prime and constant motor, the informing spirit of the world) has been *gradually* evolving itself and emerging into *consciousness*. The history of the world is, then, the progress in the *consciousness* of freedom—not in its actual manifestation or external enjoyment—a progress which is not accidental, but a necessary law of human nature.

Like the biographical theorists, Hegel makes a threefold division of history—1. The orientals, who only knew that *one is free;* 2. The Greeks and Romans, who knew that *some are free;* and, 3. The modern occidentals, who know that *man as man is free.*

Politically realized, this would seem to correspond to the monarchical, aristocratical, and democratical systems of government—though it is curious to observe that Hegel, lecturing in Berlin, states the historical order to be despotism, democracy and aristocracy, and monarchy! But he by no means restricted his doctrine to its *political* significance; although he expressly recognized this bearing of his theory, and it will naturally be treated as his leading idea.

Hegel is evidently in favor of a strong government, and very far from considering such a government inconsistent with freedom, as he understands the term. With respect to the origin of society and government he remarks,—

"An original state of nature, in which man is represented in the possession of his natural rights, in the unrestrained exercise and enjoyment of his freedom, is to be assumed as a matter of theory; but it must not be supposed to have had any historical realization. Freedom, although the *ideal* of what is original and natural, is not itself an original and natural state, but must first be earned and won through the instrumentality of a constant discipline of the understanding and the will. Hence the state of nature is rather the state of injustice and violence, of the uncontrolled natural impulse to inhuman deeds and feelings. By means of society and the state, *restraint* is indeed introduced, but it is a restraint of those coarse feelings and rude impulses—of caprice and passion. This restraint constitutes a part of the instrumentality by means of which the consciousness and the will of freedom, that is, of true and rational freedom, are first of all brought out. According to the idea of freedom, right and morality belong to it; and these are in themselves universal objects and ends, which can be discovered only by the activity of *thought* as it is contradistinguished from *sense.* It is the everlasting misunderstanding of freedom, to consider it only in a formal, subjective sense, abstracted from its essential objects and ends; and thus the restraint of the appetites, desires, passions, and caprices of the individual is held to be a restraint of his freedom: whereas such restraint is absolutely the condition from which emanci-

pation proceeds; and society and the state are the spheres in which freedom is actually realized."

But, after all, it most plainly follows, that, as self-government is the true condition of individual freedom, and civil government of social and political freedom, and as the more self-government is exercised the less civil government will have to do, therefore that political system is the highest in the scale of progression which secures the good order of the state, chiefly by promoting the self-government, that is, the intelligence and morals of individuals. And when men are individually intelligent and moral, and thus accustomed to govern themselves well, they are better fitted than any other party can be, to assume the administration of their own state affairs. Therefore, as in the progress of the world's history, the *consciousness* of freedom spreads itself from *one* to *several*, to *all;* so also political systems, passing from monarchy through aristocracy, must terminate in democracy. So that, on this scheme, as well as the earlier theory of Herder, we find the highest point of the scale placed precisely in our own times, and more especially in our own country. This circumstance may be regarded as betraying the partial, and, consequently, transient character of the theory. It is not *superficial*, like the other; it penetrates to a real, organic principle; but it cannot have seized the central principle. It is one important aspect in which the progress of mankind may be viewed, but yet a subordinate one. If we allow it, more than it can fairly claim, that it should represent *potentially*, like Herder's later views, the full development and perfection of the whole nature of man; then, indeed, the true goal would be presented, and so far we should have nothing to blame in either; but what we especially find fault with in both, is, that they either assign none, or an insufficient principle of the proposed development.

Hegel's work is essentially unchristian. He passes in review all the great epochs and leading historical nations; but confines his attention almost exclusively to the progress of the arts and sciences, and to the development of *political* and speculative philosophy. As a well-digested treatise in respect to these points, it is altogether unrivaled; but Christianity has a place in it only as one of the agents in completing the modern consciousness of freedom—in the emancipation and illumination of the human mind. Christianity, as one element of modern culture, is placed in organic connection with Roman civilization, and not with Judaism. Indeed, he devotes to despised Judea but two pages of his whole work. And here, though he allows that the idea of the unity and spirituality of the Deity is a sublime characteristic of the Jewish religion, yet he

cannot refrain from a piece of mockery altogether beneath the dignity of a philosopher. He complains that the idea of the *state* is incongruous with the principle, and foreign from the legislation of Moses; and adds,—

"In the conception of the Jews, [that is, of the Jewish Scriptures,] Jehovah is the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, who called them out of Egypt, and gave them the land of Canaan, [that is, he is a *personal* and a partial or petty God.] The history has some grand traits; the exhibition of the patriarchs is attractive; although odious features are introduced into the accounts as a whole, from the fact that this people in their rigorous and burdensome worship felt themselves elevated above all other nations, and were appointed to exterminate the inhabitants of Canaan. The history is polluted with miracles, too; for so long as the concrete consciousness is not free, the concrete apprehension is not free either; nature ceases to be deified, but is not yet understood. Moses brought nine plagues upon the Egyptians, but this the Egyptians were able to do also—the bringing forth of lice only was peculiar to Moses."*

IV. *Schlegel's scheme.*†

Of the professed philosophies of history, perhaps Schlegel's is better known among us than any other. It proposes, as its formula, "the restoration in man of the lost image of God," or, "the return of the race to that original state of perfection from which it had fallen."

* Who would not imagine that these last words were from the pen of Voltaire, as they certainly are from his spirit? They are not quoted, however, as an index of the pervading spirit of Hegel's book, but to be condemned as unworthy a place in any philosophical work. They were probably prompted by a hatred of the modern German Jews; a feeling which must not be forgotten in explaining the very general rejection of the Jewish Scriptures on the part of German theologians.

† Frederick Schlegel was born at Hanover in 1772. He commenced his literary career in 1794 by an essay on the different schools of Greek poetry. His first important work, entitled "The Greeks and Romans," was published in 1797; and his History of Greek Poetry in 1800. He then turned his attention to the study of Sanscrit and Persian literature, meanwhile writing articles on the early Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, and Provençal poetry, and lecturing in French on metaphysics to a Parisian audience. On painting, sculpture, and architecture, he wrote in the spirit of a Winkelmann. In 1805 he left the Protestant for the Roman Catholic communion, and this change of sentiment tinctures most of his later productions. In 1808 he published the result of his researches in Eastern literature, in a celebrated work entitled, "The Language and Wisdom of the Indians," which forms no unimportant step in the progress of modern ethnographical science. In 1810 he delivered at Vienna a course of Lectures on Modern History. This work, in two volumes, though reckoned by some of Schlegel's admirers his master piece, shows but too clearly the

This theory conceives of the race as, after the first great lapse, degenerating age after age until about the Christian era: since that time the process is supposed to be one of recovery and return, of revival and convalescence. There is no difficulty in assigning a sufficient reason for placing the turning point where it does, and having placed it there, the law of progression is sufficiently indicated in the Christian system which was then established. The previous history may then be regarded as illustrative of the insufficiency of all other means of recovery besides the evangelical, whether they were the light of nature and reason, and the appropriate objects to reflect upon, as among the Greeks and Romans; or whether they were, besides, traditional notices of a primeval state of purity and of the revelation then first made to the race, as among the orientals; or whether, finally, they were a subsequent revelation of the character and law of God, the external glory of which showed it manifestly to be by divine authority, as among the Jews. When all these means had been tried, and the race, instead of improving, had fallen lower and lower, then the great effectual remedy is introduced; and the progress of history afterward is to display and illustrate its efficacy.

The relation in which this system stands to those of Herder and Hegel cannot be better stated than in the words of the author. He says,—

"According to the different notions entertained of man's nature there are but two opposite views of history—two mighty and conflicting parties in the department of historical science. It is quite unnecessary to observe that we include not in either class such writers as, confining themselves to a bare detail of facts, indulge not in any general historical

contracting spirit of his new religionistic prejudices. In 1812 he delivered his Lectures on the History of Literature, which is every way an admirable production, an English translation of which has appeared in this country.

Schlegel was an active political writer, and in respect to the institutions both of church and state was a thorough conservative. In his metaphysics he had his own theory, which, as an idiosyncracy, will not long survive him. His speculations in this department were published under the title of a Philosophy of Life. In 1828 he delivered at Vienna his course of *Lectures on the Philosophy of History*. Toward the close of the same year he gave in Dresden nine lectures on the Philosophy of Language; and in January, 1829, he died—a man of great literary activity, immense learning, and rigid virtue. Though many of his works abound in beautiful and exciting thoughts—in enlarged and philosophical views, we find it difficult fully to relish, or perhaps worthily to appreciate them, on account of the haze of German indistinctness which shrouds many parts of them. He is not remarkably lucid in his arrangement of a subject, and he always makes us remember that he is a German, and too often that he is a Roman Catholic.

views, or even such as, vacillating in their opinions, have no clear, definite, and consistent views on the subject. According to one party, man is merely an animal, ennobled and gradually disciplined into reason, and finally exalted into genius; and therefore the history of human civilization is but the history of a gradual, progressive, and endless improvement. This theory may, in a certain sense, be termed the liberalism of historical philosophy; and no one, perhaps, has developed it with such clearness and mathematical rigor as a very celebrated French writer entirely possessed with this idea, and who, indeed, became in his time a martyr to these principles.*

"This principle of the endless perfectibility of man has something in it very accordant with reason; and if this perfectibility be considered as a mere possible disposition of the human mind, there is doubtless much truth in the theory; but it must be borne in mind that the *corruptibility* of man is quite as great as his perfectibility.

"But man is not merely a nobler animal, fashioned by degrees to reason or dignified into genius. His peculiar and distinctive excellence —his real essence—his true nature and destiny, consist in his likeness to God; and from this principle proceeds a view of history totally different from that we have just described; for, according to it, man's history must be the history of the restoration of the likeness to God, or of the progress toward that restoration.

"If, in opposition to the rationalist theory of man's endless perfectibility, we were to designate the opposite system of history, founded on man's inborn likeness to his Maker, as the *legitimacy* of historical philosophy; this title would not be incorrect, since all divine and human laws and rights, as they are found in history, depend in their first basis on the supposition of the high dignity and divine destination of man. Hence this view of history is the only one which restores to man the full rights and peculiar prerogatives of his being. Even to all other truths it restores their full force and rights, and it alone can do so without detriment to its own principle; for as this is the simple truth, it is therefore complete and comprehensive. It must even acknowledge that man, besides his higher dignity and divine destiny, is, and remains in his outward existence a physical creature—and though he be such, not in an exclusive, but only secondary and subordinate sense, still, in respect to his external being and external development, he may be subject to certain natural laws in history. In the same way it may admit that man, endowed with freedom, even when he rejects the religious principle, is still a being gifted with reason; a being that consequently on this foundation incessantly works, builds, and improves, in good as in evil, essentially, interminably—we might almost say fearfully progressive. This legitimate philosophy of history, which proceeds from the high, divine point of view, should be, as far as the limited capacity of man will permit, and, at the same time, without deviating into ultraism, a recognition, and a just appreciation of the truth, and thereby become a science of history—that is to say, of all which under Providence has occurred to the human race.

* The author probably alludes to Condorcet.

"Independently of that progressive power of reason inherent in all the forms and departments of human activity; and independently of the operations of divine providence, which form that high mysterious chain of unity that links together the different periods of man's social progress; independently, I say, of all these, there is a law of nature—a high and secret principle of nature presiding over the life and growth of human society—which, if kept in due subordination to the higher principle of providence, will not be found incompatible with it. The prevalence of this law of nature may be clearly traced in the history of mankind, and even in that of particular nations, when their social progress is not impeded or interrupted by violent or irregular causes. And in following the current events of history the historical observer can accurately distinguish the different periods of national development—the first period, of artless, yet marvelous, childhood—the next, of the first bloom and flush of youth—later, the maturer vigor and activity of manhood—and at last, the symptoms of approaching age, a state of general decay and second childishness. This energy of nature, which, together with the other higher and divine principle of human destiny, is inherent in mankind, displays itself even in the sphere of intellect, and particularly in the flourishing eras of art and science.

"But without the idea of a Godhead regulating the course of human affairs, of an all-ruling Providence, and the saving and redeeming power of God; the history of the world would be a labyrinth without an outlet—a confused pile of ages buried on ages—a mighty tragedy without a right beginning or proper ending; and this melancholy and tragical impression is produced on our minds, by several of the great ancient historians, particularly the profoundest of them all—Tacitus, who, toward the close of antiquity, glances so dark a retrospect into the past."

A system founded on such principles is certainly an eminently Christian system; and if Schlegel had carried it out with somewhat more of clearness and comprehensiveness, and with somewhat less of ultraism and Romish Catholicity, he would have left little to desire.

V. *The Christian philosophy of history.*

But in truth we have no need of Schlegel, or of any great German philosophers, to help us to a right understanding of the great problem of human history. They have expended all the stores of their vast erudition, and tasked all the acuteness, comprehension, and originality of their highly-gifted and thoroughly-trained minds to elucidate the subject, and, after all, they either "darken counsel by words without knowledge," or they send us back us to the simple word of God. *The Bible contains the true philosophy of history;* and we have but to avail ourselves of the clew which its principles furnish us to guide our steps safely through all the turnings of the vast labyrinth. But it is well to have marked how

reason stumbles in her presumptuous, solitary efforts, that we may henceforth cling with the more undoubting confidence to our heavenly Guide.

Edwards, in his "History of Redemption," has seized upon the Scriptural view, and made a rude and half-unconscious, yet vigorous and characteristic effort toward a development of it. We refer to this work not because Edwards is by any means singular in his theory, but, partly, because he is the only one we know of who has imbodied the Scriptural view of history in one work specially devoted to the subject; and, partly, that we might be reminded that we have on this side of the Atlantic, not only the Holy Scriptures, but a Scriptural and an American philosophy of history.

According to this theory, the first human pair having fallen, and the whole race lying henceforth naturally in a state of ruin; the great central idea of the world's history—the object which the supreme Being is effectuating by, and in the course of human affairs, is the redemption of mankind by Jesus Christ. The history of redemption is, therefore, the basis and nucleus of the history of the world; while the Christian revelation discloses the goal and the law of progression. The process of recovery is made to go on from the first, (herein diverging slightly from Schlegel's view,) the completion of the revelation in Christ being made to reflect its influence back, as it were, and, through faith in the divine promises, rendering temporarily effectual that whose primary significance and design were to foreshow and prepare the way for Him who should come. Thus the great central point is the cross of Christ—the great central fact, the manifestation of God in the flesh. Both Schlegel and Edwards, in accordance with the Scriptures, have seized upon the sublime conception that all the events and changes in the course of human affairs, have in the mind of Him "who sits upon the circle of the earth," and directs the whole, their chief importance and end, in some more or less direct relation to the great work of human redemption. What more noble idea of history can be imagined? What higher or more delightful pursuit can be conceived than to trace out, in the boundless variety of particulars, their relation to this central object?

Here, as elsewhere, the Christian view is the most philosophical. And it is evident that, if Christianity be true, the philosophy that persists to neglect it, must be a lame, imperfect, and, so far, a false philosophy. Philosophy cannot pass by Christianity in silent contempt, as it fain would often do, and pursue its inquiries as if, at least by hypothesis, no such thing as Christianity existed. Christianity does exist. It is there,—and no philosophy can alter the

fact. It is undeniably an element in the problem which philosophy has to solve; it claims to be the highest element. This claim must be fairly met; it must be either admitted or refuted. There is no middle ground. If any, therefore, object to this view as narrow and religionistic, the only possible position that is left them to stand upon is that of a flat denial of the truth and validity of the Christian revelation. If they will have a philosophy of history at all, they must include Christianity, for it is a *part* of history; and if they will have a *true* philosophy of history, they must assign Christianity its true place and import in the system of which it is a part. The decision absolutely cannot be evaded. If, then, meeting the question boldly, we assign to Christianity the highest place, as it claims, we cannot avoid taking the Scriptural view, as presented by Edwards and Schlegel, at least as furnishing the *central idea*, if not a complete view of the whole system. There are, doubtless, other views revolving as secondaries around this primary idea, which have an important reaction upon this idea, and are themselves subordinate centres, well worth visiting as temporary points of observation. Bearing this in mind we shall have no difficulty in appreciating the several theories which have been advanced, and assigning to each its peculiar sphere. They are all true in their appropriate places; for man may be viewed as a moral and spiritual, or as an intellectual and social, or as a sensitive being; and it is with a primary reference to one or the other of these views of man, that the several theories of his history have been constructed.

Herder's theory of advancing age, and of natural energies and laws, refers more to the physical and sensitive man, less to the intellectual, and least to the moral and spiritual.

Hegel's theory of the increasing consciousness of freedom refers more to the intellectual and social man, less to the moral and spiritual, and least to the physical and sensitive.

While the Scriptural theory of the regeneration of the race by the power of Christianity refers more to the moral and spiritual, less to the intellectual, and least again to the physical and sensitive man.

Thus they may all be reconciled, and all combined, not, indeed, on a footing of equality, but in their due subordination, the precedence being given to the last. Indeed, the last, in its complete form, resumes and includes the others, and, together with these, the indefinite no-theory of endless perfectibility, so far as it has any foundation in truth; for the work of human redemption aims at the highest development and improvement of man in all the essential

elements and appropriate relations of his nature. And it is only by virtue of the latent energy, and through a secret reference in the supreme Intelligence to the final triumph of the Christian church, that in all departments there is a tendency, and, on the whole, a progress, toward perfection.

That there is such a progress ought not to be doubted, for it is in accordance both with the instinct of the race, and with the anticipations of Christianity. We ought not to regard the history of mankind as a mere succession of revolutions in the same circle, without any absolute progression. This seems, indeed, to be the law of the material and irrational world. The heavenly bodies continue to move round in nearly unvaried orbits. The different species of plants and the lower animals grow up from the embryo, flourish and decay, generation after generation, and age after age, without any proper advance. The general face of nature remains as of old. But is it, can it be so with rational and immortal man? These very characteristics of his nature forbid the supposition. It is true that since our earth has existed, there is abundant evidence of a progress in the material and irrational kingdoms, but *that* only by the substitution of a higher order of animals, or a more perfect species of plants for lower and less perfect kinds which had become extinct. There is not a gradual elevation or passing of one circle into the other, but one comes instead of the other. And we might naturally anticipate that whatever merely moves round and round in the same track must one day be annihilated to make room for something better. We ought not, then, to conceive of the progress of a race, endued with the high attributes of reason, as a properly circular, but rather as a *spiral* motion, returning from time to time to a position analogous to a former one, but always on a higher level. Such must be the progress of mankind—not that we are to subscribe to Condorcet's illuminist dream of an absolutely-endless progression in physical, intellectual, and social perfectibility—at least not in this present state—for the nature and capacities of man are limited, and "a more sure word of prophecy" teaches us to look for a final consummation of all sublunary things.

But the progress of mankind, such as it is, is far from being a straight-forward progress. There have been fearfully great *reactions* in history, and there may yet be greater and more fearful. Among the Jews there were great reactions from the time of Moses to that of John the Baptist; yet, on the whole, who can doubt that there was real progress both in intellectual and moral culture? That astonishing tendency to idolatry which had for ages been the besetting sin of that stiff-necked people, and the *fons et origo* of

their frequent calamities and captivities, had at last been radically cured. This single fact is enough to show an incalculable advance in mental and moral elevation.

But when the Jews, through later corruption, and in consequence of their obstinate rejection of the Messiah, were finally overthrown and dispersed—when their venerable and magnificent city, which had been "the joy of the whole earth," and that glorious and beautiful temple where their fathers had worshiped, were laid in smouldering ruins, and trodden down under the iron foot of Roman domination; even then Christianity rose majestic from the ashes, soaring on loftier pinions, and bearing in her bosom the elements of a greater melioration and advancement, than the world had ever before seen.

Afterward came the yet more hopeless reaction of the *dark ages*, or rather, which preceded those ages; for, from a higher point of view, so far from the latter epoch appearing as an impediment in the progress of the race, it was rather a *pause* for the purpose of removing obstructions already existing—a *retiring* for the purpose of gaining greater momentum. The universal and indescribable corruption which had combined itself with Roman civilization; so that it had become another name for the age immediately succeeding the Augustan—"corrumpere et corrumpi sæculum vocatur" —would seem to have been too strong to be overcome and absorbed by the infant energies of the new religion. Christianity, therefore, seems to have seized upon the existing civilization to serve as the means of commanding the attention, and establishing its dominion over the hearts of those rude but comparatively untainted barbarians who were settling in swarms upon the decaying empire. It took firm hold of enough of the cultivated Romans to serve as its instruments in converting and civilizing their conquerors. Christianity combined well with Roman civilization, but could not combine with Roman corruption. Among the barbarians it found much better materials to work upon—for a rough block is better than a rotten one: but to educe from such materials the noble shape and physiognomy of humanized, enlightened, and Christian men, was necessarily a long and painful process. This was the office and vocation of the middle ages.

As these ages open, what is the scene that presents itself? The mangled limbs and splintered fragments of a long since death-struck and decaying society, trampled upon and trodden into the earth by numberless invading hordes, uncouth and rude, and wild, yet sound at heart, and full of native sap and energy. In the midst of this confusion and wide-spread ruin we seem to see the meek

but celestial form of Christianity diligently and piously gathering up, with one hand, every remnant of civilization, and every pure ray of intellectual light from the polluted ruins; and, with the other, gently beckoning to the proud and savage spoilers, as in reckless impetuosity they are pursuing their work of desolation. At the waving of her hand, their violence is checked; their hearts are softened; they pause in their career; they slowly approach; they bow; they kneel; they receive from her hand, with her more glorious, peculiar, celestial gifts, those precious relics of a former civilization which she had collected and preserved in her bosom. They receive them, and from that moment the transforming process begins. Through the middle ages it is struggling feebly on—feebly, because its foes are many and mighty. But let us beware how we treat those ages or that struggle with contempt. Then the great battle was fought and the great victory won of which modern European civilization is the result, and of which we enjoy the fruits. Let us rather honor the noble champions and martyrs—the great and indefatigable minds who achieved for us that victory.

Who dares despise the thirteen Anglo-American colonies when they conspired against the encroaching oppression of the mother country? They were feeble; their means were scanty; they prosecuted the struggle often with puny efforts; their soil, in every direction, was invaded and dishonored by an insulting foe; there were many traitors among their own people. Yet their hearts quailed not; they faltered not till their great work was achieved. We are now, as a nation, immensely their superiors in power, wealth, and resources; yet we scorn not the men of those dark times of our revolutionary struggle, we honor them in our heart of hearts.

This brings to view another important characteristic of a philosophical view of history. It is sufficient for us that a man took a part, on the right side, it little matters from what immediate motives, or with what individual character, in the contest for our independence. This participation covers all his faults, even though he may have been himself quite unconscious of the nature and tendencies of that struggle—a mere instrument of the idea which was the living spirit of that great movement. Analogous to this is the view we are to take of the agents that appear in general history. The main business of a historical philosophy is not to judge individuals or the morality of their acts; it considers them as the offspring of the popular spirit, and in their relation to the general progress. Many a tory in the time of our revolution was doubtless deserving of more respect personally, not only for his private virtues,

but for his public integrity and political honesty, than many individuals in the patriot ranks. Yet, historically, he is clothed with everlasting contempt. So in the general development of the race, those who with honest and righteous intent have withstood the progress of the great idea of the times, have a higher moral worth than those who, by their crimes, have, under an overruling Providence, furthered it. Yet the philosophy of history must assign to the latter a more prominent position.

Since the time of Voltaire, it has become too much the fashion to treat contumeliously the priests and monks of the middle ages. They had their faults, undoubtedly, and there were individuals among them worthy of all reprobation; but it may fairly be questioned whether they deserve as a body—certainly they do not deserve universally—the sweeping denunciation of stupidity, bigotry, and barbarism, so unthinkingly launched against them by modern scorners. If some enchantress could conjure up the spirit and the venerable form of a Bede, or an Alcuin, or an Anselm, or a Scotus Erigena, how would our modern Sauls quail and sink into conscious littleness before so majestic a presence! But whatever may have been their moral worth as individuals, the priests and monks of the middle ages have been the benefactors, not only of their own times, but of all subsequent generations. Through their instrumentality we have received whatever wrecks of the science and civilization of a former period have come down to us. They ushered in the dawn of that modern civilization and science in whose meridian beams we are now basking. It is true they knew not always the import of the part they were acting—but that matters little to us; they have performed their part, and a part of the highest importance to the progress of humanity, inasmuch as it lay in one of the most momentous forming and transition periods in the whole course of history. Nor were they always *unconscious* agents. Some of the most self-denying—active—apostolic—successful missionaries in the earlier centuries were monks. Sometimes they stood alone against the swelling flood of violence and barbarism that was threatening to roll back over the face of the Christian world. Many of them were persuaded of the approach of a brighter day, and "confessed that they were strangers and pilgrims on earth; God having prepared some better thing for us, that they without us should not be made perfect."

That Christianity was in a very unsettled, confused, and imperfect state in the earlier and the middle ages is unquestionable; for Christianity, though perfect in the abstract, exists only in the concrete—as combined with the characters of those who profess it.

Primitive Christianity had, indeed, the advantage of immediate proximity to the pure fountains of our holy religion—to apostolic illumination—to the fresh influence of miracles and martyrdom. But in later times the more direct manifestations of the divine agency in enlarging and defending the church ceased, and she was left more to her own resources, as it were, more to be shaped by the general character of her members, not indeed as regards the nature of personal piety, but as regards an ecclesiastical establishment, and the relation of the church to society and philosophy. What wonder, then, that under such circumstances, as the character and interests of the church were committed to the hands of men just rescued from the errors, the vices, and abominations of heathenism, and brought into her pale, in many cases—at least after the conversion of Constantine—not so much by conviction as by interest and policy; what wonder that errors and corruptions early began to disfigure her doctrines and practices? What wonder at the crowd of early heresies? What wonder at the crude, unscriptural, ethnico-philosophical notions of an Origen or a Tertullian—men nevertheless esteemed fathers in the church? What wonder even if the pure light of Christianity had been entirely extinguished amid so many noxious influences? What wonder at the rise of Mohammedanism, in which the great enemy of mankind combined, as in one focus, all the scattered rays of error, and the prophet of Mecca knew how to balance himself therein? What wonder at the gross and scandalous corruptions of the Romish Church in later times? And, finally, what wonder if in the sixteenth century the pure spirit of Christianity, after having groaned for ages under the increasing burden of these errors and corruptions, at last imperiously called for a reformation? The Reformation came as the sun struggling forth from the thick mists of the morning. But, alas! even in the consequences of the Reformation we see marks of the marring hand of man, as well as of the merciful hand of God. If popish corruptions have driven some men to infidelity, Protestant freedom has been abused by others to rationalism and wild independence. Still the Reformation is a glorious proof of the indestructible character of the pure principles of Christianity. And may we not fairly presume—all things considered, intensity and extension being combined—that there is as much of the true, original spirit, and pure light of Christianity in the world now as at any former period since our Saviour's ascension? May we not even say, *more?* And may we not *hope* that, even in the great mass of dregs that settled down, after the ferment of the Reforma-

tion, in the shape of the modern Tridentine,* Romish Church, there is yet enough of the leaven of pure Christian truth and power eventually to leaven the whole lump?

On the whole, then, we may safely assert that, notwithstanding the reactions that are past, and partly by means of them, mankind, under the guidance of Christianity, have been moving onward and upward. "The wheel," says Menzel, "always revolves about its own axis, but still goes forward," and, he might have added, goes forward by *means* of those revolutions. There is a living spirit in the wheel which ever guides and impels it. Ancient absurdities return again, but always lose something—reason and right always gain something in this revolving progression.

But it may be asked, how all this can be called a philosophy of universal history, when, at best, it actually traces out and explains the progress of only a fraction of the human race. We answer, it is so, because the redemption by Jesus Christ is the great end of the history of the whole world. The stone cut from the mountain's side is destined to fill the earth, however diminutive it may hitherto have appeared.

But the objector may still insist, "there *is* a history of Chinese civilization, of oriental, of Grecian and Roman, as well as of Christian civilization, and how can a true philosophy of history exclude them from its plan?" We answer, the first step is to find the central idea; and then we are to trace, as *far as we can*, the relations of the phenomena and their various subordinate centres to this idea. But this latter task we cannot expect thoroughly to accomplish. We cannot expect to explain every thing. There are, indeed, some things which hardly deserve the pains of explanation. This may be said, for instance, of the scattered and uncertain notices we have of unhistorical and barbarous times and nations. As the true philosophy of history is not to be deduced from an examination of the whole indiscriminate mass of facts, it is not necessary that *all* the details should be weighed precisely, or even taken into the account.

In this nation of seventeen millions, every person of mature age has, of course, a history of his own, but how few of all these individuals have, *de jure* or *de facto*, any place in the national history —not to say the philosophy of that history? What would be more absurd than to undertake to construct the history of a country by fusing together the biographies of all its inhabitants? As it is with the relation of individuals to a people, so with the relation of tribes

* Most of the Romish corruptions were first enacted into dogmas by the Council of *Trent*.

to the race. There are few historical personages, and there are few historical nations.

For the rest, if we divide history, as usual, into the three great portions, the oriental, the Greek and Roman, and the modern occidental; and then inquire for their relation to Christianity; it will appear that the oriental civilization has been formed, and, obstinately looking back, has been *petrified*, as it were, from the scattered fragments and vestiges of the preparatory revelation of Christianity —the Greek and Roman civilization has been absorbed in Christianity—and the modern occidental civilization has grown out of it.

Whether we regard the past or present state of mankind, we may always consider the various developments in the race either in a friendly or antagonistic relation to the progress of Christianity, that is, of human redemption—and this is their fundamental and most interesting relation. Now, so far as they are antagonistic, it is manifest they are not to be explained by the grand, formal principle itself—they only offer impediments to be overcome by it; for the history of the world is not to be viewed as the simple progress of Christianity, but as a conflict between Christianity and its foes. These hostile influences may be regarded as external accidents—not belonging to the essence of history, except in their relation to the internal principle. It may, indeed, be interesting to discover and unfold the principle of their positive character, but this their negative character is the most important.

From this point of view, it is plain our theory commands the whole ground. And that there may be in all, even the remotest and most incongruous parts of history, some efficient relation to Christianity, is certainly no more incredible than that every footstep of ours has some real and calculable influence at the centre, and, consequently, on the position of the earth.

But while, in the mind of the Creator, and considered in relation to his plan, all history has its primary relation to the accomplishment of human redemption; when considered, on the other hand, as the *res gestae* of the race, it consists, according to its highest character, not in war and politics, and the growth and decay of states and empires, but in the progress of human thought as displayed in the arts and sciences, in general literature, but especially in philosophy. The highest sphere of thought is philosophy —thought reflected upon itself; and the highest sphere of philosophy is theology—thought reflected back to its source; and thus while religion must furnish the basis and nucleus of history in its diviner sense, next to religion the influence of thought in general is a most important element in the progress of the world.

It must be a point of primary importance in a philosophical view of history to distinguish permanent from temporary influences. As we look at the present, the most prominent events and personages are, of course, those who hold high and responsible offices in the social organization. We imagine that they will preserve the same relative position in all future time: but we deceive ourselves. Very few of those whose names are now so familiar in the mouths of the multitude will be known to have existed after the lapse of a few rapid lustra. Those now envied great men will then have fulfilled their brief destiny and sunk into oblivion; (unless, perhaps, they may serve, like the Roman consuls, for chronological landmarks;) while some humble, unobtrusive personage, may, at this very moment, be silently accomplishing a work which, spreading its efficacy wider and wider with the lapse of centuries, shall one day change the whole face of the world.

When Alexander was asked whether he would rather be Homer or Achilles, he replied by asking his interrogator whether he would rather be the victor or the herald in the Olympic games? From the warrior and the conqueror such an answer occasions no surprise. But what say we now of Homer and Achilles? The existence of the latter is to us a matter almost of indifference. Did Achilles really exist, we should have known nothing of him without a Homer: did he not exist, Homer would have created him. Homer without Achilles would have been, as he is, one of the noblest personages in the world's history. Achilles without Homer might as well have never been. Hector would have been dragged in the dust; Troy would have fallen; and the whole would long since have passed into oblivion. The ripple might indeed have been propagated indefinitely, but it would ere this have grown insensible. But Homer's name and influence can never die.

Of all the great men that plotted and warred, and ruled and revelled in Italy at the time of Dante—with their magnificent palaces, and sumptuous feasts, and splendid equipages, and crowds of trembling retainers—feared and envied by their contemporaries—the Bonifaces and Frederics—the Sforzas, the Malespini, the Ugolini, the Malatestas; what now remains? The names of some of them are known, like that of Achilles, chiefly from the pages of the immortal bard. Others have their record indeed in history, but they are lost in the undistinguished crowd of popes and emperors, and dukes and counts; while Dante still lives in all his native energy, not only infusing his noble spirit into the bosoms of his countrymen, but contributing directly or indirectly to form the intellectual character of the leading minds throughout Christendom.

The political history of England can scarcely furnish two other names to compare with those of Elizabeth and Cromwell. We omit to speak of Alfred, for his historical importance depends more on his character as a lover and patron of letters than on any political pre-eminence. But what is Elizabeth now, compared with one who while she lived was play-monger and play-actor for her court? The German now utters his name as familiarly, as fondly, as intelligently as his own countrymen. The Spaniard and the Italian, the Pole and the Russian, try to stammer out the harsh, unusual sound, with an indefinable awe and veneration—even the Frenchman recognizes it when he hears it. The name of Shakspeare is on every tongue; and day by day the sound waxes louder and louder, as if announcing the approach of some mighty conqueror: while the name of Elizabeth—the proud and magnificent Elizabeth—is pronounced with a feebler and still feebler voice, and chiefly by novices in thought, and by those who, for history, study the mere skeleton of the past.

Cromwell's secretary was once prosecuted under Charles II. as "one John Milton." What was he in comparison with the great worldly-wise men of his time? But what is he now, and what are they? Almost all of them, except Cromwell himself, sunk to oblivion or contempt; while Milton, if in the eye of the civilized world he has not already risen above the great Protector, must eventually assume that position. Cromwell with his works is dead and past; Milton in his works still lives and is present. Cromwell and Elizabeth belonged to the body of history; Shakspeare and Milton to the soul. The body is dead, and has its monument; the soul still lives in all its pristine vigor. The body has indeed left an impression of its acts behind it, but its *direct* effect is confined to the *external* form of society, and even there it acts with a constantly diminishing force. Elizabeth and Cromwell gave a turn to the political events of their own time, and these have affected those of subsequent times; but in this inextricable network of the details of history, it is impossible to determine the amount of their personal influence, such as it was. Their *example* may still be felt *directly*, but only through the agency of literature. It is more the historian's work than theirs. Why is Philip of Macedon so much more noble a personage than Philip the Pequod? Because he was surrounded by a literary spirit and found a classical historian.

Nor let the fathers of the civil and common law be forgotten; who, though mere private men, have *given laws*, and laws, too, more unalterable than those of the Medes and Persians, because

they are not founded upon the authority of a transient despotism, but are deduced from the universal reason, and find their echo in every breast. They have legislated for whole nations, and, in some degree, for the whole civilized world. Take Grotius's work on the rights of war and peace. What monarch or legislature in Christendom can boast of having exerted an influence on the general history and intercourse of nations such as that book has exerted? The Emperor Nicholas or the British parliament may make laws for a nation—Grotius made laws for the world. Others, it is true, —private men, and scholars like himself—have come after him, improved and completed his work; and they share, according to their measure, in his authority. Yet those who are less accustomed to meditate on *principles*, and more familiar with the details of every-day pursuits, often charge men of letters with ignorance of human nature and of practical affairs; and it is considered refutation enough of a man's opinions to say, "O! he is a mere theorist;" "a book-worm;" "a man of the closet!" As if a skillful accountant should charge the algebraist or astronomer with ignorance of arithmetical science because he could not add a given column of figures so promptly or so surely as himself! According to this, how many superiors in a knowledge of numbers might Newton or Laplace find in our shops and counting houses! This horse-in-a-mill sort of practical knowledge in some limited circle is very good in its place, and not at all to be despised, but let it not swell itself up to so great importance as to depreciate its betters.

The influence of philosophical speculations upon practical life, and upon the general course of history, has scarcely ever been stated in terms sufficiently strong. Alexander would surely have thought it strange, had he been told that, after some score of centuries, the school-master of his boyhood would fill a greater space in the view of the world than he himself. He could hardly have imagined that his splendid victories and conquests would ever be eclipsed by the closet-studies of a metaphysician. But the greatness of Alexander, be it more or less, remains immovably fixed to the epoch in which he lived; as, therefore, in the progress of ages, the distance from which it is contemplated increases, it must finally dwindle into insignificance. But the greatness of Aristotle moves on with the stream of time, increasing as it goes. Whenever and wherever we look upon it, it is directly before us, and even a partial and half-intelligent survey fills us with amazement at the vastness and sublimity of that profound and comprehensive genius. Of course we shall not be understood here as subscribing to all the doctrines of Aristotle, or as giving him the precedence of

all philosophers—as to his *merits*. We speak of matters of *fact* and *history*. We place him by the side, not of other *philosophers*, but of *Alexander;* and we say the influence of Aristotle on the world's history is above all comparison with that of Alexander. At one period his authority, overleaping the pale of European civilization, held undisputed sway over the mind of both Christian and Saracen. As human thought has begun to take a freer and wider range, it is true that the idolatry with which Aristotle was then worshiped has passed away; and with this there has naturally been a temporary reaction against him; but whether we will or not, modern European civilization is, in no small degree, what Aristotle has made it; and every Christian man who *thinks*, (in the higher sense of that word,) and who converses with thinking men, is, in spite of himself, more or less directly under the influence of Aristotle. The same is true, to a still greater degree, of Aristotle's master, who has even been styled a Christian philosopher.

Thought is immortal and omnipresent. The philosophy, the thought of an age, is the soul of that age. Learn the philosophy of a given period, and you have learned its highest characteristic, you have its simplest exponent. It can be shown that great revolutions in metaphysical dogmas, and in the spirit and method of philosophical speculation, have usually been accompanied or followed by great revolutions in the external fabric of society. The Sadducean sensualism preceded and prepared the downfall of the Jewish state. Epicureanism is but another name for that corruption which gangrened the Roman empire. Illuminism and atheism were the forerunners of the Parisian horrors that steeped in blood and blasphemy the close of the last century. But we need not multiply instances; they would lead us too far; and we hasten to conclude.

Religion itself, which must ever remain the central idea of all history—as it is of all true philosophy—develops its influence through the medium of Christian literature, based upon the records of "holy men of God who spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost." All religions, that have had any historical character, have also had their sacred books. Christianity has its Bible; and therewith, as its mightiest external agent, it is destined to regenerate the world. This is that sword of the Spirit by which it must achieve its final victory, and establish its universal reign.

Bowdoin College, Maine, March, 1842.

ART. V.—1. *Theory of Temptation.* Methodist Quarterly Review for October, 1841, pp. 586–590.

2. *Ninth Article* of the Methodist Quarterly Review for January, 1842.

THE first of these articles presented a rapid analysis of Bishop Butler's celebrated "Analogy," concluding with a digression on the *nature of temptation.* At the instance of the learned reviewer, the writer of the ensuing remarks wrote, editorially, in the Herald and Journal, a brief criticism on the latter part of the article, dissenting respectfully, but distinctly, from its doctrines, especially so far as they were applicable to the subject of Christian perfection, and contending that the "excitement" of the "appetites" and "passions," which they asserted to be a necessary element of temptation, was not "always" essential to it—that the perfect Christian is exempt from it. The second article appeared in reply to these criticisms. In our humble judgment it both reaffirms and modifies into something else the doctrines of its predecessor.

We honestly consider the theory of temptation propounded in these articles to be a serious innovation on the received theology of our church respecting the doctrine of Christian perfection: this conviction, and not a love of metaphysical strife, disposes us to revert to the subject amidst an extraordinary pressure of other occupations. If our apprehension is wrong, we shall be more happy to find ourselves in fault than our brethren in heresy.

The following is the hypothesis presented in the first article:—

"Temptation is a sensible impulse or solicitation to do some evil act.—Each internal power in our constitution has its corresponding external object which God has appointed as its natural excitant, and which has power to excite it, *independent of the will.* These susceptibilities are the appetites and the passions. *Simply considered as powers existing*, they are neither vicious nor virtuous. Nor do their external excitants, so considered, partake of the nature of virtue or vice. When, under proper conditions, the external exciting object is presented, its corresponding appetite or passion is *necessarily excited* and *tends* to gratification. This involuntary and necessary excitement, which tends to gratification, is called *lust;* and properly constitutes temptation. The existence of it, and the consciousness of its tendency to seek gratification, *is not sin*, nor of the nature of sin.—There are two other sources of temptation which depend upon this *principal, original* source:—1. *Reflection* upon ideas and images which have been previously introduced into the mind, by which the imagination is excited; and by this means the appetites and passions are aroused: in this case the excitement is of the same nature as that produced by the presence of

the external object, and tends to seek gratification. 2. *Satanic suggestion.* Satan has the power to recall to our minds some, if not all of those ideas and images which we have received from external temptation, and thus to awaken our passions and excite our appetites, which state of excitement constitutes temptation. And it ought to be distinctly remembered that *he has no other means of tempting us.*"

From this theory the writer explains,—1. "How a Christian, after conversion, may be subject to the natural excitement of the passions and appetites, *as he was before conversion.* Young and inexperienced Christians should carefully understand this; for many have fallen into doubts, and cast away their confidence, upon finding, shortly after their conversion, that their passions and their appetites were as naturally susceptible of excitement as before." 2. How our first parents came to fall—they having our natural *appetites and passions*, and being subject to the influence of external objects; though they were naturally able to stand, while we can do so only by grace. 3. How Christ could be tempted, for he had a *perfect human nature*, "including *our natural appetites and passions*," which were "as *naturally capable of excitement* by their appropriate objects, as in us."

We shall not pause to consider in what respect it can be said that the "natural" and "necessary" "excitement" of our "passions and appetites" can be called "temptation," or "a sensible impulse or solicitation to do some *evil act.*"* Graver, because more practical considerations, claim our attention. The capital feature of the theory obviously is, its discrimination between temptation and sin; showing how far the former may extend without involving the latter, and thus qualifying or "*limiting* the doctrine of *Christian perfection.*" It was to this application of it that our attention was particularly called by a personal request of our esteemed friend, the writer, and that our former strictures related, almost exclusively. We shall confine ourselves to the same view at present. Let it be

* In our strictures in the Herald, we endeavored to show the impropriety of denominating "a natural" and "necessary excitement of the passions and appetites," *temptation.* The author of the second article defends the writer of the theory by showing that, however this language may seem to convey "a universal proposition, it is evidently intended to be limited by the qualifying remarks which accompany it." These qualifying remarks define the "excitement" of which he speaks, as "temptation," to be "a sensible impulse or solicitation to do some *evil act*," as tending to "*unlawful* indulgence," as "*lust*," as being "*violent*," and accompanied sometimes by "reflections and imaginings, *horrible*, *offensive*, *impure.*" Whatever, then, may be said of our author's words, we have, by these "qualifying remarks," his *ideas.* He defines fully the "excitement," which he calls "temptation," and with *this definition alone we have to do.*

distinctly understood, then, that we do not question whether the "necessary excitement of the passions and appetites," or rather *what our author calls such*, exists in ordinary temptations, but whether this excitement exists in the sanctified state?

Let us first ascertain whether the theory agrees with the Wesleyan doctrine of Christian perfection, and, if not, secondly, let us examine the theological and psychological arguments adduced in the second article to support it; for we would not receive the opinions of Wesley and his followers as paramount to sound reason, and if the writer of the theory has discovered a new truth, and its defender has demonstrated it, it is an imperative duty to abandon our old error, however precious its delusion.

Does, then, this "theory of temptation" agree with the Wesleyan doctrine of Christian perfection? We have nothing to do here with the defense of it by the author of the second article, if he has established it or modified it into something else that will claim attention hereafter. Our concern at present is only with the original article: its style throughout is perspicuous, even plain; it admits of no subtle constructions, either to ascertain or evade its sense. What, then, is its import, so far as it relates to Christian perfection?

It asserts that "excitement of the *appetites* and *passions*," "soliciting to evil acts," tending to "unlawful indulgence," &c., is essential to temptation, implying that "however horrible, offensive, violent, or impure" the images and reflections which accompany it may be, the sanctified man may be subject to it "without sin." It makes this assertion with the strongest emphasis, and with frequent italics. We give specimens:—

"This involuntary and necessary excitement, which tends to seek its gratification, is called *lust;* and properly constitutes temptation. The existence of this excitement, and the consciousness of its tendency to seek to be gratified, *is not sin*, nor of the nature of sin.—If any appetite or passion be addressed by its appropriate external excitant, it *must be excited;* but the excitement or lust in this sense is not sin, nor of the nature of sin.—Let it be particularly observed, that the excitement, and the tendency of the excitement to gratification, must *precede* sin.—However horrible, or offensive, or impure they [the 'reflections or imaginings' of the mind] may be, however violent the excitement, *yet there is no sin unless we consent.*"

These passages are peremptory. It proceeds to comfort the "young Christian" with these views: "For many have fallen into doubts, and finally cast away their confidence, upon finding, shortly after their conversion, that their passions and appetites were as naturally susceptible of excitement as before." Thus

what many of us have been accustomed to lament as the remains of the carnal mind, are taught to be innocent temptations.

This "excitement" is predicated of the "appetites and passions." Note this. The ordinary process of mental action, according to one of the reviewers, includes the following particulars respectively, 1. The intellect; 2. The emotions; 3. The desires; 4. The will. The third, or desires, comprise the instincts, the appetites, the propensities, and the affections.* Our author asserts the *appetites* to be excited in temptation: if, then, the appetites are *desires*, it is equivalent to an affirmation that the desires (not merely the *emotions*) are subject to this "excitement." He asserts, further, that the "passions" are subjects of excitement in temptation. Passion is also higher than emotion. "It denotes a state of mind of which some simple emotion is always a part, but which differs from any simple, single emotion, in being combined with some form of that state of the mind called DESIRE."† Lord Kames defines it "an emotion accompanied with desire."‡ Let it be remarked, also, that "the affections are usually included among the passions, and the terms used synonymously."§ The passions include, among others, love, hatred, anger, pride, fear, jealousy.‖

* This is Professor Upham's arrangement, and it is quoted as authority by the writer of the second article, in his defense of the theory.

† Upham's Ment. Phil., vol. ii, part iv, chap. 6.

‡ Elements of Crit., i, 2. § Ibid.

‖ It cannot be said here that the reviewer uses the words "appetites and passions" in a *peculiar* sense, differing from both their scientific and popular applications—that the latter contemplate man as he is, a fallen being, and therefore use the terms anger, pride, jealousy, &c., meaning a state of the passions superinduced, not primarily natural, while the theory contemplates him as unfallen; for, first, we ask, then, what applicability there would be in a theory of temptation, presented in a statement at once formal and universal, and yet not founded upon the actual nature of man, but suited only to a condition which, according to the general opinion of the Christian world, has existed but twice in the history of our race, viz., in the first pair, and in Christ! Second, the author, as already shown, has *defined* what he means by that "excitement" of the "appetites and passions," which he contends to be essential to "temptation," and this definition falls, in no wise, short of that violence which is implied in the scientific and popular names of the appetites and passions. Here in fact, as we shall see by and by, is the radical error of the theory: it confounds that state of the appetites and passions which arises from natural depravity, with what would have been their "natural and necessary" action, had man not fallen. Third, (and what is decisive of the question,) our author applies his theory to the *young Christian*. All agree that the carnal mind remains more or less strong in him; and that before sanctification his appetites and passions are, to some extent, subject to the same unholy excitement as before justification—the excitement implied by the popular and scientific

If, then, our author uses the terms "appetites and passions" scientifically, he asserts that the excitement, which he considers an essential element of temptation, extends beyond the *emotions* to the *desires*.

If he uses these terms in their popular application, they admit the same construction. The nice distinction between emotions and desires is seldom, if ever, made by the popular mind. "We can," says Upham, "learn their difference by our own internal examination and by consciousness alone; nor can any form of mere words illustrate to our comprehension either their nature or their *distinction*, independently of such internal experience, except, perhaps, in the single circumstance, that emotions are instantaneous, while, apparently, there is a greater permanence in desires." But we need not hesitate respecting the meaning of the reviewer: he evidently includes the *whole* class of *sensibilities*, (that is, emotions and desires,) the instincts, appetites, propensities, and affections. He defines temptation to be an excitement produced by "external excitants" on our "internal, excitable functions or powers;" he then includes *all* these "excitable functions in two classes: the appetites, which have their origin in the flesh; and the passions, which originate in the mind itself:" thus comprehending all our susceptibilities as the objects of attack in temptation.

Whether he uses popular or technical language, therefore, the inference is that our author asserts the excitement of temptation to extend, without sin, not only to the *emotions*, but to the *desires*, and not only to the emotions and desires in their simpler forms, but in even that higher, intenser combination, called *passion*. He uses the very word. If further proof is necessary, we have it decisively in his frequent assertion, that *there is no sin without the consent of the will*. Now, if the will can be reached only through the region of the emotions and desires, (as asserted in the second article,) then temptation, attacking the will, must do it through this region, and if there is no sin without the consent of the will, then the temptation or excitement, pervading the region of the emotions and desires, but not seducing the will, is not sinful. This is the doctrine of the theory.

We have been the more particular in this psychological statement, because we shall have need of referring to it frequently in the second part of our remarks; we bespeak a faithful recollection of it by the reader.

names of the appetites and passions. Thus, in whatever aspect we contemplate the theory, our remark holds true, that it admits of no construction by which its sense can be evaded.

Now, then, we ask, Is this "violent" "excitement of the appetites and passions"—accompanied by "imaginings, horrible, offensive, impure," and raging thus in the "appetites and passions," in the instincts, propensities, and affections, including not only the emotions but desires—compatible with that state of purity which we call Christian perfection? Can a sanctified man, according to our doctrines, feel these impure and violent passions, in common with the unholy, and is the difference between them simply this, that the former consents not, while the latter consents to the temptation? We have shown that, according to the theory under review, the whole region of the sensibilities (those of "the flesh" and those of "the mind") may be the scene of this excitement without sin. Do our standards so represent the perfect Christian? Let it be distinctly understood, we do not ask whether the natural and legitimate excitement of his appetites and passions may exist, but whether *what* our author *calls* this excitement, an excitement "horrible, impure, and violent," and in the character of "an impulse or solicitation to some evil act," can exist in a sanctified mind, according to the teachings of Methodism? We reply most peremptorily, No. We have not so learned Methodism. We believe that it is the doctrine of our church, first, that this excitement is not an essential element of temptation; it exists in the newly justified mind, because it is not cleansed from *all* sin, but not in the sanctified man: second, that where it does exist, it is of the nature of sin. As these propositions mutually involve each other, we need not discriminate them in our evidence. Let us consult our authorities.

Wesley says of the sanctified man,* "There is not a motion of his heart [not his will] but is according to the will of God." But the learned reviewer asserts that "lust" or "excitement," "tending to seek gratification," [of course he means improper gratification, or there would be no temptation,] may and must exist, and is not sinful. Wesley further says of the sanctified, "They are in such a sense perfect as to be freed from evil desires and evil tempers." Speaking of worldly or sensual desires, he says, "You may bring these desires back; but you need not; you need feel them no more. O, stand fast in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made you free." To the question, "What is Christian perfection?" he answers, "The loving God with all the heart, mind, soul, and strength. This implies that no wrong temper, [not volition,] none contrary to love, remains in the soul; and that all the thoughts, words, and actions are governed by pure love." "It is the circumcision of the

* Plain Account of Christian Perfection.

heart from all filthiness, all inward as well as outward pollution." Again, he says it excludes "every kind and *degree* of envy out of the heart, expels *all* anger, casteth out *all* jealousy, suspiciousness, and readiness to believe evil;" it is "love filling the heart, expelling pride, anger, desire, self-will, rejoicing evermore, praying without ceasing, and in every thing giving thanks." What could be more emphatic, and more in contrast with the very language of the theory, than the following: "A person may be sincere who has all his natural tempers, pride, anger, lust, self-will, but is not perfect till his heart is cleansed from these and all its corruptions." In enumerating the causes of the loss of entire sanctification, he mentions, among others, "Anger, however soon it is over, want of instantly forgiving one another." He defends St. Paul from the charge of "inward or outward sins," and says, "He could no more have the inward stirrings than the outward expressions of pride, anger, or lust;"* and Fletcher declares sin to arise "from the momentary perversion of our tempers, as well as from habitual corruption;"† and our Book Concern publishes to the world that God "can no more approve an unholy desire or temper, than the act of adultery or murder."‡ In his Plain Account, &c., Wesley says of the perfect man,—

"He is pure in heart. Love has purified his soul from envy, malice, wrath, and every unkind temper. It has cleansed him from pride, 'whereof cometh only contention,' and he hath now put on bowels of mercies, kindness, humbleness of mind, meekness, long-suffering, and indeed all possible ground of contention on his part is cut off. For none can take from him what he desires, seeing he loves not the world, nor any of the things of the world, but all his desire is unto God, and to the remembrance of his name."

In distinguishing entire sanctification from justification, he asserts the former to be

"Total resignation to the will of God, without any mixture of self-will; gentleness, without *any touch* of anger, *even the moment* we are provoked; love to God, without the least love of the creature, but in and for God; love to man, excluding all envy, all jealousy, and rash judging; meekness, keeping the whole soul inviolably calm, and temperance in all things."

He makes the same distinction in his Sermon on Repentance in Believers.

"By this helplessness, I mean an absolute inability to deliver ourselves from that guiltiness or desert of punishment whereof we are

* Sermon on Christian Perfection. † Last Check.
‡ Christian's Manual, chap. ii.

still conscious; yea, and an inability to remove, by all the grace we have, (to say nothing of our natural powers,) either the pride, self-will, love of the world, anger, and general proneness to depart from God, which we experimentally know to *remain* in the heart, even of them that are regenerate; or the evil which, in spite of all our endeavors, cleaves to all our words and actions. Add to this, an utter inability wholly to avoid uncharitable, and much more unprofitable, conversation; and an inability to avoid sins of omission, or to supply the numberless defects we are convinced of; especially the want of love, and other right tempers, both to God and man."

Here he speaks, among others, of "pride," "love of the world," "anger," "general proneness to depart from God," as remaining in those who are regenerate, but not sanctified. These are included in our author's "excitement of the appetites and passions" as "a sensible impulse or solicitation to do some evil act." Wesley speaks of these as involving "guiltiness and desert of punishment," not merely when we "consent" to their existence, but "when by the Spirit we mortify the deeds of the body, even when we *resist* and *conquer* them;" for, says he, "Although we may, by the Spirit, mortify the deeds of the body, resist and conquer both outward and inward sin, although we may weaken our enemies day by day, yet we cannot *drive them* out; by all the grace given at justification we cannot extirpate them. Though we watch and pray ever so much, we cannot wholly cleanse our hearts and hands." Yet of this excitement of the passions, which Wesley asserts to be "guilty and deserving of punishment," even when "resisted and conquered," our author says,—"However horrible, or offensive, or impure it may be, however violent the excitement, *yet there is no sin unless we consent.*" The italics are his own. This particular phrase is used by him in reference to Satanic influence, but the idea extends throughout the whole "theory;" it is applied to all possible excitement which does not involve the "consent of the will," for, as before shown, he includes all our "internal excitable functions" as among the subjects of "excitement" in temptation, and predicates innocency of all, except when accompanied by volition.

Wesley not only asserts that these passions are sinful, even when resisted, but that they do not exist in the sanctified state. He continues in the same paragraph,—

"When it pleases our Lord to speak to our hearts *again*, [that is, in sanctification,] to speak a second time, Be clean, then only the leprosy is cleansed: then only the evil root, the carnal mind is destroyed; and inbred sin subsists no more. But if there be no such second change, if there be no instantaneous deliverance after justification, if

there be *none* but a gradual work of God, (that there is a gradual work none denies,) then we must be content, as well as we can, to remain full of sin till death; and, if so, we must remain guilty till death, continually *deserving* punishment. For it is impossible the guilt, or desert of punishment, should be removed from us as long as all this sin remains in our hearts, and cleaves to our words and actions. Nay, in rigorous justice, all we think, and speak, and act, continually increases it."

Again, in his sermon on the Wilderness State, he enumerates the "causes of our losing the light of God's countenance," and includes a number of the passions, calling them expressly "inward sins." "Pride" is one, and it is "an abomination to the Lord." "Anger" is another, even though colored with the name of zeal for the truth. Nothing is a greater enemy to the mild, gentle love of God, than this; they never did and never can exist together. "Desire" is another. "When fierceness and anger are asleep, and love alone is waking, we may be no less endangered by desire, which equally tends to darken the soul. This is the sure effect of any foolish desire, any vain or inordinate affection." The very thoughts are declared by Wesley to be holy in a perfect Christian. In his "Plain Account," &c., he says,—

"Only of grown Christians it can be affirmed that they are in such a sense perfect as to be freed from evil thoughts and tempers. Indeed, whence could they spring? 'Out of the heart of man,' if at all, 'proceed evil thoughts.' If, therefore, the heart be no longer evil, then evil thoughts proceed no longer out of it, for a good tree cannot bring forth evil fruit."

Again,—

"They are in such a sense perfect as to be freed from evil thoughts and evil tempers.—God hath now laid the axe at the root of the tree, purifying their hearts by faith, and *cleansing all the thoughts* of their hearts by the inspiration of his Holy Spirit."

Again,—

"They are freed from evil thoughts, so that they cannot enter into them, no, *not for a moment.* Aforetime, when an evil thought came in, they looked up, and it vanished away. But now it does not come in, there being no room for this in a heart that is full of God."

In this last quotation we have described, as the condition of a merely justified person, the very state in which the theory supposes the perfect Christian to exist,* viz., as exposed to evil excitement

* Let it not be said that the theory has nothing to do with Christian perfection, but is a general definition of temptation. It has to do with it, and even with a higher state, for it applies its definition to the Adamic perfection of the first pair, and to Christ himself, and its whole tenor defines the extent of temptation without sin.

which is resisted—the justified person, says Wesley, "looked up and it vanished away;" but when sanctified, "they cannot enter, no, *not for a moment.*" What is meant by evil thoughts we shall learn in another place.

We might increase these quotations a hundred fold; (and we shall yet give more decisive ones;) they are scattered through the writings of Wesley from the beginning to the end. They present the common phraseology of all our standard writers on the subject, and the familiar dialect of the living witnesses of this truth throughout the church. Behold, again, the contrast between these passages and the explicit language of the theory. The latter declares that excitement of the *appetites* and *passions*, "tending to gratification," (that is, *wrong* gratification, or there could be no *temptation*,) must exist in temptation. According to both the scientific and popular use of the terms, they include desire, hatred, anger, pride, jealousy, &c., and the animal propensities. The theory, then, teaches that these may be excited in temptation in the sanctified state, that is, are "not of the nature of sin." Wesley declares that perfect love "excludes *every* kind and *degree* of envy," expels "*all* anger," "casteth out *all* jealousy, pride, desire," [that is, lust,] that anger, "even the moment we are provoked," and "however soon it is over," is sinful; that "evil thoughts cannot *enter*, no, *not for a moment*:" and Fletcher asserts that "a momentary perversion of temper" is evil.

Let it not be replied that the theory speaks of the "natural" and "necessary excitement of the appetites and passions." This is indeed its language, but words are nothing without meaning, and the author, as before said, defines fully his meaning; he tells us that this excitement, which he calls "natural" and "necessary," is, as a temptation, "a sensible impulse or solicitation to do some *evil act*," that it is "lust," (*longing desire—Webster*,) that it tends to "unlawful gratification," that it is that which a young convert feels, that it may be horrible, offensive, impure, violent; any thing, indeed, *short of being voluntary*. We aver, emphatically, that, if there is any meaning in words, this, and none other, is the very state of the appetites and passions referred to above by Wesley, as suppressed in a sanctified mind.

Let it not be replied, further, that the above quotations, by characterizing the state of the appetites and passions, to which they refer, as "evil," "wrong," "perverted," &c., distinguish it from that stated by the theory—that they could not be of such a character without the consent of the will, and that the theory does not include the consent of the will in its "natural" and "necessary excitement."

For, first, it is obvious, as just affirmed, that Wesley means by "wrong," "perverted," "evil," &c., the "excitement" to "unlawful indulgence," the impulse to "evil," the "impure reflections and imaginings," the "violent excitement," of which our author speaks; and popular language, also, calls such "evil," "wrong," &c., not referring to the will, but to their own intrinsic nature. Second, he expressly asserts them to be thus "evil," "wrong," &c., when the will *does not consent*. This we have shown.* If further proof is necessary, a reference to his sermon on "Sin in Believers" will be decisive. He says, "Christ, indeed, cannot reign where sin *reigns;* neither will he dwell where any sin is *allowed*. But he *is*, and *dwells* in the heart of every believer who is *fighting against* all sin, although it be not yet purified according to the purification of the sanctuary." The italics are his own. Here sin *exists*, though not *allowed;* here the justified believer is represented as in a state of sin, though *fighting against* all sin. Again, he says, that believers are delivered from "the *power* of sin, we allow; that they are delivered from the *being* of sin, we deny. A man may have the Spirit of God dwelling in him, and may 'walk after the Spirit,' though he still feels 'the flesh lusting against the Spirit.'" Is not this the very state which our author describes as without sin, and, therefore, the condition of the sanctified? Yet Wesley exhibits it as that of a merely justified man, and distinguishes the former from it as having no longer this *being* of sin, this "lusting of the flesh against the Spirit." In the same sermon he says,—

"We are reconciled to God [that is, justified] through the blood of the cross, and in that moment the *φρονημα σαρκος* corruption of nature, which is enmity with God, is put under our feet; the flesh has no more dominion over us. But it still *exists:* and it is still in its nature enmity with God, lusting against his Spirit.—A man may be in God's favor, though he feel sin; but not if he *yields* to it. *Having sin* does not forfeit the favor of God; *giving way* to sin does. Though the flesh in you 'lust against the Spirit,' you may still be a child of God; but if you walk after the flesh, you are a child of the devil."

The italics are still Wesley's. Mark here: 1. That this is described as the state of a merely justified man, and that the perfect Christian differs from it by being exempt from this "existence" of sin, as shown by the above quotations; 2. That this "lusting" of the "flesh" having "no more dominion over" the will; "not yielded to," &c., which the theory declares *not to be of the nature of sin*, Wesley pronounces the "corruption of nature," "enmity with God," "sin." And, as before quoted, he asserts that there is

* See page 428.

still a "desert of punishment." In the next sermon (on Repentance in Believers) he says,—

"A conviction of their *guiltiness* is another branch of that repentance which belongs to the people of God, [that is, to the justified.] But this is to be understood cautiously, and in a peculiar sense. For it is certain there is no condemnation to them who are in Christ Jesus, that believe in him, and in the power of that faith 'walk not after the flesh, but after the Spirit.' Yet they can no more bear the strict justice of God than before they believed. This pronounces them still *worthy of death.* And it would absolutely condemn them thereto were it not for the atoning blood. Therefore, they are thoroughly convinced that they still *deserve* punishment, although it is hereby turned aside from them. They still deserve, strictly speaking, only the damnation of hell. But what they deserve does not come upon them, because they have an Advocate with the Father."

Nothing can be clearer than that, 1. Wesley speaks in the preceding passages of precisely what our author means by "involuntary excitement;" 2. That he considers it limited to a justified state, while our author allows it in the sanctified man, and ascribes it to Christ and the original state; 3. That Wesley pronounces it, even when "resisted," "guilt," "sin," "enmity toward God," "corruption," "worthy of death," and "deserving only the damnation of hell;" while our author pronounces it "neither sin, nor of the nature of sin."

Thus have we shown that, according to our standards, the "excitement" for which the theory contends cannot exist in the sanctified state, that it *is* "of the nature of sin," and that, therefore, the theory conflicts with the Wesleyan doctrine of perfection. But we proceed still further.

It may be asked, Does not Wesley define sin to be "a voluntary transgression of the law;" and, if so, how can we reconcile this definition with the above quotations? This is his definition of sin; but he unquestionably means *actual sin.* But are "voluntary" and actual transgressions of the law *alone*, "sin, or of the nature of sin?" So teaches Socinianism; so teaches the New-Haven neology; and so teaches the theory: but not so taught Wesley, as seen above; not so teaches any standard authority in orthodox theology. Orthodox theology teaches, if we understand it,—

1. *That there is an "involuntary," an original infection of human nature.* That it pervades not only the *will*, but the *appetites* and *passions*, so that when, by the aid of the divine Spirit, we *will* to do right, still we cannot till the appetites and passions are, to some degree, purified. This is St. Paul's doctrine: "For I know that in me (that is, in my flesh) dwells no good thing; for

still a "desert of punishment." In the next sermon (on Repentance in Believers) he says,—

"A conviction of their *guiltiness* is another branch of that repentance which belongs to the people of God, [that is, to the justified.] But this is to be understood cautiously, and in a peculiar sense. For it is certain there is no condemnation to them who are in Christ Jesus, that believe in him, and in the power of that faith 'walk not after the flesh, but after the Spirit.' Yet they can no more bear the strict justice of God than before they believed. This pronounces them still *worthy of death.* And it would absolutely condemn them thereto were it not for the atoning blood. Therefore, they are thoroughly convinced that they still *deserve* punishment, although it is hereby turned aside from them. They still deserve, strictly speaking, only the damnation of hell. But what they deserve does not come upon them, because they have an Advocate with the Father."

Nothing can be clearer than that, 1. Wesley speaks in the preceding passages of precisely what our author means by "involuntary excitement;" 2. That he considers it limited to a justified state, while our author allows it in the sanctified man, and ascribes it to Christ and the original state; 3. That Wesley pronounces it, even when "resisted," "guilt," "sin," "enmity toward God," "corruption," "worthy of death," and "deserving only the damnation of hell;" while our author pronounces it "neither sin, nor of the nature of sin."

Thus have we shown that, according to our standards, the "excitement" for which the theory contends cannot exist in the sanctified state, that it *is* "of the nature of sin," and that, therefore, the theory conflicts with the Wesleyan doctrine of perfection. But we proceed still further.

It may be asked, Does not Wesley define sin to be "a voluntary transgression of the law;" and, if so, how can we reconcile this definition with the above quotations? This is his definition of sin; but he unquestionably means *actual sin.* But are "voluntary" and actual transgressions of the law *alone*, "sin, or of the nature of sin?" So teaches Socinianism; so teaches the New-Haven neology; and so teaches the theory: but not so taught Wesley, as seen above; not so teaches any standard authority in orthodox theology. Orthodox theology teaches, if we understand it,—

1. *That there is an "involuntary," an original infection of human nature.* That it pervades not only the *will*, but the *appetites* and *passions*, so that when, by the aid of the divine Spirit, we *will* to do right, still we cannot till the appetites and passions are, to some degree, purified. This is St. Paul's doctrine: "For I know that in me (that is, in my flesh) dwells no good thing; for

to *will, is present* with me, but how *to perform* that which is good I find not."

2. *That this original and involuntary infection is "of the nature of sin."* It is called "original sin," and "natural depravity:" the first, in reference to its being innate; the second, in reference to its being inherent; and by Wesley, as above, "guilt," "corruption," and "enmity toward God." All orthodox churches agree that it must be cleansed before we enter heaven, and that it did not exist before the fall, nor in Christ.

3. *That it is not eradicated in justification as distinguished from entire sanctification.* Most believe that it continues till death, and is the occasion of constant sin in the believer. All believe that the "excitement" of the "passions and appetites," "tending to unlawful indulgence," and "impelling or soliciting to evil acts," arises, in a regenerated person, entirely from it. Wesley, in his sermon on Sin in Believers, says,—

"Herein our own Church (as, indeed, in most points) exactly copies after the primitive; declaring, in her ninth article, that 'original sin is the corruption of the nature of every man, whereby man is, in his own nature, inclined to evil, so that the flesh lusteth contrary to the Spirit. And this infection of nature doth remain, *yea, in them that are regenerated*, whereby the lust of the flesh, called in Greek φρονημα σαρκος, is not subject to the law of God. And although there is no condemnation for them that believe, yet *this lust hath, of itself, the nature of sin.*' The same testimony is given by all other churches; not only by the Greek and Romish Church, but by every reformed church in Europe, of whatever denomination. Indeed, some of these seem to carry the thing too far; so describing the corruption of the heart in a believer, as scarce to allow that he hath dominion over it, but rather is in bondage thereto, and by this means they leave hardly any distinction between a believer and an unbeliever."

4. *The followers of Wesley believe that it need not remain till death, but is extinguished in the state of Christian perfection, which they teach to be attainable.*

The first three of these propositions have been received by orthodox churches in all nations and in all ages; all of them are received by the followers of Wesley. A glance at them will suggest the capital faults of the theory—not only its incompatibility with perfection, but with another, and, in the opinion of most of the Christian world, a far more fundamental truth—not a mere faultiness of language, as has been intimated by newspaper criticisms, (though it is not distinguished by too much exactitude in this respect,) but we fear a radical defectiveness in doctrine. We have made full allowance for either the scientific or popular application

of its terms. We have waived all dispute about their propriety or impropriety, and have discussed only their obvious, *designed* meaning, as defined, emphasized, reiterated throughout its whole statement, and from this alone we deduce what we think are its errors.

What, then, are these errors? 1. It asserts that state of the "appetites and passions," which the church believes to arise from original sin, to be "neither sin, nor of the nature of sin," and thus virtually *denies the doctrine of natural depravity;* and, 2. It implies that *what the church* recognizes as depravity, exists in the sanctified state, and thus virtually *denies the Wesleyan doctrine of Christian perfection.* Both of these results we conceive to be inevitable.

Again, we say, let it not be alledged that the reviewer has only given a general statement of temptation. If he has presented a *general* proposition, he has, nevertheless, made particular explanations of it; if he has stated a general theory, he has, nevertheless, given it particular applications, and these exhibit his meaning. We have shown from his own words what that "excitement" is which he contends exists in temptation; we have shown that, according to our own standards, and all orthodox churches, it arises from our natural depravity, and is sin; we have shown that he declares it to be "neither sin, nor of the nature of sin." What, then, is this but a denial of natural depravity? When did the New-Haven divines more fully deny it? Is it replied, that our author, in asserting the excitement of which he speaks, "not to be sin, nor of the nature of sin," means only *actual sin,* that, with strictly qualified language, he would admit it to be sin, in the sense of natural depravity? We then answer, that he contends that this very "excitement" existed in the first temptation, and in that of Christ. If, then, he admits it to be sin, in the sense of natural depravity, he must either abandon his theory or admit that natural depravity existed *before* the fall, and *in Christ,* who "knew no sin."

It is evident, too, from these propositions, as well as the foregoing quotations, that he denies the Wesleyan doctrine of Christian perfection. He does not, we acknowledge, mention expressly this doctrine, but the theory contemplates it throughout; it is applied to Adam and our Lord, and if it is applicable to Christ and the original state, it is, of course, not too low a standard for the perfect Christian. But we have shown that its "excitement," &c., arises, according to all orthodox churches, from natural depravity, and is "of the nature of sin," and that the Wesleyan doctrine implies the destruction of this state of the appetites and passions,

whether the author of the theory chooses to call it natural depravity or any thing else. We repeat, then, that, in our humble opinion, the theory denies the doctrines of natural depravity and Christian perfection.

These are judged to be among the consequences of the theory; yet we are frank to say, that we do not believe its author designed to interfere with the established opinions of the church on these subjects. From an incidental suggestion of Bishop Butler he was led to construct an hypothesis, which, at first view, seemed to afford plausible solutions of what have been deemed mysterious facts in religion. But its induction was not sufficiently comprehensive. While it appears to harmonize some facts, it is at utter variance with other and more fundamental ones. The latter seem to have eluded our author's attention, while the former were seized with avidity.

The question may be asked, How, then, is the perfect Christian tempted if not as the theory asserts? It does not, logically, devolve upon us here to answer this query, but merely to prove that *whatever* may be the nature of temptation in the sanctified state, it is not *such* as the theory describes. Still, if the reader will indulge us in the digression, we shall give what we understand to be the true answer; and we do so more readily because it will afford the opportunity of introducing further quotations from Wesley; quotations which, while they sustain the view we are about to present, furnish, also, more decisive testimony, if possible, than the preceding against the doctrine of the theory. These testimonies are innumerable and overwhelming. We have already produced a superabundance; still, in quoting more in support of another point, we cannot but request the reader to appreciate, at the same time, their direct bearing against the theory.

We have admitted that such an excitement as our author contends for may exist in a merely justified person, because he is not entirely purified from natural depravity; but it does not exist in the perfect Christian, for he is cleansed not only from actual, but original sin. We do not say that he feels no excitement, but *no such* excitement as the theory teaches, no excitement of the appetites and passions that is impure, that tends to *evil acts*, to *unlawful indulgence*. The "solicitation to evil" may be presented to his *thoughts*, but is not felt in his *passions*. There may be excitement, intense excitement, but instead of its tending to "unlawful indulgence," &c., it has precisely the opposite tendency; the excitement of horror against it, or of conscious triumph over it, accordingly as he may contemplate at the time the sin suggested, or

the grace by which he escapes it. When we say, therefore, that the sanctified person is tempted *intellectually*, not sensitively, it is of course understood that we mean by the latter phrase, that his sensibilities are not excited *favorably* toward the temptation. The difference between the temptations of the sanctified and the justified states may be illustrated thus:—Two Christians, one sanctified, the other not, perceive an opportunity of becoming independently wealthy by the use of some improper means. The sanctified person *perceives* the opportunity—nothing but imbecility could keep him from the perception—but it has no exciting influence upon his passions; he may intellectually dwell upon the circumstances, and wonder at the facilities they afford to an evil mind; but, at the same time, not only feel no excitement to the evil, but abhor it, and exultingly thank God for his exemption from it. On the other hand, the unsanctified Christian may feel the cravings of avarice, he may go the whole day in sore conflict with these cravings, beating them down, and yet feeling them. The following opinion of a distinguished writer in the "Guide to Christian Perfection" we gave in our former strictures. We cannot do better than repeat it:—

"Temptations, it will undoubtedly be conceded by those who have paid attention to the subject, are objects which are presented by the intellect to the sensibilities and the will; and are of such a nature that they have a tendency to induce or cause in those sensibilities, (that is to say, in the appetites, propensities, and affections,) and also in the will, an inordinate, excessive, or perverted action. The incipient, and what may be termed the *innocent* stage of the temptation, is when the object which is the medium of temptation is first presented to us intellectually; that is to say, in our mere thoughts or perceptions. Our Saviour was tempted by having the kingdoms and wealth of this world presented before him, as objects of desire; but the temptation went no further than the thoughts. It had no effect upon his desires or will; but was immediately rejected. It was necessary that the object of temptation should exist intellectually; in other words, that it should exist in the thoughts, or be perceived and thought of. Without this, viz., the perceived or intellective presence of the object, it is entirely clear that there could not possibly be any such thing as temptation. But the temptation may exist to this extent without sin. The temptations, for instance, to which the Saviour was subjected, were in every instance entirely without sin; for the simple reason, that they did not go beyond the thoughts; they did not enter into the emotions and desires; they excited no favorable or assenting feeling; they caused no accordant action of the will; but were instantly and fully repelled. They were not like sparks thrown upon tinder, and kindled into a blaze; but rather like sparks thrown upon the ocean, and instantly extinguished."

This view, so totally at variance with the theory, we believe to be thoroughly Wesleyan. In his Plain Account of Christian Perfection, Wesley has given it himself in detail.

"One commends me. Here is a temptation to pride. But instantly my soul is humbled before God. And I feel no pride; of which I am as sure as that pride is not humility.

"A man strikes me. Here is a temptation to anger. But my heart overflows with love. And I feel no anger at all; of which I can be as sure, as that love and anger are not the same.

"A woman solicits me. Here is a temptation to lust. But in the instant I shrink back. And I feel no desire or lust at all; of which I can be as sure, as that my hand is cold or hot.

"Thus it is, if I am tempted by a present object; and it is just the same if, when it is absent, the devil recalls a commendation, an injury, or a woman, to my mind. In the instant the soul repels the temptation, and remains filled with pure love.

"And the difference is still plainer when I compare my present state with my past, wherein I felt temptation and corruption too."

Let it not be said that in the last sentence he speaks of "*feeling* temptation," for it is obviously in the general sense of recognizing it, or how could it be reconcilable with the preceding words? If it is said, he felt temptation in the sense of the theory, that is, felt desire or lust, how could he say, "I feel no desire or lust at all; of which I can be as sure as that my hand is cold or hot." Here, then, we have Wesley's theory; how far it agrees with that of the reviewer the reader can judge.

But by allowing that temptation may exist *intellectually*, do we not contradict the quotations already made from Wesley; which assert that even the *thoughts* are holy in the sanctified state? He answers for us in his sermon on Wandering Thoughts.

"But here let it be observed, that thoughts concerning evil are not always evil thoughts; that a thought concerning sin, and a sinful thought, are widely different. A man, for instance, may think of a murder which another has committed, and yet this is no evil or sinful thought. So our blessed Lord himself doubtless thought of, or understood, the thing spoken by the devil, when he said, 'All these things will I give thee, if thou wilt fall down and worship me.' Yet he had no evil or sinful thought; nor, indeed, was capable of having any. And even hence it follows, that neither have real Christians: for, 'every one that is perfect is as his Master,' Luke vi, 40. Therefore, if he was free from evil or sinful thoughts, so are they likewise."

The theory refers to our Lord's temptation as an instance of its "excitement;" yet Wesley here asserts it to have been simply of an intellectual character, a thought, like that of a man who "thinks of a murder which has been committed." We have shown that

Wesley does not allow evil thoughts in the sanctified state. It is here obvious that he means by evil thoughts, such as reach the sensibilities—the "passions and appetites"—such, in fine, as our author ascribes to the original state and to Christ, and declares not to be evil. This distinction he makes at length in the same discourse. He states what wandering thoughts are evil, and what not. Under the former are enumerated all that

"Spring from a revengeful temper, from pride, or lust, or vanity; 'also all those which either *produce* or feed any sinful temper; those which either give rise to pride or vanity, to anger, or love of the world.' Hence, even those thoughts which are occasioned by weakness or disease, by the natural mechanism of the body, or by the laws of vital union, however innocent they may be in themselves, do, nevertheless, become sinful, when they either produce or cherish and increase in us any sinful temper; suppose the desire of the flesh, the desire of the eye, or the pride of life. In like manner, the wandering thoughts, which are occasioned by the words or actions of other men, if they cause or feed any wrong disposition, then commence sinful. And the same we may observe of those which are suggested or injected by the devil."

If these are not the same with those which our author declares not to be of the nature of sin, there is no meaning in words. The distinction is further confirmed by his enumeration of innocent wandering thoughts. These include such as "wander," from the effects of disease, delirium, variety of objects presented to the senses, and suggestions of the devil; the character of the latter is fully distinguished by reference again to our Lord's temptation. In all his remarks on this class, no such excitement as in the former is recognized. They neither rise from, nor lead to, any tendency of the passions and appetites to evil.

We happen to have two of Mr. Wesley's sermons in juxtaposition, which make, also, this distinction: the one treating on temptation in the justified state, the other in the sanctified.*

Temptation, in the former, is attended with *darkness;* in the latter, with *heaviness*, but no darkness. He enumerates minutely the causes of the state of darkness. They are sins of commission and of omission; inward sins, such as "pride," "anger," "desire," "any kind or degree of inordinate affection," &c., and "ignorance," "temptation," &c. He also enumerates the causes of "heaviness" in the perfect Christian; the last of the above list, "temptation," is mentioned, but none of the "passions and appe-

* Sermons xlvi and xlvii, on the "Wilderness State," and "Heaviness through Manifold Temptations."

tites." No "pride," "anger," "desire," &c. And these are not omitted because the enumeration is not minute, for it is particularly so, comprising "acute diseases," "protracted diseases," "poverty," "the death of those near and dear to us," "the irreligion and danger of those who are connected with us by the closest ties," &c. He says of temptation, in the latter case, that Satan will "take advantage of these afflictions, and will *labor* to inject unbelieving, or blasphemous, or repining thoughts; he will *endeavor* to stir up the heart against God, to renew our natural enmity against him." Yet it is labor in vain, for as we have quoted elsewhere, the perfect Christian "is freed from evil thoughts, so that they cannot enter into him, no, not for a moment"—it is a useless "endeavor," for as above said of St. Paul, "he could no more have the inward stirrings than the outward expressions of pride, anger, or lust." It may be remarked, also, that while this heaviness co-exists with "faith, hope, love, peace, and joy, even joy unspeakable," the state of "darkness" is hostile to them all.

One view more, though a slightly digressive one. In his sermon on Christian Perfection he distinctly shows "in what sense Christians *are not* perfect"—they are not free from "ignorance," from "temptation," nor from "infirmities." We have shown what he means by temptation, and it is manifest that he does not include in it our author's "excitement of the appetites and passions." It will not be contended that he includes it in "ignorance." Does he, then, include it among "infirmities?" Let him speak for himself.

"But I mean hereby, not only those which are properly termed *bodily infirmities*, but all those inward or outward imperfections, which are not of a moral nature. Such are weakness, or slowness of understanding, dullness or confusedness of apprehension, incoherency of thought, irregular quickness, or heaviness of imagination. Such (to mention no more of this kind) is the want of a ready or retentive memory. Such, in another kind, are those which are commonly, in some measure, consequent upon these; namely, slowness of speech, impropriety of language, ungracefulness of pronunciation; to which one might add a thousand nameless defects, either in conversation or behavior. These are the infirmities which are found in the best of men in a larger or smaller proportion. And from these none can hope to be freed till the spirit returns to God who gave it."

Again, in his "Plain Account," &c., he describes what Christian perfection is, and then admits that there still remain defects; but what are they? The violent state of the "appetites and passions" described by our author? Far otherwise. Hear him,—

"But even these souls dwell in a shattered body, and are so pressed down thereby, that they cannot always exert themselves as they would,

by thinking, speaking, and acting precisely right. For want of better bodily organs, they must at times think, speak, or act wrong; not, indeed, through a defect of love, but through a defect of knowledge. And while this is the case, notwithstanding that defect, and its consequences, they fulfill the law of love."

These he considers defects in the sanctified state, the worst that it admits. Yet what a contrast is there between these and that "impulse to evil," those "horrible, offensive, impure reflections and imaginings" which the theory allows! Another equally conclusive consideration is, that in his descriptions of the justified man, he is emphatic in asserting the existence of the state of the passions and appetites described by the theory, but never in any account of Christian perfection; nay, the former is generally placed in contrast with the latter.

Thus we see that however we vary our interrogation, the response of Wesley is uniformly and uncompromisingly against the doctrine of the reviewer. We have, 1. Given his testimony, in express declarations against the theory; 2. Answered objections, or rather summoned him to answer them; and, 3. Deduced, and presented in his own words, a theory as a substitute for the reviewer's, which is compatible with our doctrine of Christian perfection; and throughout these successive views we have seen an unvarying and unquestionable contradiction of the doctrines of the review. It is too manifest to be doubted for a moment. No acknowledgment of an irregular or unfortunate use of words by the theory can evade it; prove that the author does not mean what we attribute to him and you prove that he means nothing, you set at defiance every principle of interpretation. Nor will any emphasis on the difference between the popular and scientific use of language be of avail here; however construed, scientifically or popularly, the sense of our author, and the sense of Wesley, are clear and definite, and are clearly and definitely opposed.

We have appealed, in the preceding pages, to the highest standard of the Methodist views of Scripture truth—the writings of Wesley—a standard referred to as authoritative by the trust-deeds of Wesleyan chapels, and appealed to as decisive of Wesleyan ecclesiastical affairs, in the chancery of England.* It is not here our province to establish the doctrine of Wesley as above presented. It is taken for granted that, as Methodists, we receive it. The advocates of the theory, holding, as they do, responsible trusts of the church, it is presumed recognize her doctrines. In the denial of these, the controversy must assume an entirely new phasis; it

* See the Warren Schism.—*Fisk's Travels.*

would then devolve upon us, not merely to test the theory by our standards, but first to establish the authority of the latter. Though, in our humble opinion, they conflict, yet believing the theory not to have been wittingly put forth with such an intent, but rather with the impression that its views were fully Wesleyan, we have deemed it necessary, thus far, only to recall the minds of our readers to the established doctrines of the church. If the theory contradicts these, we must either abandon it as false or controvert our standards. When the latter is proposed, it will be relevant to attempt their vindication. Nevertheless, if, as we have attempted to prove, the hypothesis of the reviewer conflicts with our doctrines, then, also, do the arguments in its defense, however unintentionally, and we are logically bound to consider them. Let us, then, turn to the second article under review.

The reader will observe that the learned writer presents the question in a manner most favorable for the theory. He says, that it relates "not to the *extent* to which the excitement is allowed by the reviewer to go without sin, but to the *existence* of the excitement." This is true, so far as our theory, in its bearing on the precise "excitement" of the reviewer, is concerned; but the overthrow of ours does not necessarily imply the truth of the reviewer's. Both may be false. It devolves upon the advocates of the theory to prove not merely that "*excitement*" of the appetites and passions must exist in temptation, but that it can exist to the extent taught by the theory, and not be "of the nature of sin." But let us proceed to the arguments adduced by the reviewer.

The first is repeated from the preceding article; it is presented thus:—

"'And when the woman saw that the tree *was good for food*, and that it was *pleasant to the eyes*, and a tree *to be desired to make one wise*, she took of the fruit thereof, and did eat, and gave also unto her husband with her, and he did eat.' In this temptation there is exhibited, beyond the possibility of controversy, *excitement*, and an excitement of both an *appetite* and a *propensity*, (or, in the language of the [first] reviewer, of a '*passion*,') and that *by an object God had appointed as their natural excitant*; the intervention of Satanic influence, as we shall by and by see, not materially affecting the case. See also Dr. Clarke on this passage, the italicising being his own:—'The fruit appeared to be wholesome and nutritive. *And it was pleasant to the eyes*—The beauty of the fruit tended to whet and increase the appetite. *And it was to be desired to make one wise*, which was an additional motive to please the palate. From these three sources all natural and moral evil sprung; they are exactly what the apostle calls the *desire of the flesh*, the tree was good for food; *the desire of the eye*, it was pleasant to the sight; and *the pride of life*, it was to be desired to make one wise.'"

The passage from Genesis is italicised by the reviewer. But suppose he had italicised one more word, viz., the fifth, so that it might read, "And when the woman *saw* that the tree was *good for food*," &c., which theory would it then most favor, Wesley's doctrine of intellectual or perceived temptation, or the sensual excitement of the reviewer? A brief historical, if not allegorical, passage would not be admitted by the severest critics as the solution of a metaphysical problem like the present; but if its exact verbal construction is admitted as authority here, we claim it entirely in our own favor. "When the woman *saw*," &c.; here is "the innocent stage of the temptation," as it is described in a former page. That there was excitement after the intellectual stage of the temptation, we admit; but the reviewer must demonstrate that this excitement was *mere temptation*, and not "of the nature of sin," before he can avail himself of the text in support of the theory. This point he surrenders, in the judgment of most sound theologians, by the quotation from Clarke; the latter does not say that the excitement was "necessary," "involuntary," "without sin," but the contrary, for he shows that it was "exactly what the apostle calls the *desire of the flesh*, the *desire of the eye*, and the *pride of life*." What evangelical commentator teaches these not to be of the nature of sin? Wesley himself says, (*Notes*, 1 John ii, 16,) "That all these desires are not from God, but from the prince of this world."* St. John says, in the immediate context, "The love of the Father is not in him" who thus "loves the world." Yet the reviewer proceeds to argue that "this excitement was *involuntary*, and, under the circumstances of the case, *necessary*." The italics are his own. We did not imply in our strictures that an "unfallen nature" could not feel this excitement, (for how, then, could man have fallen?) but that such a nature could not thus feel and remain unfallen. The temptation was "*involuntary*," the excitement was not; when the woman "*saw*," she knew her duty, and could have escaped, but she consented to hear the seducer, and fell. The promise to show that "Satanic intervention did not materially affect the case," we have not found fulfilled in the remainder of the article. How it can be practicable, we know not; for it was not a *natural* or *necessary excitement* that principally tempted the woman, but a preternatural and fictitious suggestion that *she should not die*, and that the *tree was to be desired to make one wise*.

* See also his sermons on "Original Sin," "The Circumcision of the Heart," "Repentance of Believers." He invariably pronounces these "lusts" incompatible with perfect love.

Bishop Butler's opinion is next quoted; so far as it applies to the natural man, or the merely justified Christian, it does not come within our present consideration. Such an excitement as the theory allows, we have fully admitted, except in the unfallen state and that of entire sanctification. In respect to the latter, Butler will not, we presume, be referred to as an authority. He lived in that remarkable period of spiritual declension, which preceded the birth of Methodism, when the doctrine of perfection, as it was afterward announced by Wesley, had no definite expression as a distinct theological tenet, and was, apparently, never thought of by clergy or laity. If the opinions of distinguished authorities without our own pale, respecting the doctrine, or respecting adjunct truths, are essential to its orthodoxy, we must abandon it in despair. Bishop Butler is not considered a safe authority on the evangelical doctrines, though unapproached in the talent of his great work. Bishop Wilson, after enumerating his defects, speaks thus of him :*—

"But, in truth, all these deficiencies, if we are right in our judgment about them, spring from an inadequate view of the fallen state of man. —We cannot, therefore, conceal our conviction that Butler's view of human depravity does not fully meet the truth of the case, as delineated in the inspired writings, and confirmed by uniform experience.—In short, the whole of what we would advance amounts to this, the standard of Christianity, as applied to the heart and life of man, which the readers of Butler would form from his general language, is far below what we conceive to be the standard of the sacred Scriptures.—Our objection to Bishop Butler's language is, that it is not Scriptural. He substitutes weaker and more ambiguous expressions. He lowers every thing."

The next argument is a psychological one founded upon what our author calls the "only" process of mental action. It is thus presented by the reviewer from Professor Upham :—

"He considers the mental states under the three general divisions; the intellect, the sensibilities, and the will. The *natural* sensibilities are considered under the heads, emotions and desires; and the *moral* sensibilities under the heads, moral emotions, and feelings of moral obligation. When we add, that the *desires* embrace the instincts, the appetites, the propensities, and the affections, we have an outline of the entire mental action before us. Nor is the *order* of the mind's action left by him in obscurity, or in doubt. It commences with the intellect, and passes on to the will, through the medium of the emotions and desires, on the one hand, and of the moral emotions and feelings of obligation, on the other. This is not represented as the occasional, or

* The Analogy of Religion, a Criticism of Butler's Treatise. By Daniel Wilson, Bishop of Calcutta. Boston: James Loring. 1834.

even the *usual* order; but as the *only* way in which the will can be addressed.—Temptation obviously implies danger; and danger here must imply some connection between the impulse of temptation and the *will*, from which alone can proceed a moral action. But from the general view which we have presented of the mind's action, this temptation, which must first be addressed to the intellect, can reach the will only through the emotions and the desires.—Locke says, 'Good, though appearing, and allowed [to be] ever so great, yet till it has reached *desires* in our minds, and thereby made us uneasy in its want, it reaches not our wills.'—From all this it clearly appears that the temptation cannot reach the will, or produce action of any kind without passing through the region of the sensibilities.—The mere moral emotions, viz., of approval and disapproval, do not, of themselves, reach the will. They operate on the will through the feelings of obligation; that is to say, they are always succeeded by the latter feelings before men are led to action. *All other emotions* operate *through* the *desires, so that the will, in making up its determinations, takes immediate cognizance of only two classes of mental states, viz.*, DESIRES *and* FEELINGS OF OBLIGATION."

The argument of the reviewer is this: there can be no temptation without danger; there can be no danger without access to the will; there can be no access to the will but through the sensibilities; therefore, there can be no temptation without the excitement of the sensibilities. No subject of mental science remains more dubious and more disputed than that upon which this argument depends—the human will. We have no standard text-book or authority which is altogether satisfactory to Arminians. All are more or less necessarian. Our Calvinistic brethren were never, perhaps, more uncertain and perplexed respecting it than at present.* The effect of any argument based upon it will be much qualified, to sober thinkers, by these considerations.

The Calvinistic opinions on the will are mostly the theory, or modifications of the theory, of Edwards—the theory of motives. The Arminian theory admits the ordinary influence of motives, but denies their *controlling* power. "Has the mind a *self-determining* power by which it can *spontaneously* decide, independent of the *control* of motives, or is the mind absolutely controlled by motives? We maintain the former—our opponents the latter."† "It is absolutely false," says Wesley, "that the mind must be determined by that motive which appears, upon the whole, the best. It is flatly contrary to the experience of all mankind. Who may not say, on many occasions, *video meliora?* [I see better things.] I know

* See the Biblical Repository and other Calvinistic Reviews for the last five years.

† Fisk's Calvinistic Controversy, No. 8.

what I do, is not, upon the whole, the best. The will does not necessarily obey the judgment. *The mind has an intrinsic power of cutting off the connection between the judgment and the will.*"*

If, then, the "connection between the judgment [that is, intellect] and the will" is the "emotions and desires," as the reviewer contends; and if "the mind has the power to cut off this connection," as Wesley contends, then is the mind responsible for this connection—for the character of these emotions and desires, and if it is responsible, then is there danger without access to the will, and the condition on which the reviewer's argument proceeds is met. Wesley distinguishes liberty from the will; "it is," says he, "a power distinct from both the will and the understanding;"† "capable of being exerted with regard to all the faculties of the soul, as well as all the motions of the body."‡ He not only denies the opinion that "the *actions* of men are wholly independent of their choice," but, also, that their "passions and tempers" are so. He even denies that man is "altogether passive in receiving the impression of things. Even here much depends upon his choice. In many cases he may or may not receive the impression, in most he may vary it greatly."§ And may we not say of the "necessary excitement" of the theory, what he says of Edward's system, provided it *should* be true? "Let Mr. Edwards say all he will or can concerning the *outward appearance of things*, as giving rise to sensations, associations of ideas, passions, dispositions, actions; [that is, impressing, in necessary order, the intellect, sensibilities, and will;] yet allowing this to be the order of nature, what then? See one superior to nature. What is the course of nature to him?" That is, if we understand the context, divine grace is a part of the system under which man is placed, his full liberty depends upon its power in his soul, and, by it, what would otherwise be the inevitable course of his nature, may be modified—he may not only control his will, but he may "cut off," when proper, the "connection between it and the judgment," and may even "choose or vary the impression of things."

We have not denied that in the original state, and in the sanctified man, the *natural* appetites and passions exist, and that they are subject to their *natural* excitement; but we deny that what the theory, and its learned defender, calls their natural and necessary excitement, *is such*. They contend that this "involuntary and necessary excitement" may take an "unlawful" direction before consent, and that without guilt, until the will does consent. We

* Thoughts on Necessity. † Ibid. ‡ Sermon on Man. § Ibid.

deny that it can take such a direction without consent, and that, therefore, there is guilt in the tendency, and not merely in a *subsequent* act of the will. We contend that the sensibilities in a sanctified man are so pervaded, prepossessed by a prior influence, by the love of God, that all unlawful influences can be kept out—that the purified moral sense acts coetaneously with the intellect in perceiving the character of the excitant, and need allow it no admission, if wrong, or, when the excitant is proper, and its excitement exists, can, not only *suspend*, but *prevent* any wrong direction of the natural excitement. Hunger, for instance, is a natural appetite. The sanctified man may feel it; after feeling it for hours, or, as in our Lord's temptation, for days, he may see bread which he cannot lawfully use; must now the appetite crave the forbidden object? It was a general appetite for food before, must it now take the *particular* direction of the unlawful object—must it *desire* IT? Nay, we believe that in a wholly sanctified mind the perception of the immoral character of an excitant, which may be coetaneous with the perception of the object itself, will array the sensibilities against it rather than allow them to be attracted by it, and, for a time, the general appetite itself may be suspended by the reaction. Does Christ's interdiction of inward lust allow us to feel it, provided we do not consent? Does the Decalogue prohibit only covetous volitions, not desires? Does that "cleansing from all filthiness of the flesh and the spirit," promised to the people of God, mean only a power of the will, sooner or later to exclude, not preclude, unholy tendencies of the passions? Does the perfect Christian feel, in common with the unregenerate man, the influence of excitants, however unholy the tendency of that influence? Must it, in both cases, equally pass through the region of the sensibilities to the will, the Christian having a superior power of the will to throw it off only when it has passed through the intermediate region? When the appetite is in a proper condition to be excited by a lawful excitant, would it, in a sanctified mind, feel the least excitement from this unlawful, but equally natural excitant? Would not the excitement produced by the *thought* be horror instead of desire—a horror which, for the time, would suppress all desire, even that which is lawful?

If the reviewer, by his "*only* order of the mind's action," means merely that the mind is composed of successive departments, so mechanically arranged, that there is no passage from the first to the last but through the interjacent one—that the will, occupying the last, is perfectly inert, asleep at its post, until some messenger can enter and awaken it—and that, when it is awakened, it has a

spontaneous power of directing its action, independent of the character of that messenger, then does not our theory of temptation still meet his demands? We have admitted that temptations to *unlawful indulgence* may be presented to the *intellect*—we have admitted that they may produce excitement, intense excitement, yet not an excitement like that of the reviewer's, tending *toward*, flowing in the *direction* of, the unlawful object, but an excitement of abhorrence *against* it—not an excitement which must be resisted, but *consented* to as altogether holy. This is the very excitement which the learned defender of the theory includes among the sensibilities under the name of "feelings of moral obligation," and places "in direct contact with the voluntary power." If, then, the will needs merely to be aroused in connection with the intellectual perception of temptation, and if a *desirive* excitement is not absolutely necessary to arouse it, the difficulty vanishes. And our author seems (though, as we shall show, in contradiction of himself) to admit, on the very next page, that a non-desirive excitement is sufficient; for he states that "excitement, as he has defined it, and as the term seems to be used in the first article, does not imply a *disposition* to indulgence of any kind, nor does it necessarily imply a state of *desire*. This excitement may be weak, or it may be almost overwhelming in its power." If the excitement must be in the sensibilities, and if these include only the emotions and desires on the one hand, and the moral feelings on the other, and if he here admits, as he certainly does, that it need not exist in the desires, then it must exist in either the moral feelings or the emotions; if in the former, then he grants exactly our point; if in the latter, the concession is still sufficiently express, for the emotions are not desirive, they are merely excitive; and if excitive influence alone is demanded, irrespective of its desirive or non-desirive character, then, however we may doubt his theory of the mind, we certainly need not quarrel with our esteemed friend, for our own hypothesis meets his conditions.*

But suppose the preceding views of the mind to be unsatisfactory (as doubtless they will) to the reviewer, as unsatisfactory as his own must be to the believers in Christian perfection—what then? Why, he relieves us immediately by abandoning his "*only*

* There are cases in which such a spontaneous power of the will cannot possibly be denied. A friend extends to me his closed hand, containing a valuable gem, which he offers me if I say correctly whether it is a diamond or a sapphire. I have a motive to say something; but if I say a *diamond* or a *sapphire*, it must be entirely because I *will* so to say; there is no motive to induce me to say one rather than the other. Motives are the conditions, not the causes of volitions.

order of the mind's action." In this case, the accommodative view we have just presented becomes ineligible, but it becomes, at the same time, *unnecessary*. We have given his theory of mental action. It is briefly this: 1. The intellect; 2. The emotions; 3. The desires; 4. The will. When we repeat that he asserts there can be no temptation without danger, and there can be no danger without acess to the will, we have all the grounds of his present argument. He quotes Locke and Upham as authorities, and both affirm that the *desires* must be excited before the will can be reached; he tells us, that Locke says, "Good, though appearing, and allowed to be ever so great; yet till it reaches *desires* in our minds, and thereby makes us uneasy in its want, *it reaches not the will.*" The italics are his own. In his quotation from Upham, the fact that the *emotions* do not reach the will, but through a *subsequent* medium, viz., the *desires*, on the one hand, and feelings of *moral obligation*, on the other, is still more positively affirmed. We give it again with all the reviewer's italics and capitals. "The mere moral emotions, viz., of approval and disapproval, do not, of themselves, reach the will. They operate through the feelings of obligation, that is to say, they are always succeeded by the latter feelings before men are led to action. All other emotions operate through the desires, *so that the will, in making up its determinations, takes immediate cognizance of only two classes of mental states, viz.*, DESIRES *and* FEELINGS OF OBLIGATION." This is decidedly said. How, then, in the name of all logic, we ask, does the reviewer, on the very next page from one on which he affirms this theory, declare, "that the excitement, as here defined, and as the term seems to be used by the [preceding] reviewer, does not imply a *disposition* to indulgence of any kind, nor does it necessarily imply a state of *desire?*" And how, on a subsequent page, can he say, that "the peculiar character of the temptations of the sanctified person is then doubtless this:—that while they *tend*, in common with the temptations of feebler Christians, and of all other men, *to the excitement of the desires*, he does not allow them to take hold on these desires; he has attained the power to arrest them *at this point?*" This last quotation appears to us quite ambiguously expressed, but it is doubtless designed to convey the same idea as the preceding one, and it is unquestionably this: that the *emotions*, not the *desires*, must be excited in temptation. But the whole force of our author's argument consists in the proposition that there can be no temptation without access to the will, and, according to his mental philosophy, there can be no access to the will by the emotions except *through* the *desires*. Though the

emotions be excited, still the absence of the desires leaves an impassable chasm between the temptation and the will. We contend for the intellectual state of the temptation; the reviewer replies that we are wrong, because we allow an impassable interval between it and the will; he then presents his own view, and we find, on a little scrutiny, that it allows a chasm, not quite so broad, but as absolutely impassable, and thus contradicts his whole hypothesis of mental action. The language of the poet, with a slight change, expresses our thought,—

> "Whatever link you break,
> Tenth or ten thousandth, breaks the chain alike."

The fact is manifest that our author, after asserting so emphatically that there can be no danger but from the will, transfers the danger at last to a mere preliminary state of the mind, the *emotions*—we do the same by placing it in the intellect, and our view involves danger as well as his; if the temptation may be dangerous in the emotions, because it may pass on through the desires to the will, it may also be dangerous in the intellect, because it may pass on through the emotions and desires to the will.

But this is not all. He contradicts, also, his own previous reasoning, and the theory of the original writer. Here he asserts that the *desires* are not excited in a sanctified man, but only the emotions, yet in reasoning on temptation in the Adamic state, (which Wesley allows to have been superior to Christian perfection,) he contends that there existed "the *desire of the flesh*, the *desire of the eye*, and *the pride of life*—the excitement of both an *appetite* and a *propensity*, or, in the language of the [preceding] reviewer, of a '*passion*.'" Professor Upham, acknowledged by the reviewer as authority, places the *appetites*, *propensities*, and *passions* above the *emotions*, among the *desires*. Does not the reviewer also contradict the theory of the first article? It allows the "excitement of the appetites and passions," a "violent excitement," attended with "impure imaginings," &c. The appetites and passions are not merely emotions, they are desires in both the popular and scientific use of the terms. We have shown, also, that the first article allows *any* excitement short of the *will*—that there "*is no sin but in consent*;" the writer of the second admits, in his philosophical system, that the desires *precede* the will, and yet declares on the next page that the term excitement, as used in the first article, "does not imply a *disposition* to indulgence of any kind, nor does it necessarily imply a state of *desire*." Is not this a most palpable contradiction, or do we misapprehend our friend? If he

thus abandons the ground of his argument, it is superfluous for us to consider it further. Let us then proceed.*

The reviewer asserts that our views do not agree with the common language of Christians.

"One says, he *was never tempted* to steal; another, that he *was never tempted* to take the name of God in vain; and the fact of their making these statements, showing that they are matter of *intellectual perception*, that they exist in the thoughts. When men have no theory to sustain, they do not call these temptations."

We *have* a theory to maintain: the blessed one of Christian perfection. Few believe it; the language of common Christians does not imply it; few if any of their temptations are unattended by the excitement of their remaining depravity, for, "can a man take fire into his bosom and his clothes not be burned?" Further, this view of intellectual temptation is very different from our own. The above "thoughts" may be accidental, momentary, whereas, we admit their suggestion by Satan. He may reiterate them for

* We have taken side with no system of psychology in our remarks, and we certainly express no rare sentiment, when we say that there is none with which we are satisfied. Amid the uncertainty of such speculations, it is sufficient for us to base our views of temptation on the facts of Christian experience and the purity demanded by the Scriptures. These, we think, are decisive against the excitement allowed by the theory. We have given them as understood by our standards in the former part of this article. The two great faults of our psychological systems are, that those which are based on the "common sense," as it is called, of the Scotch and English mind, are formed by a too rigid induction of the superficial phenomena of the intellect, while the continental systems generalize extravagantly. The former divide and sub-divide the mind, according to its manifestations, until we almost forget the fact that it acts as a unit in its every function; while the latter render it almost inappreciable by transcendental generalizations. The system adopted by the reviewer is an example of the former. A medium method is perhaps the right one. The minute and various induction of the physical sciences does not apply to the mind; it applies not even to the mathematics: still such a method is preferable to the opposite extreme. Two works have lately appeared from the American press, which, though not satisfactory, show a disposition to avoid both extremes. We refer to the volumes of Drs. Rauch and Schmucker. The classification of the latter is substantially that of Cousin. One of the most remarkable men of our country, whose ability Cousin has acknowledged, and most of whose errors have the excuse of arising from a reaction of his mind from still greater, though sanctioned ones, is now preparing a work which, with fundamental faults, will, nevertheless, present, we think, the right doctrine on the subject of the will, sustaining the views we have given of the moral character of the passions, and asserting a standard of purity far above that of our friends, the reviewers. The reader will perhaps be surprised to hear such assertion in reference to Orestes A. Brownson.

hours or days to the mind, in defiance of all its resistance, until they become haunting spectres; he may accompany them with heaviness and depression, and even with an agony of excitement—an excitement not "*tending to*" the evil suggested, as admitted by the theory, but of horror *against* it. It was understood of course, by the readers of our former "strictures," that we would not deny *such* an excitement; it would have been superfluous, if not absurd, to state it. Could any one, for a moment, suppose we denied that the mind (*especially* of a sanctified man) could feel the excitement of abhorrence and horror *against sin?* It is obvious that the excitability of his "moral emotions and feelings of obligation" is greater than before he was sanctified.

St. James' definition of temptation is next presented. "Every man is tempted when he is drawn away of his own lust and enticed. Then when lust hath conceived, it bringeth forth sin," &c., James i, 14. "Here," says our author, "temptation *precedes* sin." It does; but it is actual, not inward sin, of which the apostle speaks, or the definition would not agree with the Scriptural standard of purity, as elsewhere stated, and as presented by Wesley in the former part of this article. The whole character of the epistle shows that it was not addressed to sanctified Christians. Its definition is that of the ordinary temptations of justified men; and even of such it may be said, "Blessed is the man that endureth temptation, for when he is tried he shall receive the crown of life, which the Lord hath promised to them that love him." Temptations show him his depravity, as well as test his faith, and his course, from conquering to conquer, is also a progress from grace to grace, until he is purified for heaven. Wesley's notes (*in loco*) show the above to have been his view of the passage. The italics are his.

"The *desire having conceived*—by our own will joining therewith; *bringeth forth*—actual *sin*. It doth not follow that the *desire* itself is not sinful. He that begets a man is himself a man."

To the reviewer's question, whether "Mr. Wesley does not clearly subscribe to his principle when he speaks of an 'irregular' and 'wandering imagination' as an 'innocent infirmity?'" we answer, decidedly, No. We have already shown what he means by *innocent infirmities*. The sermons referred to, as containing these phrases, are those on Temptation and Perfection. In the former he says,—

"How weak the understanding! How liable the wisest man to mistake! To form false judgments, to take falsehood for truth, and

truth for falsehood, evil for good, and good for evil! What starts, what wanderings of imagination, are we subject to! And how many are the temptations we are to expect even from these innocent infirmities!"

Here he speaks of mere intellectual acts, not even temptations, though they may lead to them. This is further evident in the passage referred to in the other sermon, in which he expressly says they are not *moral*.

"I mean those inward or outward imperfections which are not of a moral nature: such are weakness or slowness of understanding, dullness or confusedness of apprehension, incoherency of thought, irregular quickness or heaviness of imagination."

The quotations show their own meaning, and are further explained by those given in the preceding pages. Is this, then, the only sanction given by Wesley to the reviewer's theory? How does it contrast with what he gives to that which we defend and have presented in his own words?

The reviewer next presents some qualifying remarks, which strike us as not a little remarkable.

"But when it is said that temptation, as we have defined it, is 'not sin, nor of the nature of sin,' *actual sin* is of course meant."

He has defined temptation to be "an excitement of the appetites and passions," &c.; the reader will remember how far extended and how strongly characterized. Does he, then, at last admit that it is inward or natural depravity which is excited? If not, why distinguish and emphasize it as "not *actual* sin." If he makes the admission, what will he do with the application of the definition to Christ and to Adam, who had no natural depravity, and in the latter of whom he declares the excitement to have been "involuntary and necessary?"

"This [actual sin] is the only sense in which Wesley uses the term *sin*, or in which he considers it ever to be used in the Scriptures."

Wesley, we believe, wrote an elaborate work, the very title of which is ORIGINAL SIN, and also a sermon bearing the same name. No one will question his belief in natural depravity, whether he usually called it by the name *sin* or not. If the reviewers then mean by their "excitement not being sin," merely that it is not what Wesley generally calls sin, that is, *actual* sin, but admit that it is "of the nature of" natural depravity, then, according to Wesley, their definition cannot be applied to the sanctified state, then it cannot apply to Adam, nor to Christ, and at once they deny their own theory, and confirm that of our "strictures."

"Had the [first] reviewer been writing a popular essay on Christian perfection, he would doubtless have told the young Christian, that by the exercise of an effectual faith, and by patient continuance in well-doing, these periods of painful 'excitement' and agitation would pass away."

How can an "*involuntary* and *necessary* excitement," produced by "natural excitants" on the "excitable functions and powers of our constitution," be cut off? Does religion change the physical world or our natural constitutions? Or, in the case of Satanic temptations, does Satan cease his attacks? How, then, does advancement in grace take away the susceptibility of this excitement? Grace takes away nothing that is physiological and "necessary;" it removes only sin and its effects. But granting that it does remove the excitement of what our authors call temptation, if the "young Christian" can be encouraged with the *hope*, can we not affirm of the perfect Christian the *fact* of its cessation? If not, in what state can the young Christian realize the hope? In our strictures we made this affirmation, and our good brother writes a profound article against our position, holding forth, nevertheless, to the "young Christian" the hope of all we affirmed. This, with the other contradictions which we have noticed, lead us to believe that his theology is, after all, much better than his philosophy would seem to indicate.

The writer proceeds to object to our view of temptation.

"The first and chief point which attracts our attention, is the cold and philosophical sort of temptation which is set forth in these strictures, as the only one free from 'the nature of sin.' A temptation which, in the language of the editor, 'has no exciting influence upon the passions,' and in which the person is represented as 'feeling no excitement to the evil.'"

We have indeed declared that such an excitement—an "excitement *to* the evil"—does not exist in the sanctified heart; but we have admitted excitement—the most intense excitement—excitement of the "moral emotions," &c. We have admitted that the intellectual temptation may be urged and reiterated in most terrible conflict with the "feelings of moral obligation," accompanied with heaviness, sorrow, perplexity, and a hundred other trials, but not with "appetites and passions excited *to* the evil." Satan thus strives to compel the child of God to unbelief, repining, or despair. Were not the temptations of Job—"a perfect man," as the history calls him—of a similar character?

"Then the young Christian's temptations must partake of the nature of sin. [Not all of them; when the 'passions and appetites are ex-

cited to evil,' and accompanied by 'impure reflections and imaginings,' they do.] But what does experience say on this subject? When he has resisted successfully, and overcome these impulses, he will be conscious of a feeling, not of *gratitude* that he has escaped—but of *innocence*, and not only of innocence, but of *approbation* and *desert of reward*."

We hesitate not to say that, however common this language may be in the ethical discussions of mere philosophical speculators, it is not to be found, unqualified, in any truly evangelical work of theology. Philosophers and moralists may speak and write thus, but a true child of God, never, unless in adopting the dialect of a philosophical system foreign to his heart. A merely justified Christian in every conquest of the remaining tendency of his passions and appetites to evil, indeed rejoices, he exults, but it *is* an exultation "of gratitude that he has escaped," and never, if he has right views of himself, is it attended with a feeling of "*approbation* and of *desert of reward*." These are altogether new terms in evangelical theology. On the contrary, while he gratefully rejoices that he has escaped, he discovers in the unholy tendencies of his appetites and passions the deep depravity of his nature, and mourns over it before his God. These are Wesleyan views, and the Christian reader can verify them by a reference to his own heart.

"How stands this case in reference to the perfect Christian? Has he no fiery trials? Has he no conflicts at all?"

Yes; abundance of them, as we have shown.

"This view [that desire may be excited in temptation without sin] we shall also support by a quotation from Wesley: 'The more any believer examines his own heart, the more will he be convinced of this: that faith, working by love, excludes both inward and outward sin, from a soul watching unto prayer; that, nevertheless, we are even then liable to temptation, particularly to the sin that did easily beset us; that if the loving eye of the soul be steadily fixed on God, the temptation soon vanishes away; but if not, if we are *εξελκομενοι*, (as the apostle James speaks, chap. i, 14,) drawn out of God by our own desire and *δελεαζομενοι*, caught by the bait of present or promised pleasures; then that desire, conceived in us, brings forth sin, and having, by that inward sin, destroyed our faith, it casts us headlong into the snare of the devil, so that we may commit any outward sin whatever.' Here we shall notice but two points:—The one is, that the believer, from whose soul 'is excluded both inward and outward sin,' is nevertheless liable to *temptation to sin;* and the other, that 'sin' does not result from the working of this temptation, till it is *brought forth* by the action of the *desire* which is conceived in him. We believe this general doctrine is also strongly expressed by Dr. Clarke, when he says, 'That to be tempted, *even to the greatest abominations*, (while the person resists,) *is not sin.*'"

The text of Wesley's sermon from which the quotation is taken is 1 John iii, 9, "Whosoever is born of God doth not commit sin." Wesley in his sermon on Christian perfection says that this passage refers to merely regenerated Christians, and that the word sin means *actual* sin. It is obvious from the discourse that he gives it the same application in the present instance. The reader on referring to it will observe particularly the introductory passages, and the one under the second division, in which he defines the word sin as here used by the apostle. In several of his sermons he represents the believer as exempt before sanctification from "both inward and outward sin," while he "keeps himself;" not, of course, free from all natural depravity, but from its voluntary action, either "inward or outward." We have already given his view of the passage from St. James. With our own theory we can join the reviewers in adopting the language of Clarke on the temptation of Christ, that "to be tempted to the greatest abominations, while the person resists, is not sin; for Christ was tempted to *worship* the DEVIL." The question is not whether temptation is sin, but whether the "excitement" of the theory is mere temptation or is sin. Clarke says nothing respecting such an excitement in the temptation of Christ, and we have given the opinion of a greater—of Wesley, against it. We may ask, *en passant*, if "any one, not having a theory to sustain," can imagine that such an excitement of the passions entered into the particular temptation of our Lord here referred to by Clarke? "The devil showeth him all the kingdoms of the world, and the glory of them, and saith, All these things will I give thee if thou wilt fall down and worship me." According to the theory, this is wrongly called a temptation unless it reached the passions—that is, as the word imports, (and as we have shown the theory demands, notwithstanding the self-contradiction of the reviewer,) the *desires*. Now, is it presumed for a moment that the ambition, the desires of Him who created the heavens and the earth were excited by this display of the petty tetrarchies of Judea, or even the dominions of the whole earth? How much more probable is Wesley's view of this temptation?

In the digression of the reviewer on Edwards' account of the origin of depravity, we observe nothing with which our views interfere. We also would "have our affections regulated, not extinguished."

The only remaining argument which it will be required of us to consider, is presented as follows:—

"Let us paraphrase one of our Saviour's temptations according to this hypothesis, and see what it is:—Being on the pinnacle of the

temple, the 'thought' was presented to his mind to cast himself down —trusting to Providence to prevent his destruction. This is all that can be made of it. There is evidently nothing remarkable in this— nothing, in fact, which, in the experience of an ordinary man, would be considered worth recording. This thought may indeed have been suggested to the minds of thousands when standing in a similar situation; and if it has never been before, it will be likely to enter the mind of the reader, the next time he shall be in such a place."

It will be perceived that the author proceeds again on an utter misapprehension of our view of temptation. We have not denied all excitement, we have allowed that of the "moral emotions and feelings of obligation," of horror against sin, and of many other modes of spiritual grievance, which may exist in a sanctified mind, all producing profound affliction. As above said, it would have been superfluous, if not absurd, for us in denying the "excitement of the appetites and passions," as taught by the theory, to have stopped and reminded the reader that a holy man *can* feel excitement, horror *against sin*, or that his temptations may be accompanied with depression, heaviness, &c., through a diabolical and continued reiteration of the intellectual suggestion. We have only denied that the reviewer's excitement of the appetites and passions can exist in a perfect Christian. He gives a definite statement of this excitement and of the whole theory.

"When, under proper conditions, the external exciting object is presented, its corresponding appetite or passion is necessarily excited, and tends to seek gratification; and this involuntary and necessary excitement, when it tends to unlawful or excessive gratification, is called *lust*, and properly constitutes temptation.—It is not sin, nor of the nature of sin."

This definition the author says is "clear and precise, and prevents the possibility of misconstruction," and it is this definition, this "lust," this "excitement of the passions and appetites tending to unlawful or excessive gratification," that he applies to the perfect Christian, to paradise, and even to our adorable Redeemer. *This* we have controverted, but meanwhile have described the temptations of the perfect Christian as far otherwise than is implied in this paraphrase. What if we should paraphrase one of our Lord's temptations, according to the reviewer's hypothesis, and represent the Son of God as excited with a "passion" or "desire" to worship the devil, that he might receive an earthly sovereignty, would it appear more plausible than the above? And yet the latter is a total misconstruction.

We have thus rapidly, though at some length, canvassed the

theory and its defense. We have written with the most respectful consideration of its able advocates. The task has been performed with reluctance, and will not probably be resumed. After the theory had appeared in elaborate articles in two successive numbers of this work we still delayed, hoping that its extraordinary character would command the pen of an abler opponent. None has appeared. We have, therefore, presented our humble tribute to the truth, and with no other confidence than the truth inspires. We have referred to Wesley as our standard expositor of the divine word. In conclusion we would urge, and were it not for the liability of misapprehension, urge with admonitory emphasis, the example set us by our Wesleyan brethren of an unwavering adherence in all vital opinions to that high and venerable authority, and especially so, when our chief reasons for a deviation are founded in the dubious speculations of metaphysical philosophy—the least authoritative, yet most potent cause of theological error in every age. Every examination (and it is not a rare pleasure with us) of the Works of that admirable man exalts our estimation of his authority, especially on the fundamental doctrines of revelation. He had faults—his Works abound in them—but they were the defects of his times, while his excellencies were his own. The opinions he adopted from his contemporaries are frequently in contrast with the improved intelligence of our day; but in those which he deduced from revelation we are always struck with a transparency, a vigor, and an evangelical purity, which for his age were pre-eminent, if not peculiar. On him devolved the high and providential duty of calling the attention of the Christian world anew to the three great principles which comprehend the experimental divinity of the Scriptures, relating respectively to the *nature*, *evidence*, and *extent* of personal piety, viz., *justification by faith*, the *witness of the Spirit*, and *sanctification*. What a radiant, yet steady, illumination has his great mind thrown on these great truths! How conservative and efficacious have been their influence on our character and career as a people! Far off be the day when, for any questionable consideration, we shall be disposed to modify any one of these, the most vital elements of our creed, and the most mighty elements of our strength. S.

Boston.

ART. VI.—*The Christian Year; being Thoughts in Verse for the Sundays and Holy-days throughout the Year.* Second American edition. Philadelphia: Lea & Blanchard. 1841.

WE are well aware that "*procul este prophani*" would be an appropriate motto to this and all such works as are comprised within the class to which it belongs; for we are not ignorant of the fact, that they ill endure the "rude, uncivil touch" of such uncourtly hands as ours. We shall, therefore, endeavor to handle it with all the delicacy, which a strict regard to truth, and a sense of the solemn obligations by which we are bound to discharge our duty in this matter, will permit.

But how shall we approach this elegant volume of devotional poetry with due respect? The mysteries it contains suit not the vulgar ear; the instruction it conveys—the consolation it imparts—are for those who wear fine linen, and fare sumptuously every day; its appropriate place is the centre-table of the richly furnished room; and its office is to beguile the tedium of the sabbath evening, to such as have some vague idea that it should not be spent either in reading novels or visiting. It is true it may be taken up occasionally for a higher purpose—personal pain, and sickness, and domestic affliction, and even death itself, may have entered there—for the rich have no immunity from these things any more than the poor, and, in the end, will be found to have paid their full contingent to the contribution levied on mortality; and then consolation, not amusement, will be sought for. We can fancy that we see some fair sufferer, whom sorrow and sickness have brought down to the point of wishing to "lay hold of the hope set before us in the gospel," of which hope she has heard, indeed, but her idea of which is indefinite and confused; we can fancy her turning over its pages, with a sincere desire to be benefited, an earnest expectation of meeting some sweet promise of assistance in her time of need—some cordial for her wounded spirit. Alas! alas!

> "She reads—and reads—then lifts her eyes in doubt,
> And gravely wonders—what it is about:"

her devotional feelings are chilled; her thoughts are turned into other channels; and despondent, and hopeless of "any consolation in Christ, any comfort of love, any fellowship of the Spirit," she resigns herself to the cheerless destiny of toiling on, in the formal, unmeaning observance of saints' days, and the heartless repetition of prescribed prayers. Nor should this be thought unreasonable

on her part; for is not the volume, which has thus disappointed her, written by a distinguished Oxford tractist; and is not its American editor a bishop of her Church, in the unquestioned possession of the delegated power of the apostles, to bind and to loose?

That results similar to the one just imagined, must naturally flow from the setting forth of works called devotional, with the highest pretensions, and most authoritative names, in which there is no inculcation of the doctrine of the "faith once delivered to the saints;" no invitation to "sinners poor and needy;" we conscientiously believe: and this belief has induced us to select the work in question, not that it differs in any essential from a host of others of the same nature; but that having the sanction of such high names as Professor Keble and Bishop Doane, we consider ourselves at liberty to hold it up as a fair sample of the unmeaning sentimentality which is foisted on the gay world under the notion of its being devotional. But we, it may be said, have nothing to do with the gay world. Now under favor, be it spoken, we have much, very much, to do with it. It forms a component part of society, and its influence, deleterious as it is, is awfully powerful. Who has not felt the attractions of its refinement, as evidenced in the countless courtesies of polished life; of its high grade of education, in all the harmonious operations of its diversified branches; of the allurements which it holds forth to our ears and our eyes? Who has not perceived, if he has not felt, the power of wealth; of station; of rank; yes, we repeat it, of rank, however ridiculous and imaginary its pretensions? Who will so far deny weight to all these things, as to assert that they have not an important bearing, even on that part of society who might seem to be either above or below their influence? And is all this nothing to us? Is it nothing to us that the wealthy and the educated, strong for evil and for good, should be suffered to stand afar off—and while the humble ministers of the gospel are crying, "Come ye to the waters," should be told, "Ye need *not* come, we will bring the waters to you; not, indeed, without money and without price, but rest you content, we will bring them?" Is it nothing to us that the young and inexperienced, among those whom we may more peculiarly call our own people, should see the streams of His grace thus dammed up, and its waters led off, and adulterated by human devices and superstitious ceremonies, until, like salt that hath lost its saltness, they are fit for nothing but to make glad, not the real garden of the paradise of God, but the earthly, perishing gardens of the paradise of this world? To speak without a metaphor, we hold it to be our

solemn duty, as faithful guardians of devotional literature, to warn the sentimental reader, as well as the careless votary of fashion and folly, that the effort to reconcile the jarring interests of the two worlds is fruitless; and that the declaration, that whoso would be Christ's disciple, must take up his daily cross, and follow him, stands in as full force now as it did at the moment it was uttered. "Go not after them," is our cry, who would seem to be carried on toward heaven "on flowery beds of ease." There is no such path to glory. We would say, if you are indeed seeking salvation, be not turned out of the true and only road, as thousands have been, by the jeers and scoffs of those who think they have found, not a more excellent, or, in the end, a more pleasant, but a more gay and flowery, and, if we must speak it, a more sentimental and poetical way.

Before we proceed to a review of this particular work, we would be indulged in a few general remarks on the subject of sacred poetry. Let us not be misunderstood, when we say, we do not admit the term *uninspired* when applied to devotional poetry: we believe that whatever turns to God, must first come from him; thus though we use the term in a restricted sense, we consider all really devotional poetry to be, to a certain extent, inspired by the influence of the Holy Spirit. Hence it is, that no poetic effusions, breathed from an unconverted soul, however classically beautiful, have ever won their way with believers, or maintained their stand in the affections of a really Christian people. The cause of this must, we think, be very obvious; when we express those sentiments and emotions which rise spontaneously in the mind, under the influence of strong devotional feeling, we do not naturally seek for fine, or involved language, in which to express them; they come from us in an unpremeditated burst of exclamation, straight, clear, continuous. In minutely examining those hymns which have been dear for a century to the ears of the pious, what most forcibly strikes our attention, is their extreme simplicity of thought and language:—every word tells—and every idea has a direct reference to the subject of the piece.

He who affects to write religious poetry, and is himself a stranger to experimental religion; who has none of that rapturous glow, which they only can understand whose spirits witness with God's Spirit that they are sons and kings, and by which they call him Father; in order to gratify a love of novelty, and indulge the luxury of fancy, must set in motion all the powers of fiction, while the imagination is employed without control to create new images; discover uncommon resemblances, and produce unexpected asso-

ciations. He must ransact the universe for objects of brilliant and unusual comparison, and value sentiment, not as the real object of an emotion, but as susceptible of ingenious turns, striking contrasts, and pleasing illusions. Poetry thus produced, may surprise and dazzle the understanding, but can never cause permanent feeling.

But it is time to introduce the volume we have undertaken to review to the notice of our readers; though, on a second perusal of the American editor's preface, we are well nigh overwhelmed at the audacity of the attempt. Well may we be diffident to express our opinion of poetry written by a professor of poetry, and that, too, in the learned and orthodox University of Oxford; and which a dignitary of the Church, in our own country, declares "he has read with unmingled delight; and that no volume of uninspired poetry has ever given him such rich and continued satisfaction." Nay, "it has seemed to him," as Charles the emperor thought of Florence, "a book too pleasant to be read only on holy-days."—*Preface*, pp. 7, 8. This passes. The bishop has given this fine thought to old Isaak Walton; we claim it, however, for a certain William Shakspeare, who, in his play of "*Much ado about Nothing*," has the following:—

"*Duke.*—Will you have me, lady?

"*Beatrice.*—Not unless I might have another for week days; your grace is too costly for any day but Sunday."

Begging our reader's pardon for our lightness, but really the bishop's hyperbolical compliment betrayed us unwarily into it, we proceed to say, that we must protest against his earnest recommendation of this volume as "a family book," that is, as we understand him, a book to be used for the purpose of aiding devotion. First, because the great fundamental doctrines of the New Testament—as, the necessity of the new birth; the Holy Spirit bearing witness with our spirit; justification by faith; and sanctification by the same faith; are nowhere, throughout all the three hundred and twenty pages of the book, either stated or alluded to; and, secondly, because, even if they were, there is so much glare and glitter thrown over the whole performance that they could not be understood.

And now, that we are about to produce some proof of what we have so roundly asserted, will the reader suffer us to remind him that the author of this poetry writes himself professor of poetry, in the University of Oxford. Much of it is very pretty, some of it is almost, not altogether, but nearly as good, as Mrs. Hemans, or

Mrs. Sigourney, or Mrs. Southey could have written; but does it deserve to be set forth as a manual for Christian devotion? Let the reader judge. We open, positively, at a venture, for absolutely such is the sameness of the whole performance that there is no choice.

"SECOND SUNDAY IN ADVENT.

Not till the freezing blast is still;
Till freely leaps the sparkling rill;
And gales sweep soft, from summer skies,
As o'er a sleeping infant's eyes [O, pretty!]
A mother's kiss; ere calls like these,
No sunny gleam awakes the trees;
Nor dare the tender flowerets show
Their bosoms to the uncertain glow."

Jam satis, although we assure the reader there are six stanzas more of it, each more beautiful than the other.

"FIRST SUNDAY AFTER EPIPHANY.

Lessons sweet of spring returning,
Welcome to the thoughtful heart;
May I call ye, sense or learning,
Instinct pure, or heaven-taught art?
Be your title what it may,
Sweet and lengthening April day,
While with you, the soul is free,
Ranging wild on hill and sea.

Soft as Memnon's harp at morning,
To the inward ear devout."

Does the reader require any more of this beautiful, incomprehensible piece? If so, he must go to the book: there is *plus* and *plus* behind.

"THIRD SUNDAY AFTER EPIPHANY.

I mark'd a rainbow in the north,
What time the wild autumnal sun,
From his dark veil, at noon look'd forth,
As glorying in his course half done:
Flinging soft radiance far and wide,
Over the dusky heaven, and bleak hill side."

We hope the reader understands it—but *allons*.

"It was a gleam to memory dear,
And as I walk and muse apart,
When all seems faithless round, and drear,
I would revere it in my heart:
And watch how light can find its way
To regions furthest from the fount of day."

We would fain ask if this can possibly be some of that poetry, which, like the city of Florence, and his grace "the duke, is too good to be read on any day but Sunday."

"SAINT MATTHEW'S DAY.

Ye hermits blest, ye holy maids!
The nearest heaven on earth!
Who talk with God in shadowy glades,
Free from rude care and mirth:
To whom some viewless teacher brings
The secret lore of rural things;
The whispers from above that haunt the twilight vale."

The reader is assured that the above has not been selected with any view to direct attention to the popery contained in the italicised lines; not at all: it was to give an opportunity to introduce an elaborate note of the American editor. Note on Matthew:—

"Matthew, called also Levi, was a publican, or collector of taxes, under the Roman government. He was sitting at the receipt of custom; when, called by Jesus to be his disciple, he arose, and followed him. He was appointed one of the twelve apostles of our Lord, and wrote one of the four gospels."

All this is very well; but it does not, by any means, explain what connection there was between St. Matthew and hermits and holy maids. Seriously, though, for what description of readers did Bishop Doane pen that note?

"ASCENSION DAY.

Soft cloud, that while the breeze of May
Chants her glad matins in the leafy arch;
Draw'st thy bright veil across the heavenly way,
Meet pavement for an angel's glorious march:

My soul is envious of mine eye,
That it should soar, and glide with thee, so fast."

"Soft, soothing poetry," says the bishop. Very! and very silly, withal. Heard ever any man of one's soul being envious of his eye?

"By glimpses, such as dreamers love,
Through her gray veil, the leafless grove
Shows when the distant shadows rove;—

Such trembling joy the soul o'eraws,
As nearer to thy shrine she draws:—
And now before the choir we pause.

The door is closed—but soft and deep,
Around the awful arches sweep,
Such airs as soothe a hermit's sleep.

From each carved nook, and fretted bend,
Cornice and gallery, seem to send
Tones that with seraph hymns might blend.

Three solemn parts together twine,
In harmony's mysterious line;
Three solemn aisles, approach the shrine."—P. 154.

Will the reader favor us with a conjecture as touching the idea the foregoing is intended to convey? If he should be so fortunate as to discover that it is for "Trinity Sunday," will he contrast it with the following, and tell us, in honest truth, which is most germain to the matter?

"Hail! holy, holy, holy Lord!
Whom One in Three we know;
By all thy heavenly host adored,
By all thy church below.

One undivided Trinity
With triumph we proclaim;
Thy universe is full of thee,
And speaks thy glorious name.

Thee, holy Father, we confess;
Thee, holy Son, adore:
Thee, Spirit of truth and holiness,
We worship evermore.

* * * * *

Three Persons equally divine
We magnify and love:
And both the choirs ere long shall join,
To sing thy praise above.

Hail! holy, holy, holy Lord,
(Our heavenly song shall be,)
Supreme, essential One, adored
In co-eternal Three!"

Or this,—

"O that we now, in love renew'd,
Might blameless in thy sight appear;
Wake we in thy similitude,
Stamp'd with the triune character;
Flesh, spirit, soul, to thee resign;
And live and die entirely thine!"

"HOLY BAPTISM.

What sparkles in that lucid flood,
Is water, by gross mortals eye'd;
But seen by faith, 'tis blood,
Out of a dear Friend's side.

A few calm words of faith and prayer,
A few bright drops of holy dew;
Shall work a wonder there,
Earth's charmers never knew."—P. 283.

Is Mr. Keble a professor in a Protestant university? Is Bishop Doane a bishop in a Protestant Church?

"COMMINATION.

The prayers are o'er; why slumber'st thou so long,
Thou voice of sacred song?
Why swell'st thou not like breeze from mountain cave,
High o'er the echoing nave?
The white-robed priest, as other while to glide,
Up to the altar's northern side;
A mourner's tale of shame and sad decay
Keeps back our glorious sacrifice to-day."—P. 297.

This same commination puzzled us sadly; not one particle of information could we gain from the verses affixed to the caption. The American editor, to be sure, kindly came to our assistance, under the similitude (as John Bunyan would say) of a note: though candor forces us to admit, he does little more for us than to make the darkness more visible. "A commination," says he, "on denouncing of God's anger and judgments against sinners; with certain prayers to be used on the first day of Lent, and at other times, as the ordinary shall appoint. This service," he adds, "is not retained in the Liturgy of the American Church." Certainly not. The able and pious men who framed that Liturgy had abjured popery in every guise and shape.

"FORMS OF PRAYER TO BE USED AT SEA.

The shower of moonlight falls as still and clear
Upon the desert main;
As where sweet flowers some pastoral garden cheer,
With fragrance after rain:
The wild winds rustle in the piping shrouds,
As in the quivering trees;
Like summer fields, beneath the shadowy clouds,
The yielding waters darken in the breeze."—P. 299.

"Thou, too, art here—with thy soft inland tones—
Mother of our new birth * * the Church."

Will these reverend gentlemen read Mr. Addison's noble hymn, "How are thy servants bless'd, O Lord!" and then come with their showers of moonlight, and pastoral gardens, and wild winds rustling on the piping shrouds, and shadowy clouds, if they dare. But let us have a little more of it.

"Far, far away, the homesick seaman's hoard,
Thy fragrant tokens live;
Like flower-leaves in a precious volume stored,
To solace and relieve
Some heart too weary of the restless world:
Or like thy sabbath cross;
That o'er the brightening billow streams unfurl'd,
Whatever gale the laboring vessel toss."—P. 300.

We think poor Jack would open his eyes very wide if told the above had any thing to do with "forms of prayer to be used at sea."

We have now, as we believe, quoted quite enough of Mr. Keble's poetry to substantiate all that we have said of it; if more be wanting, more could be had: but we are ourselves tired of it, and we fancy our readers by this time are not less so; indeed, notwithstanding all the encomiums passed on it, we had not read many pages ere we began to suspect that there was a misnomer in the title-page, and that, instead of thoughts in verse, we should read penances in verse—it would accord well with Mr. K.'s creed, and, to our apprehension, nothing would serve the purpose better. To be made to commit to memory the stanzas for any one saint's day would be penance enough for once; as much, indeed, as the penitent could bear, short of dying of a surfeit of sweet poetry: and whether repeated backward or forward, we take it upon us to say, would be equally efficacious, and equally intelligible.

If our memory serves us, our neighbor, the New-York Churchman, expressed, on a certain occasion, his objection to what he called "unbaptized tunes:" now we have, as we believe, in a much higher sense, an objection to unbaptized poetry; we speak it most reverently, "unbaptized with the Holy Ghost and with fire;" that is, if it is to be set forth for the purposes of devotional exercises. We repeat, that such poetry should be the devout breathings of a converted soul, or it is nothing worth. The most brilliant effort of genius fails to interest us; when a few plain words, from a heart under the influence of divine grace, effect the purpose in the highest degree. May we be permitted to illustrate our position by quoting a few stanzas from a poem called "*The Grave*," and found in the September number of the London Quarterly for 1840, which the editors of that Review (and they are most competent judges) pronounce to be worthy of any one of their greatest poets in his happiest moments?—

"One place alone had ceased to hold its prey;
A form had press'd it; and was there no more;
The garments of the grave beside it lay,
Where once they wrapp'd Him, on the rocky floor.

He only, with returning footsteps, broke
The eternal calm, wherewith the tomb was bound;
Among the sleeping dead, alone he woke:
And bless'd with outstretch'd hands the host around.

Well is it that such blessing hovers here,
To soothe each sad survivor of the throng;
Who haunt the portals of the solemn sphere;
And pour their wo the loaded air along.

They to the verge have follow'd where they love,
And on the insuperable threshold stand,
With cherish'd names, its speechless calm reprove,
And stretch in the abyss their ungrasp'd hand."

Will the reader contrast the foregoing beautiful lines, and they are surprisingly beautiful, with the following—the former, having all the advantage of the gloss of novelty; the latter, familiar to us from our infancy—and say which most stirs us to love and gratitude, which most thrills the heart with the hope of the resurrection and the life promised in Him who died for our sins, and rose again for our justification. If, as we anticipate, the preference is accorded to the latter, our end is attained.

"The rising God forsakes the tomb;
(In vain the tomb forbids his rise;)
Cherubic legions guard him home,
And shout him 'Welcome to the skies!'

Break off your tears, ye saints, and tell
How high your great Deliv'rer reigns:
Sing how he spoil'd the hosts of hell,
And led the monster death in chains!
Say, 'Live for ever, wondrous King!
Born to redeem, and strong to save!'
Then ask the monster, 'Where's thy sting?'
And, 'Where's thy victory, boasting grave?'"

We have now taken our leave of Mr. Keble; but to our countryman, Bishop Doane, we must say,—

"Soft you, a word or two before we part."

And, first, we would respectfully ask him, "Why he wishes to see a republication in this country of the *Icon Basilike?*" He would not agree with us, we know, in our opinion of *him*, whom he would call the royal martyr; he would not consent to learn what is the truth, that he was a gloomy, selfish bigot; faithless alike to his friends and his foes, a dissembler, and a hypocrite, from first to last. The bishop would not concede this; yet of the "*Icon Basilike*" there cannot now be two opinions; for it is incon-

testibly proved to be a forgery, written by a hireling wretch,* who claimed and received of Charles the Second *a bishopric*, that being the reward which had been promised him for the imposition.

Secondly, we would ask of Bishop Doane why he should have imported from England, and "discharged upon us," the tediousness of Mr. Keble, when he himself could have furnished a work of the same description, much better, and more intelligibly written, without leaving the episcopal palace at Burlington: for we speak advisedly, and mean no less than we speak, when we say, we have ourselves seen specimens of Bishop Doane's poetry fully equal, if not superior, to Mr. Keble's. We fear these questions can be too readily answered.

It is because of that undying disposition which has ever prevailed among many of the ministers of the Protestant Episcopal Church in this country to be identified with the Established Church in England. Hence the frequency of clerical visits to that country, and the inflated accounts of the prosperous state of the Church, and of the piety, and activity, and humility (save the mark) of her dignified and beneficed clergy. Well, let us suppose that the whole convocation of archbishops, bishops, deans of chapters, prebendaries, *et id omne genus*, have forgiven the sin of the rebellion, that the Church is restored to favor, and the *status ante Bellum* fully established, what then? do they really believe that the members of the Church here will ever consent to subscribe to the pretensions of the Church there? Never; there is too much light, and knowledge, and piety in the Protestant Episcopalians here to admit the supposition for one moment; they too well understand the principles of civil and religious liberty to permit themselves again to be placed under subjection to a Church of which, it has been well said, that "it was built on the foundation of the lords and commons, Queen Victoria, at this present, being herself the chief corner-stone."

January, 1842.

* Dr. Gauden.

Art. VII.—CRITICAL NOTICES.

1. *The Life of the Rev. Charles Wesley, M. A., some time Student of Christ-Church, Oxford: comprising a Review of his Poetry; Sketches of the Rise and Progress of Methodism: with Notices of Contemporary Events and Characters.* By Thomas Jackson. 1 vol., 8vo., pp. 797. New-York: G. Lane & P. P. Sandford. 1842.

The present work makes its appearance at a time when the facts which it develops are of special interest to the church and the world. Any thing calculated to reflect additional light upon the history and times of the Wesleys becomes more important with the lapse of years. For as the magnitude and grandeur of that revival of primitive Christianity which has been the fruit of their labors extend, the various causes in which it had its origin, and to which, under the divine Hand, it owed its efficiency, become matters of increased interest not only to the Christian, but to the philosopher. This fact induced the keen-eyed Southey to make "Wesley and his coadjutors" the subject of a work which, by interesting the reading public, he shrewdly calculated would enhance the amount of his reputation and of his income. But the special emergency which the present work is designed to meet has been occasioned by the productions of a new class of theorists, who have taken their cue from Hildebrand, Loyola, Bancroft, and Laud, and very naturally commenced a crusade against all Protestant dissenters, and more especially against Methodists. These pseudo-Catholics have thought it a matter of importance to show to the present age the *high-Churchmanship* and the *strict canonical regularity* of the Wesleys. This they have often done at the expense of historical truth. By supposing facts which have no existence except in their own imagination; by bringing matters into juxtaposition which are separated by distance of time and by diversity of circumstances; by viewing facts in an isolated state which can only be understood in their proper connections and relations; and by misconstruing, either from ignorance or perverseness, the declarations of the Wesleys, and the fundamental principles by which they were actuated from the first, they have labored hard to prove that the present generation of Methodists have widely and fatally departed from Methodism as it was in the days of its founder. In Mr. Jackson's Life of Charles Wesley we have an ample remedy for the wounds inflicted upon us by these Jesuitical manœuvrings.

The work in its present form, for circulation in this country, it is hoped, is an improvement upon the original. Though it has been somewhat retrenched, nothing is left out that has been thought to be of material interest to American readers, while occasionally a note of

explanation is given for the purpose of obviating obscurities. The present edition is therefore most earnestly and confidently commended to the attention of the American public, with fervent prayer that it may greatly subserve the cause, not merely of Methodism, but of our common Christianity.

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2. *Memoir of the late Miss Lucy Richards, of Paris, Oneida County, N. Y.* Written by herself. Edited by another hand. 18mo., pp. 272. New-York: G. Lane & P. P. Sandford. 1842.

This unpretending little volume is one of no ordinary merit. With the subject of it we had but a partial personal acquaintance. With the fame of her great Christian excellences no one living in her neighborhood (as we did for a few years) could be wholly unacquainted. We once visited her at the mission-house, where she was laboring for the benefit of the Oneidas, when, for the first time, we were permitted to witness the devotions of converted natives. A sermon was preached in "the old log school-house" by the missionary, the late Rev. Dan Barnes, after which two Indian exhorters delivered each a most thrilling and animated exhortation; the intervals being filled up with the sweetest singing that ever fell upon our ear. We were amazed—melted to tears—convulsed with sobs—dissolved into gratitude, love, and praise! God was there—"The voice of the turtle was heard in the land" of darkness, and "the time of the singing of birds had come."

But we must return from this digression to the book before us. It is made up mostly from the diary of Miss Richards. It is, however, corrected by the editor, and enriched with numerous biographical notices of persons whose names are mentioned. The thanks of the Christian public are due to the editor (Rev. Z. Paddock, of the Oneida Conference) for thus wresting from oblivion the precious relics of one whose praise, for her ardent piety, great moral courage, and her exemplary patience under suffering, was in all the churches in the region where she lived, labored, and fell asleep in Christ.

Let the Memoir of Lucy Richards be read, and let her character and piety be imitated. No Christian can sit down and read this little work carefully without being made better by it. But to us it has peculiar interest. *The preachers* of whose names she makes such honorable mention, and so many of whom the editor has informed the reader *are now no more*, were our foster parents in our spiritual childhood, and during the early years of our ministry. The names of persons and of places are constantly occurring, which revive in us the tenderest and most interesting recollections. But the savor of holiness which pervades the effusions of this blessed and devoted Christian female, and

which will find sympathy in all Christian hearts, is the highest recommendation of the work, and will not fail to render it a most welcome and useful companion to the pious reader.

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3. *The Life of Wilbur Fisk, D. D., first President of the Wesleyan University.* By JOSEPH HOLDICH. 1 vol., 8vo., pp. 456. Harper & Brothers.

WE have seen the remark somewhere, that "the memory of a good man is more precious to the world than his actions while living;" and we doubt not it often proves so. It has fallen to the lot of few to be more distinguished for piety, virtue, and usefulness, than the lamented subject of this memoir; and yet who shall say, great as was the sum of good accomplished by him, that his example, widely known, and handed down through a long period of the future, shall not, in the end, accomplish even more? Who can tell how many may be excited thereby to greater holiness, and a more zealous discharge of every duty? At all events, it is to us a delightful reflection, that it may be so; and it was suggested by this beautiful portraiture of the life and character of our departed friend. Verily, "though dead, he yet speaketh;" and will continue to speak, in tones even more persuasive than the music of his living voice, wherever this bright record of his virtues shall go.

There is no occasion, at this time, for dwelling upon Professor Holdich's biography, and, certainly no call for criticism. It probably has defects, for no human work is without them; but our sympathies and our admiration have been too powerfully excited to see aught except the great and good man it is intended to exhibit. We shall return to it again, after a more calm and deliberate perusal. We should, however, do great injustice to our own convictions, as well as to the respected author, not to say, that we regard it as a noble tribute to the memory of one whose fame and whose praise are in all the churches—as fully justifying our highest expectations, and every way worthy of its exalted subject. That such a work, illustrative of the virtues of one whose memory is affectionately cherished in every Christian heart, will be eagerly sought for, there cannot be a doubt; but there is one circumstance in this connection which should be mentioned—and that is, that the copy-right is in the name of the bereaved and excellent consort of the deceased, left inadequately provided for, and the work is published principally for her benefit.

4. *Sermons and Sketches of Sermons.* By the Rev. JOHN SUMMERFIELD, late a Preacher in Connection with the Methodist Episcopal Church. With an Introduction by the Rev. THOMAS E. BOND, M.D. 1 vol., 8vo., pp. 437.

WE can do little more in our present number than announce the publication of this volume: it will hereafter receive a more extended notice. The name of Summerfield is dear to the church; and awakens emotions of peculiar interest and tenderness. His precocious and wonderful eloquence, his indefatigable labors, his deep and ardent piety, and his early death, all conspire to give an interest to his memory, that will cause it to be affectionately cherished by generations yet unborn. It should be stated that none of these sermons were left by their lamented author in a finished state. Some of them, it is true, are nearly complete; while others are no more than mere outlines, intended to be filled up by the living voice. The wonder therefore is, that they are so perfect, in composition, arrangement, and thought. We cannot enter now into a critical consideration of their merits; but these are neither few nor inconsiderable. They bear the impress of the admirable mind of which they are the transcripts; and are distinguished by earnestness, force, and great logical clearness. Though but sketches, they are the sketches of Summerfield; and cannot be read without deep interest, and corresponding Christian improvement. The Introduction, by Dr. Bond, presents an animated and graphic picture of this celebrated preacher.

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5. *Italy and the Italian Islands.—From the Earliest Ages to the Present Time.* By WILLIAM SPALDING, Esq., Professor of Rhetoric in the University of Edinburgh. With engravings and illustrations, maps and plans. Vols. 151–153 of the Family Library. Harper & Brothers.

WE hardly know how to characterize this work. It is not properly a history of Italy, for it notices only remarkable eras and important revolutions. It is not professedly a treatise on the political, civil, and social institutions of that country at different periods, though these are pretty fully considered. It does not trace in detail the progress and decline of literature and the arts, in ancient and modern times, though these receive a large share of attention. Neither does it give a minute account of the antiquities of this celebrated country; of the character, manners, and customs of its inhabitants; of its productions, resources, and natural features; nevertheless, much is said of each one of them. It is a compendious view of whatever is most worthy of notice, or deserving of consideration, in regard to a people and country that have

exercised a wider and more enduring influence on human affairs than any other. It is a work, too, it appears to us, of uncommon merit—evincing profound research, great accuracy, and intellectual resources fully competent to the undertaking. The reader may gain from it nearly all the information that is of much importance, in reference either to ancient or modern Italy.

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6. *Means and Ends, or Self-Training.* By the author of "Redwood," "Hope Leslie," "Home," "Poor Rich Man," &c., &c. 1 vol., 18mo. Harper & Brothers.

This work is written in the usually happy manner of the ingenious and amiable author, whenever she addresses herself to the young for the purpose of instruction. It is intended for young ladies, or, rather, to use her own language, "for girls from ten to sixteen years of age," whether "ladies," in the somewhat invidious and anti-republican sense of that term or not—and its object is to correct the common mistake, that education is limited to mere scholastic learning, which is, in fact, its smallest part. Having done this, and shown that we are, in reality, being educated, either for good or for evil, by every event and circumstance of our lives, she proceeds to enforce the duty of keeping this constantly in mind, so that nothing shall appear indifferent or unworthy of attention; but every thing be made subservient to some useful end—either our intellectual or moral culture, our religious improvement, or our physical health. This is followed by a separate consideration of various duties, errors, improprieties, vices, &c., to show the extent to which the practical effects of this principle are carried, and how far the formation of character is dependent upon the neglect, abuse, or right employment of self-training. The advice that is given is excellent, and the book is full of useful instruction to parents as well as their youthful daughters. We except, however, to the "dancing."

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7. *History of the Expedition under the Command of Captains Lewis and Clarke to the Sources of the Missouri, thence across the Rocky Mountains, and down the River Columbia to the Pacific Ocean: performed during the Years* 1804, 1805, 1806, *by Order of the Government of the United States.* Prepared for the Press by Paul Allen, Esq. Revised and abridged by the Omission of unimportant Details, with an Introduction and Notes. By Archibald M'Vickar. Harper & Brothers. Vols. 154 and 155 of the Family Library.

We notice with much pleasure the republication of these travels. Messrs. Lewis and Clarke were the first to explore this vast western region, and their account of it is not only the earliest, but the best that

we have yet had. No other work has given as full a description of the physical features of the country, its climate and productions, its animals, and the savage tribes that inhabit it. The passage across the continent has now become comparatively easy; but to these pioneers every thing was new. Hence they had numberless difficulties to encounter, and their narrative is filled with adventure. Every thing is related in a simple, impressive, and lively manner, and the style of the work is not its least recommendation. It has been decidedly improved, we think, by being somewhat abridged; and Mr. M'Vickar's introduction, giving a general view of the most interesting events relating to the country, is a valuable addition. The territory west of the Rocky Mountains is beginning to be regarded with a lively interest. Its importance is better understood; its virtual occupancy by a foreign power is looked upon with increasing dissatisfaction; its rapid settlement by hardy emigrants from the east is prevented only by this undecided political question; and it has already become the theatre of one of our most interesting and hopeful missions. At such a period these volumes are peculiarly acceptable, and will be eagerly sought for and read.

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8. *Uncle Sam's Recommendation of Phrenology to his Millions of Friends in the United States.* 1 vol., 18mo. Harper & Brothers.

This is a queer title to what, to us, appears a very queer sort of a book—owing, no doubt, to our want of faith in the positions which it assumes. As yet we have been unable to give up our old-fashioned metaphysics for this new science of mind. To those who have, it may be, we can readily imagine, quite an amusing book; for it is not a little original both in style and matter, and by no means destitute of humor. We have been, we confess, very remiss in watching the progress of discovery, and are now informed, for the first time, of the wonderful aid which animal magnetism is contributing to phrenology, by detecting, almost at pleasure, some new cerebral organ. Seventeen of these are named, concluding with two etceteras; leaving us to infer that there are a multitude of others, too numerous to mention. Should future experiments continue to be as prolific of discoveries as those already made, our present phrenological map is but the mere skeleton of what it is destined to become. But we are unable to enter into particulars, and must refer the reader to the book.

9. *The Kingdom of Christ delineated: in two Essays, on our Lord's own Account of his Person and the Nature of his Kingdom, and on the Constitution, Powers, and Ministry of a Christian Church, as appointed by himself.* By RICHARD WHATELY, D. D., Archbishop of Dublin. 12mo., pp. 280. New-York: Wiley & Putnam. 1842.

THE author of this work is known to the reading public as the learned and shrewd author of a system of logic, of rhetoric, and of several other publications of high literary merit. The present work is a truly Christian and Protestant exhibition of the character and government of the church. The style and spirit of the work are of high order. And for those who are satisfied with the clear decisions of *Scripture*, and of common sense, *versus* the indefinite and self-contradictory responses of *tradition*, the archbishop's book is a perfect extinguisher upon Oxfordism. We earnestly commend this timely production to the attention of our readers.

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10. *An Exposition of the Creed.* By JOHN PEARSON, D. D., late Lord Bishop of Chester. With an Appendix, containing the principal Greek and Latin Creeds. Revised by the Rev. W. S. DOBSON, A. M. 8vo., pp. 616. New-York: D. Appleton & Co. 1842.

THIS work of Bishop Pearson is an exhibition of profound reasoning, deep thought, and patient investigation. It has ever been regarded not only as a standard of the orthodox faith, but as a most triumphant vindication of that faith from the assaults both of infidels and heretics. We most cordially thank Messrs. Appleton & Co. for giving this truly Protestant work of a truly Protestant bishop to the public in an American dress, and at an *American* price. We hope the enterprise will be amply rewarded. Nothing need be said by us upon the character of a work so often quoted by the best theologians of the present age. Every minister of the gospel should, if possible, possess himself of a copy of Pearson on the Creed, and should, by no means, be satisfied with a hasty perusal of its contents.

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11. *An Exposition of the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England.* By GILBERT, Bishop of Sarum. With an Appendix, containing the Augsburg Confession, Creed of Pope Pius IX., &c. Revised and corrected, with Copious Notes, and Additional References. By the Rev. JAMES R. PAGE, A. M. 8vo., pp. 585. New-York: Appleton & Co. 1842.

THIS work is one scarcely less interesting to Methodists than to Churchmen. For, *first*, it embraces the Latin original, history, and exposition of our own articles, all of which were selected from the

thirty-nine articles of the Church of England. And, *secondly*, the bishop's expositions are not only learned, but liberal. He was, what in his time was called, a *low Churchman*. He distinctly admits the validity of presbyterian ordination, and explicitly declares that the articles were constructed upon the broad basis of a recognition of the continental churches as true churches of Christ. These liberal views have, of course, brought upon him the wrath of high Churchmen and semi-papists, who have not ceased to condemn him as a latitudinarian, if not indeed a heretic. We are happy to see this work issued in this country, and hope it may be extensively circulated.

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12. *Thirty-four Letters to a Son in the Ministry.* By Rev. Heman Humphrey, President of Amherst College. 12mo., pp. 352. Amherst: J. J. & C. Adams. New-York: Dayton & Newman. Boston: Crocker & Brewster. 1842.

This is no trifling or common-place production. Such counsels are here imparted as would naturally be expected from a minister of age and experience to a dear son upon his entering upon the ministerial functions. No minister, young or old, can read this volume without profit; though we cannot disguise the fact, that the venerable author often crosses our path. To his general views of the importance of ministerial education we do not object; though we cannot concede the impropriety of an entrance upon the functions of the ministry without his course of theological training. His honest bluntness pleases us, but now and then an unkind thrust a little disturbs the harmony of our sensibilities. To give an instance:—The author cautions his "dear E." against endeavoring to keep his congregation from being scattered by the extraordinary efforts of "other denominations," by "out-preaching them." Says he,—

"Could you out-preach them? Could you keep up with them? No, my son. You might break down your health. You might sacrifice your life in this unprofitable, if not unholy emulation; but how could you expect to succeed, when, as is commonly the case, these noisy itinerant 'troublers of Israel' take no time for preparation, but when as soon as one pair of lungs is worn out, another is ready to take up and prolong the sound."

Now we know not where this promising young minister is settled, and we certainly have no desire that he should "break down" his "health," but we have little doubt, wherever he is, that these noisy "itinerant troublers" will give him an opportunity to practice upon the advice of his venerated sire. And we venture to predict that the advice will prove to be erroneous. He will find that he must absolutely "out-

preach them," or he will run under. Indeed, we most ardently hope he may be put to the test, and that "lungs" may not be wanting, but may be brought into requisition in sufficient numbers until the experiment is perfectly satisfactory. "These noisy itinerants" make terrible work with the good old settled habits of such men as Dr. Humphrey; and if the succeeding generation follow in the wake of their fathers, they will be likely to suffer from them still greater inconvenience. The present is a "noisy" age. And the world is full of "noisy itinerants," who are calling public attention to every imaginable subject, good, bad, and indifferent. And shall the church sleep? Shall there be no evangelists? Shall the gospel keep at home? No, doctor. You are a little too late in the day. Get a little acquainted with these *rambling preachers*, and see if some of them, instead of being justly considered "troublers of Israel," should not even by you be acknowledged as fellow-laborers in the kingdom and patience of Jesus.

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13. *The Great Awakening.—A History of the Revival of Religion in the Time of Edwards and Whitefield.* By JOSEPH TRACY. 8vo., pp. 433. Boston: Tappan & Dennett. New-York: Dayton & Newman. Philadelphia: Henry Perkins. 1842.

How true is that saying of the wise man, "There is nothing new under the sun!" In the progress of the church, ever and anon, things have sprung up which have been denounced as *novelties*, but which the faithful page of history recognizes as old acquaintances. Thus it has happened with most of the peculiarities of Methodism. The very features of the system, and the phenomena which have accompanied the great revival of evangelical religion which is the result of its propagation, and have been the butt of the heaviest assaults, are the recurrence of what has characterized and marked the progress of true religion at different periods, ever since the days of the apostles.

And can it be possible that our Presbyterian and Congregational brethren, before Methodism had been planted in this country, had among them "itinerants" and "exhorters," who turned the country upside down? who gathered congregations in the fields and groves—and under whose powerful appeals the people "cried out" and "fell down," "groaned," "wept aloud," fell into "fits?" &c., &c.

Of all this we have long been apprised by several publications, from President Edwards and others. But the extent of these ebullitions of "enthusiasm" has been very little known among our people, and still less, we fear, among those who have unceremoniously condemned in us what others condemned in their fathers.

These reflections naturally arise from the developments of the work

now upon our table. Mr. Tracy has brought out a mass of facts which has been concealed and neglected for half a century, and which reflects a world of light upon the religious history of this country. The volume is one of great interest, and we hope will correct many mistakes. And though we cannot say that the author has, in his reflections and inferences, always been happy, or even fair, he doubtless has intended to set every thing in a true light. For the present, we would simply commend his work to the attention of our readers. On a future occasion we hope to be able to give it a more extended notice.

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14. *Sermons on Important Subjects.* By the Rev. Samuel Davies, A. M., President of the College of New-Jersey. With an Essay on the Life and Times of the Author, by Albert Barnes. In three vols., 12mo., pp. 497, 556, 499. Second edition. New-York: Dayton & Saxton. 1841.

President Davies was one of the most zealous, powerful, and useful preachers of his time. His Sermons have, perhaps, gone through more editions than those of any other modern author except Mr. Wesley; and, like those of the founder of Methodism, they will continue to be read, and to pass current in the market, while a multitude of productions of the class, far more elegant in their diction, will be consigned to oblivion.

These Sermons were prepared for delivery, and were published after the author's decease. But if they made a great and permanent impression upon hundreds and thousands when they were pronounced by the lips of the living author, their beneficial effects are still more extensive in their present enduring form, since his tongue is cold and silent in death. By this means "he, being dead, yet speaketh."

The reader of the present edition of this work will feel himself much indebted to Mr. Barnes for the sketch he has given of the author's "Life and Times." He seems to have been instrumentally concerned in "the great awakening" which occurred in the days of Edwards, and to have sympathized deeply with the leading spirits concerned in aggressive movements at that period upon the kingdom of darkness, which were productive of most glorious results. He imitated Edwards and the Tenants in zeal, and surpassed them in eloquence. He lived and labored to do good, and was cut down by a mysterious providence in the midst of a most glorious career. We are happy to see so neat and yet so cheap an edition of these excellent Sermons before the public as the one before us, and we hope the publishers may be amply rewarded for their noble enterprise in thus making them so easily accessible to the churches.

15. *The Millennium of the Apocalypse.* By GEORGE BUSH, Professor of Hebrew and Oriental Literature in the New-York City University. Second edition. 12mo., pp. 206. Salem: John P. Jewett. Boston: Tappan & Dennett, Crocker and Brewster. New-York: Dayton & Newman. 1842.

THE subject of the millennium is now passing through the ordeal of popular discussion. Ever since the apostolic age the church has been favored or *perplexed* with the visitations of expositors or *prophets*, who have, to *their own apprehension*, clearly defined the *time* and the *character* of Christ's second advent, and this sublime event has generally been declared to be *near*. Now we are told by some that the glorious millennium will come in 1843. The verity of this prediction will soon be tested without argument, so that, if it be well founded, our prophets cannot long remain liable to the charge of presumption or too hasty conclusion.

But Professor Bush maintains that *the millennium is past already!* This theory is attempted to be sustained by the learned professor by a critical analysis of the symbols of the Apocalypse, and a comparison of them with historic facts. "The millennium hypothesis" is combated with no small amount of ingenuity, and his theory supported by the whole weight of his great skill in Biblical criticism. We are not a convert to the author's theory; but still we would not condemn his book. It is no mean production, and certainly has high claims to be consulted in connection with the labors of the most learned students of prophecy.

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16. *Theopneusty; or, the Plenary Inspiration of the Holy Scriptures.* By S. R. L. GAUSSEN, Professor of Theology in Geneva. Translated by E. N. KIRK. 12mo., pp. 343. New-York: John S. Taylor & Co. Boston: Tappan & Dennett. 1842.

FROM the cursory examination which we have been able to give the above work, our impressions with regard to its merits are decidedly favorable. The author is of the evangelical school of Geneva, and takes most elevated and thorough ground as to the inspiration of the Holy Scriptures. He combats the too commonly received notion, that a portion of the language of the Bible, if inspired at all, is so only in a very low degree, and insists that Holy Scripture, *all* Holy Scripture, is given *by inspiration of God*. The translator of this work is entitled to the thanks of the churches in this country for clothing, in an English dress, so conclusive an argument in favor of a vital truth, which, in too many instances, has been underrated or misunderstood.

17. *Lectures on Universalism.* By Rev. JOEL PARKER, D. D., President of the Union Theological Seminary. 12mo., pp. 202. New-York: John S. Taylor & Co. 1841.

THIS is a clear and conclusive argument against a doctrinal and practical corruption of Christianity. The style is perspicuous, the method natural, and the reasoning unanswerable. When Universalism is no more, Dr. Parker will be entitled to a share of the reward which shall be given the instruments, who will, under God, and with his blessing, have contributed to its final overthrow.

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18. *Tellstrom, the First Swedish Missionary to Lapland. With an Appendix, giving an Account of the Stockholm Mission.* By GEORGE SCOTT, Pastor of the English Congregation at Stockholm. 18mo., pp. 86. New-York: John S. Taylor & Co. 1841.

THIS little work, besides the interest it excites in an individual, providentially prepared for the work of a missionary to the frozen regions of Lapland, reflects much light upon the state of religion in the north of Europe. Mr. Scott, the author, is the Wesleyan missionary to Sweden, who visited the United States last year for the purpose of raising funds to liquidate the debt upon the church in Stockholm.

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19. *The Missionary Daughter; or, Memoir of Lucy Goodale Thurston, of the Sandwich Islands.* 18mo., pp. 233. New-York: Dayton & Newman. 1842.

THIS is a most edifying little volume. What a help to a missionary in a heathen land must such a daughter be! When the truth set forth by the devoted missionary is so exemplified in his offspring, and particularly by his *daughters*, what practical efficacy must it have, and how forcibly must it strike the heathen mind! Let the Missionary Daughter be read.

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20. *Contributions to Academic Literature.* By CHARLES H. LYON, A. M., one of the Principals of the Irving Institute. 12mo., pp. 144. New-York: H. & S. Raynor. 1842.

THIS work is made up of original addresses, dialogues, &c., designed for the use of students in our academies. It contains forty-six short pieces of suitable length for declamation. The topics, the style, the sentiment, and the spirit, are all appropriate. Let students procure this book, and *they* can strike out into a new track, and no longer be obliged to use over and over Curran, Philips, & Co.

21. *The Mute Christian under the Smarting Rod: with Sovereign Antidotes for every Case.* By the Rev. THOMAS BROOKS, of London, 1669. 18mo., pp. 246. Boston: Seth Goldsmith & Co. 1841.

WE love the good old authors—and we are glad to see their golden remains snatched from oblivion. Here is a most precious cordial to the fainting spirit. The true method of turning all evil into good is here explained. Let the sorrowful, the persecuted, the poor, the sick, the care-worn, the deserted, take the advice of experience. Let them learn here how to triumph over all the woes of this mortal state.

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22. *A Complete Hebrew and Chaldee Concordance to the Old Testament, comprising also a Condensed Hebrew English Lexicon, with an Introduction and Appendixes.* By Dr. ISAAC NORDHEIMER, Professor of Oriental Languages in the University of the City of New-York, assisted by WILLIAM W. TURNER. Part first, אב—בָּזַז. New-York: Wiley & Putnam, 161 Broadway.

IT must be gratifying to every lover of sound Biblical learning, that Biblical scholars are about to be presented, from the American press, with a complete Hebrew and Chaldee Concordance to the Old Testament, a Lexicon, and various useful accompanying appendixes. It is a noble enterprise, both on the part of the editor and publishers.

Although it is founded on the great work of Fürst, yet it is something more than a mere reprint. The lexicographical part may be looked upon as entirely new—the result of the author's own original investigations. For a work of this kind, we can assure the community, that Dr. Nordheimer is peculiarly well fitted. Trained from his boyhood in the rabbinical schools of Germany, perhaps there are few men living who have a better *traditional* knowledge of Hebrew words. To him the language is almost vernacular. Of his *critical* knowledge we hardly need speak. His very elaborate and profoundly philosophical work on Hebrew grammar, which was reviewed in a former number of this work, demonstrates him not to be a whit behind any of the great competitors for eminence in this branch of Hebrew study. In some respects he has far surpassed them all—we refer particularly to his explications of the anomalies of the language.

With such qualifications, we were prepared to expect much that is new and valuable in the Lexicon, and we have not been disappointed. The comparisons of roots of the Hebrew stock are unusually copious, and the effort to show the connection between the signification of roots and their derivatives is remarkably successful. We might adduce

many examples in proof of this, but the limits of a mere notice will not permit.

The first number of the work now before us, is for typographical beauty almost unrivaled. It will be completed in nine numbers, at intervals of two or three months, at one dollar per number. Thus our Hebrew students may be furnished with a work surpassing every other of the kind, and very much cheaper than such works could heretofore be obtained. We cannot forbear to add a few words in regard to the appendixes. A simple statement of what they are, as presented in the prospectus, will be sufficient.

1. An etymologico-alphabetical index of all the words in the Old Testament, with references to the pages of the concordance on which they are to be found.

2. A purely alphabetical index of the same with similar references, (this will prove of much use to the beginner.)

3. A tabular view of all the forms of nouns, with their origin and mode of formation, (highly important to the grammarian and lexicographer.)

4. An alphabetical list of all the particles, that is, of all the pronominal roots, with their compositions and formations.

5. An alphabetical list of all the proper names belonging to the Old Testament language.

6. A list exhibiting all the corresponding Hebrew and Arabic roots.

We commend this truly great and useful undertaking to the unhesitating patronage of the friends of Hebrew and oriental learning.

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23. *The Great Commission; or, the Christian Church constituted and charged to convey the Gospel to the World.* By Rev. John Harris, D. D. With an Introductory Essay by Rev. W. R. Williams, D.D. 12mo., pp. 482. Gould, Kendall, and Lincoln. 1842.

We are happy that this spirited and powerful writer has directed his attention and labors to the great cause of missions. His work on this subject comes before the American churches at a time when they especially need to feel the paramount claims of this holy cause. The writings of Harris are deeply imbued with the spirit of primitive Christianity, and we hope, by the blessing of God, will do much toward expanding the benevolence and inflaming the zeal of the churches. We most cordially thank the American publishers for so promptly bringing out a work of so much interest, and calculated to act so effectively upon the great and glorious work of the world's subjugation to the reign of our Lord Jesus Christ.

24. *Mormonism and the Mormons. A Historical View of the Rise and Progress of the Sect self-styled Latter-Day Saints.* By Rev. Daniel P. Kidder. 18mo. New-York: G. Lane & P. P. Sandford. 1842.

It is a matter of astonishment that such an imposture as Mormonism should in the nineteenth century, and in the United States, obtain the least consideration. It is a revival of Mohammedanism, under the auspices of an ignorant knave—a most senseless imposition from beginning to end, and yet it is making thousands of converts, both in this country and in England. In the work before us, we have an account of the origin and progress of this truly blasphemous and revolutionary system. The "Latter-Day Saints" are a political and military faction, as dangerous to the peace of the country as to the interests of true religion. We shall review the book hereafter.

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25. *A Practical Grammar of the English Language; or, an Introduction to Composition: in which Sentences are classified into Verbal Forms and Phrases* By Edward Hazen, A. M., author of "The Symbolical Spelling-book," "The Speller and Definer," and "The Panorama of Professions and Trades, or Popular Technology." New-York: Huntington & Savage.

So many English grammars have been published within the present century without materially improving the science, that we hardly expect to meet with a new work on this subject worthy of particular attention; but, from the reputation of Mr. Hazen for diligence in his investigations, we were prepared to expect from him valuable improvements, if not new discoveries, in the mode of communicating a knowledge of the grammar of our language. We can only glance at the peculiarities of his system.

The author proceeds upon the principle that the leading object in the study of grammar is to learn the constructions of the language, and that these can be thoroughly learned only by forming these constructions. He has, therefore, made every example proposed for parsing a model for imitation. This method of learning the language is rendered easy by the classification of sentences into *verbal forms* and *phrases*, which are as distinct and as easily understood as the parts of speech themselves. These constructions are presented, and fully discussed, one at a time, so that pupils are not liable to be confused.

Though Mr. Hazen has proposed a radical change in the method of teaching the grammar of our language, yet it is so easy and practical, that instructors need not be alarmed. We commend this grammar to their attention. Though we have not been able fully to scan its merits, we have little doubt but it will be found to contain some valuable improvements upon existing systems.

26. *Sanders' Series of School Books; comprising Sanders' Spelling Book, Primary School Primer, and School Readers, First, Second, Third, and Fourth Books.* New-York: Dayton & Newman.

This Series furnishes a gradual and complete system of spelling and reading exercises suitable for all classes, from the young tyro to the highest classes in our schools. The orthography and orthoepy, adopted by the author throughout his works, are in agreement with Dr. Webster's Dictionary, which, if generally adopted, cannot fail to bring about a uniformity in spelling and pronunciation, so very desirable. The scheme for parsing or analyzing words, orthographically presented on the seventeenth page of the Spelling Book, must be a pleasing and profitable exercise for the scholar in acquiring a knowledge of the elementary principles of our language. In addition to the usual exercise in the Spelling Book, the more difficult words that compose the reading lessons in the Readers are arranged together at the head of each lesson for spelling, with their definitions given primarily, according to the sense in which they are used. Questions are subjoined to each of the reading lessons in the Third and Fourth Readers—the answers to which are calculated not only to bring out the most important ideas contained in the lessons, but also the appropriate inflection, modulation, tones, &c., to be observed in the reading, reference frequently being had to the rules of rhetoric and exercises in the fore part of the book. Mr. Sanders is exerting himself with commendable zeal in endeavoring to provide our primary schools with such books as will aid the young mind in the first stages of its developments. We wish every such effort all the success that its merits deserve.

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27. *The Domestic Circle; or, Moral and Social Duties explained and enforced on Scriptural Principles, in a Series of Discourses.* By the Rev. M. Sobin. 12mo., pp. 260. Second edition. Philadelphia: J. Harmstead. 1841.

The subject of this book is one too little studied, and, consequently, too little understood. Our author has clearly and ably discussed the great laws which should govern the domestic circle, and has exhibited in a strong light the interests which are staked upon their uniform execution. We most cordially recommend this *family directory* both to parents and children. Had we space we could say much more of a commendatory character.

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28. *Devotional Melodies.* By Charles M. F. Deems, A. B. 12mo., pp. 48 Raleigh, N. C.: Thomas Jefferson Lemay. 1841.

We are as far from being a poet as possible. And if a poet only can judge of poetry, our opinion is absolutely good for nothing. Hence we would always speak with reserve of this species of compositions. In the effort now before us, there are things which, to us, seem not a little beautiful. We wish the amiable author great success in his intercourse with the muses.

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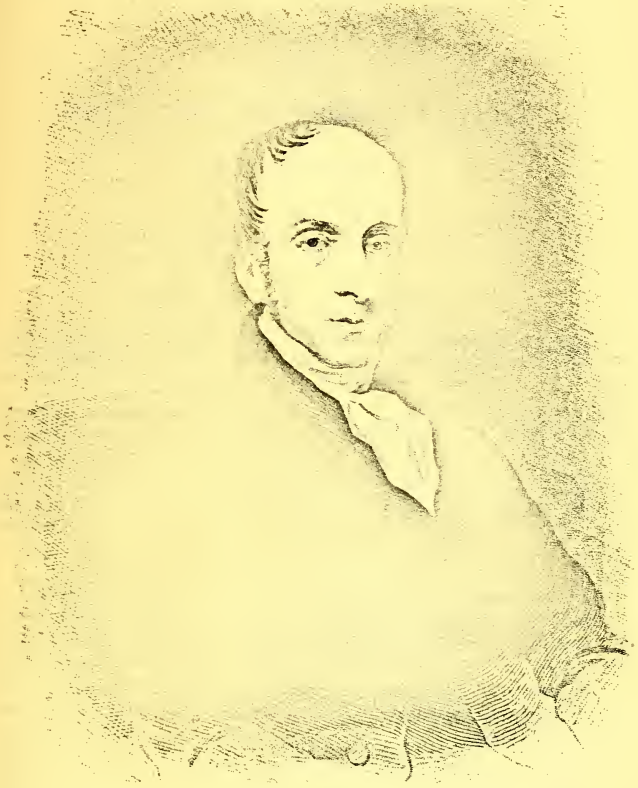
29. *Scenes in the Wilderness: an Authentic Narrative of the Labors and Sufferings of the Moravian Missionaries among the North American Indians.* By Rev. William M. Willett. 18mo., pp. 208. New-York: G. Lane and P. P. Sandford. 1842.

We venture to promise our readers, young and old, a rich reward for the purchase and perusal of this little work. The author has selected his facts with care and judgment, and they are of a character both to interest and instruct the reader. The work was not edited in our department, and, of course, we have no claim to credit for the editorial touches which it may have received. We hope it may have a wide circulation.



Engraved by Edwd Williams after Jno Jackson R.A.

I am Dear Sir your very affte
R D Walpole

THE

METHODIST QUARTERLY REVIEW.

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EDITED BY GEORGE PECK, D. D.

ART. I.—*Literature of the Bible.*

"HAEC STUDIA adolescentiam alunt, senectutem oblectant, secundas res ornant, adversis perfugium ac solatium præbent, delectant domi, non impediunt foris, pernoctant nobiscum, peregrinantur, rusticantur."—CICERO.

"All the HISTORIALL partes of the Bible, be ryght necessary for to be redde of a noble man, after that he is mature in yeres."—SIR T. ELYOT.

"Quid est enim, per Deos, optabilius sapientia? quid præstantius? quid homini melius? quid homine dignius? Hanc igitur qui expetant, philosophi nominantur: nec quidquam aliud est PHILOSOPHIA, si interpretari velis, præter studium sapientiæ." —CICERO.

"Rien n' est BEAU que LE VRAI."—FR. MAXIM.

THE age in which we live is remarkable for its intellectual, its moral, and its political activity. It is thought that society is making rapid advancement toward the achievement of its destiny. Science is said to be spreading her light into the most distant and uncultivated wilds. Philosophers congratulate us on the progress of wisdom, of truth, and perhaps of virtue; and philanthropists of every name and country have rejoiced over the fancied elevation of the species. There are some, also, of the church, who would descry, from their superior position or faith, the dawning of a better day; and by others, these hopes are magnified into an expectation of an immediate revelation of the Lord from heaven.

It is far from our intention to diminish or discourage the hopes of humanity: with her brightest dreams she has woes enough to suffer, without the additional and unnecessary infliction of despondency. But it is equally a duty and a mercy to guard her against disappointment. Perhaps it may be sufficient for our purpose to remark, that there is some truth mingled with this fiction. The picture is only too bright. The intellect is undoubtedly advancing to its goal, society to its climax; but all history condemns the confidence in sudden or fitful improvement. The world progresses in

its career, as the earth rolls in its orbit; though it may occasionally accelerate, it is by a gradual and imperceptible increase of its motion.

Personal observation and experience detract from the brightness of this vision. The annals of every period might be deduced to prove, that the progress of society, in its individual and social capacities, has been parallel with the knowledge and practice of those principles and precepts which constitute the matter and interest of revelation; nor would it be so difficult as painful to demonstrate, how little the social state is characterized by an individual acquaintance with the Bible. The only book in itself sublime, in its use universally applicable, is the only one generally neglected or contemned. Those countries most devoted to literature, to reading, to religion, will scarcely alleviate the darkness of this picture. The translation of the Scriptures by Luther, at a period when the appetite for truth was rendered uncommonly keen by ages of previous scarcity, so deeply impressed the mind and character of his susceptible countrymen, that in their language and manners they are more thoroughly Scriptural, according to general consent, than any modern nation.* And yet, what a spectacle of infidelity does Germany present! France is proverbially the home of skepticism: from the days of the *pragmatic sanction* to the present moment, she has indicated an irrational tendency to rationalism; to a conceited independence of revelation; which, it must be confessed, has never taken deep hold of the intelligence or affections of the people. In England, impiety has been more learned, the populace not less ignorant, than in most Christian countries. The polished or erudite skepticism of the eighteenth century had nearly obtained the supremacy of the English mind; the finest writers of the language had apparently conspired to silence the voice of inspiration by their eloquent sophistry; it had almost become a maxim of popular criticism, that a free use of Scripture, even in the pulpit, is to be regarded as opposite to good taste: the pulpit was consequently losing both its liberty and its power. The American people were at this period emerging from colonial servitude to the dignity and stability of a nation; nor can it be considered unnatural that the youngest daughter of the east should respect the example of a mother, at that time giving laws to the human mind. The antithesis is certainly remarkable, that we are now taught to expect the sudden perfection of prophecy and of man, within the short space of a century from the time when

* See Schlegel's Hist. Lit., vol. ii, p. 251, and other writers on the subject.

the celebrated prediction of Voltaire was cherished, and perhaps believed, by a large proportion of the learning and intellect of the age.

The philosopher, perhaps the Christian, of every country, has learned to compute the causes which have disappointed the friends, if not the enemies of this prediction. In England, societies were numerously instituted, literary and religious associations were formed, to quell this mutiny of intoxicated reason, to repel the aggressions of infidelity against the peace of society and the rights of mind. Few persons can have forgotten the noble part which the prescient genius of Robert Hall was constrained to take in the momentous struggle. His sermon against the popular skepticism will perhaps survive as the proudest monument of his talents, and an indestructible obstacle to the progress of the enemy's cause; while the severe castigation which he inflicted on the alienated affection and perverted taste of his countrymen, in his able review of Mr. Foster's Essays, will remain to demonstrate the invincible edge which merited gentleness imparts to the truth.

Though we enjoy the fruit of these labors, we have no occasion to celebrate a triumph. We may not forget, that to the three nations whose deistical features have been briefly delineated we trace the origin of our nation, its language, its manners, its institutions and laws; nor is it a question of easy solution, of which we inherit the larger proportion, the stubborn sense of our Anglo-Saxon ancestors, or the light, the airy, the transient, perhaps the skeptical, spirit of the Norman invaders. It is certain, however, that our national character is not formed for spontaneous virtue: we fluctuate between its two extremes—between the excesses or imperfections of reason and fancy. We daily demonstrate our national descent by the literary demands which we make upon the mother countries. We import thoughts from Germany to nourish hereditary skepticism, and its shadows or ornaments from France, to gratify a vitiated imagination. The Bible is comparatively forgotten or unread. To our philosophers, if we have any, Plato is more familiar than Moses; to our poets, Horace, Anacreon, or Goethe, is more congenial than David; to some of our ministry, to many of our age and country, Kant, Straus, and Hegel are more grateful than the apostles.

The extremes of this character are scarcely separated by a minority of sterling minds, who are happy to read truth in their vernacular tongue; to gather its stores from every language and region; and to consolidate the interests of literature and religion by making revelation the test, by which the suggestions of each mind

and of every age must be tried. They form the continuation of that illustrious line of sanctified intellects, which have illustrated our capacity for enlightened virtue, and adorned the connection of science and revelation in every period of the world. In the ago of Erasmus and Luther, of Milton and Bentley, of Johnson and Burke, literature was the faithful and respected ally of Christianity. The fame of Addison more securely rests upon his classic appeals for the morality and other excellences of the Bible; his genius and virtues are propagated, if they are not rivaled, by the most worthy of our contemporaries. But, generally, the condition of this reading republic is in itself most lamentable, in its influence upon evangelical religion peculiarly hostile. With the slight but laudable exception above made, we are divided between an exotic philosophism and a greedy indigenous love of fantastic fiction. The neophytes of the one class, and the veteran fanatics of the other, include three-fourths of the book-loving public. The morbid and factitious sensibility created by the former served to introduce and diffuse the crazy, pantheistic sophistry, and delusive phantoms of the latter; and the league, which seems to be at length concluded between them, threatens to sweep the fairest fruits of past industry, and the brightest promises of the future, into one common vortex of popular infidelity. Books are now saleable in inverse proportion to their value, or in the direct ratio of their moral and literary distance from the Bible. The Bible itself has lost a moiety of its practical effect, by the manner in which we permit the taste and judgment of the young to be educated. At home and abroad, in the social or polished circle, in the pales of academical instruction, to some extent, in the pulpit itself, our children are taught to tremble at the commands of the divine code; while their budding and generous fancy is transported by the charming associations which are thrown around the classics of other ages. To them the symbol of revelation is Mount Sinai, flashing and pealing with the terrific ensigns of indignation and wrath; but their eyes rest with placid composure and delight on the streams and groves of Parnassus, the vale of Tempe, and the garden of the Hesperides. The primary effect of a finished education, except it is opposed by previous associations, or strenuous personal efforts, is to form a comparative disrelish for revelation, and to corrupt the imagination with pictures which gratify, but disturb the mind.

These evils the friends of Christianity have long since contemplated and regretted. Books of eloquence and argument have been written; the pulpit has occasionally taken a correct view of the subject; but our efforts have hitherto been languid because un-

philosophical, and unphilosophical because they were languid. No Christian will deny that the world is to be enlightened as well as saved by the Bible; and it is a hoary truth, that to purify the stream we must take special care of its fountain; but there is a work more fundamental than that of Bible classes and sabbath schools; an interest in the Bible itself must be awakened or created before we can expect adequate success in the inculcation of its principles or the propagation of its spirit. We would have the youth of our country instructed to appreciate and prize the literature of the Scriptures, that their warmest affections and most glowing associations and fancies may centre in a book, which is afterward to instruct their reason, to quicken and guide their conscience, to command and secure their obedience.

To second this laudable work, the reader is invited to a general discussion of the literature of the Bible; in the course of which we shall present some of its claims to become a standard reading book with the most cultivated and literary intellects and circles of any age. But our object is not eulogy. It is truth. We seek no embellishment, but facts; the most rapturous praise seems puerile in comparison of a calm and just statement of the convictions of reason, and the verdict of sound sense and dispassionate taste.

Though we might be disposed to reject the analysis which Lord Bacon gives of human knowledge, we are willing to risk the reputation of the Bible, as a literary production, on a candid and critical examination and application of the three elements which he proposes—on its history, its philosophy, and its poetry; and to these three topics the candid and careful attention of the reader is solicited.

We are informed by Italian history, that Petrarch, the father of modern literature, found means to soften the grief occasioned by the loss of his Greek preceptor and intimate friend, by the possession which it gave him of a valuable manuscript, which the Byzantine scholar had snatched from the sack of Constantinople. Instead of the tragedies of Euripides or Sophocles, let us suppose that the manuscript was a faithful copy of the historical books of the Old Testament; that it had lain for ages in the vaults of the imperial library, unnoticed and unknown; that, by some probable calamity, such as the capture of Alexandria, or the demolition of Antioch by the califs, all other copies and versions had been buried in irretrievable destruction or oblivion; and that the only knowledge which the world possessed of these books was founded on tradition, or the slight references of the apostolic fathers. These references are sufficient to attest the general value, but not enough to convey

the particular facts and doctrines of these remarkable productions. Petrarch, besides being the first poet, was also the ablest philosopher and most erudite scholar of his age; and may be supposed to have read all extant records of so wonderful a work. With a mind stored with all ascertainable facts, imagine him opening the immortal but long-lost treasure. Who can adequately conceive the emotions with which he would peruse it? As a lover of antiquity, he is holding in his hands the oldest production of the pen; which treats of the oldest transactions of the world; which reveals the history of the oldest and most important people of the earth. As a philosopher, he learns the origin, the relations, the destiny of all things. As a scholar, he possesses the most authentic and wonderful collection of facts which the recollections or industry of any age has recorded. As a philanthropist, he anticipates the transcendent influence which this volume is destined to exert on the varied fortunes of mankind. Those who recollect the extravagant delight of Pythagoras, when the beautiful method of detecting the adulteration of metals was accidentally suggested to his mind, may conceive a portion of the rapture which would transport our fortunate philosopher. We may also picture in our fancies the excitement such a discovery would have produced in the heart and to the extremities of the civilized world. If the nineteenth in place of the fourteenth century could be supposed to be the period of this discovery, with what rail-road speed, with what perfect enthusiasm, would the news be carried to the four quarters of the globe! And if, by reason of any possible necessity, it were impracticable to multiply copies of this remarkable antique, the eyes of mankind would be concentrated and fixed to the spot where the original was deposited; and half the philosophers of the age would traverse mountains and seas to inspect or to gaze upon a work possessed of such unbounded historical interest—upon a work of which nothing less can be said, however hyperbolical the figure may appear, than that it was edited in heaven, and published by inspiration, for the benefit of a world! So forgetful is the present generation of the historical merits of the Bible!

It was once the fortune of a student to be reading in conjunction the nine books of Herodotus, and the two books respectively of Samuel and of Kings. The former possessed the advantage of the ordinary classic associations and prejudices. They were named from the muses; and it seemed as if they had presided over the writer in dictating his style. They were fresh to the young fancy of the reader, as he had never undertaken to peruse them before. From the beginning he was impressed with a perceptible similarity

of manner. The most pleasing narrative, the most captivating biographical sketches, the greatest variety and most charming vicissitude of incidents, characters, and scenes, were in each successively presented to his mind. All the possibilities of fortune, all the principles and passions of our nature, all the lessons and precepts of philosophy, are illustrated by the ever-changing historical pictures of the inspired and classical page. For a time his untaught judgment vacillated between the interest which each work, in its turn, could inspire; and though he was constantly delighted by the sweet simplicity of each, his mind began soon to compare the frequent fable of the one, with the sustained historical integrity of the other; the useful amusement which he derived from the former, with the superior literary effect which attended and followed the lessons of the latter; the irregular and perplexed method of the Ionic historian, with the clear and consecutive style of the historic muse of inspiration; the comparatively trivial importance of the facts detailed by the Greek, with the inconceivable value to be attached to the writings of the Hebrew composer; and, above all, the corrupting examples of success attending the most ostensible vice, with the retributive justice and virtuous influence which characterize the narratives of Scripture. By the respectable authority of Cicero, Herodotus holds the same place among historians that Homer maintains among poets, and Demosthenes among orators. Through numerous ages, and in all civilized countries, he has been justly styled the father of profane history; but, in every point of resemblance or contrast he sinks or suffers in comparison with Moses. The latter is more simple, more credible, more captivating as a writer, than the former. There is a vague admiration bestowed upon Herodotus, which, though in part deserved, imparts a false brilliancy to his character. He is rarely read; but when read by a person of judgment and taste, his inferiority to the inspired historian is very apparent. If these inspired books could be translated in a style as rich, as sweet, as flowing, as the original would bear, or as Mr. Beloe has attained in his popular version of Herodotus, and thrown into market in tasteful binding, our sabbath schools and Bible classes would hold them in higher demand than any similar productions in the English language. Was there ever an intelligent boy who was not infinitely amused by the stories which they contain? Parents have forgotten, or mistake the charming character of this portion of the Bible, no less than the peculiar disposition of children, if they suppose that the fortunes of Robinson Crusoe, or the sufferings of Riley, or the valor of the Scottish chiefs, or the tales of popular fiction, are better adapted to awaken

a thirst for knowledge, or fix the habits of reading and study, than these unexceptionable specimens of interesting narrative. What a character for a boy is young Samuel! What a little hero is David! How many boys have expanded their muscles and minds in imitating and meditating the feats and fortunes of Samson! But time would fail us to rehearse the tale of Jonathan's affection for David, the battles of King Saul, the adventures of his rival, the revolt and death of Absalom, the subjugation of the giants, the wisdom and grandeur of Solomon, the building and dedication of the temple, the miraculous preservation of Elijah, the trial of the false prophets, the cure of Naaman's leprosy, and the eventful and interesting reigns of the kings of Israel, till the invasion and conquests of Nebuchadnezzar; nor does the world afford an equal portion of profane history, so infinitely captivating to young minds. By no other productions has the writer been so perfectly convinced that the certainties of fact may transcend in interest the possibilities of fiction.

Again, if history is philosophy teaching by example, biography, by concentrating the interest of that example in the life and fortunes of a single distinguished individual, imprints the living precept upon the memory and heart with irresistible force; nor is there any extant book in which this species of history is so extensively employed, or so beautifully illustrated, as in the Bible. Human nature is scarcely susceptible of a modification which does not find its brightest image, or strongest parallel, among the numerous characters that figure in the Scriptures. Poets, orators, scholars, sages, counselors, statesmen, princes, kings, and empires, pass before the mind in rapid and brilliant succession. Every element of our being, under every variety of circumstances, is here personated in the most striking and forcible manner. The characters of Scripture are all drawn with masterly power; but some, from superlative intrinsic worth, deserve a superior place in our recollection. The marked peculiarities of Paul might defy the colors of a Rubens; nor could the daring genius of Michael Angelo have made a more bold or characteristic attempt than to delineate the moral and intellectual features of King David; while the lucid simplicity, and placid, lamb-like gentleness of John, transcend not only the magic of the pencil, but the most ambitious and graphic conceptions of the fancy. The character of the Saviour is in itself inimitable and unique; profane history can furnish no example worthy of a moment's comparison; the tongue of the orator, the pencil of the artist, and the inspirations of poetry, have failed in the frequent attempt to repeat the image, which the evangelists have

drawn in such simple and beautiful colors. If the Lives of Plutarch are the most durable monument of his powers; if the biographical sketches of the great English moralist constitute his paramount claim to immortality; if the Columbus of a contemporary and countryman is destined to outstrip and survive every other herald of his fame; what language shall be employed to express our estimate of a book in which this species of literature combines the highest conceivable excellences of subject, incident, and style!

If the writer of the pentateuch was not inspired, he must have been the most intellectual of men; and his works, from this consideration alone, are worthy of the most animated perusal. If he was inspired, the fact infinitely enhances the value of his history and the interest with which we should study it. As science has been enlarging its circle, and shedding new light upon the world, the theories and philosophical systems of profane antiquity have been losing their influence upon the popular mind; while the historical doctrines of the Bible have acquired incontestible possession of the intellect in all civilized countries. The brief description of the building of Babel has given rise to a new and beautiful science; and the comparative study of languages has already attracted the attention of the ablest minds, and charmed the politest circles of America and Europe. The first chapter of Genesis has been expanded into a system; and the noble deductions of geology, based upon a liberal construction of this portion of inspired history, have magnified our conceptions of ourselves and of the world we inhabit. The metaphysics of Grecian philosophy had thrown a cloud of impenetrable mystery over the science of morals and of mind; antiquity itself was disgusted with the futile attempts to explain or explore the profound and intricate labyrinth; the Bible, by one stroke, has dispelled the darkness, has broken the mystery, by attributing to man a *living soul*, the image of its Creator, and the heir of immortality.* Moses, by a genius which entitles him to unqualified and universal respect, or by a divine gift which infinitely augments the value of his productions, seems to have anticipated the progress and triumphs of all science; since the growth of centuries has not proved absurd, or even rendered obsolete, one of the thousand allusions which he makes to the

* The great Roman philosopher employs still stronger terms in his Offices. Vid. lib. i, 2. He says, "The very being of virtue was destroyed;" but his own system, founded upon the nature of man and his relations to time and eternity, (which he did not understand,) is almost equally imperfect.—*Vid. Offices*, lib. i, *passim.*

nature, laws, and deductions of all the sciences that were then cultivated, and of many which were at that time unknown to the mind.

In every sense, the writings of the Hebrew legislator and historian are of great price to the scholar and to the world. They furnish a view of nearly every question of interest and importance to mankind. The reader, standing upon a lofty eminence, can look backward to the origin of society; can witness the gradual formation and dispersion of the races; can inspect the rise and development of language; can discover the germs of the proudest kingdoms and most important nations; can go back to the infancy of all the great ideas which have animated the successive generations of man; can study the earliest institutions of the social and religious systems, and mark their distinct and respective influences upon the condition and fortunes of the world; can trace to its source, and through a series of ages, the civilization of every period and people; in a word, can hold in his grasp the great original facts which explain the revolutions, the changes, and progress of six thousand years, and which must continue to guide and govern the destinies of all subsequent time. And, if prophecy be regarded as the anticipation of history, the Bible is not only a universal history, but, what is infinitely more, a history of the universe. It records the alpha and omega of all created things. It is not the fortunes of an individual, nor the annals of an empire, nor yet the revolutions of an age, but the events of an undivided eternity—of an eternity that extends from *everlasting to everlasting*—that constitute the historic interest of this wonderful volume. It is the history of matter and of mind. Upon a boundless theatre, the one starts into being, expands, multiplies, revolves, and expires; within the same ample period, the latter emanates from heaven, executes the mighty functions of its mission, bursts its fetters, and returns. God, angels, and men; heaven, earth, and hell; the past, present, and future, are all introduced and illustrated in these luminous pages. If a figure may be ventured in this stage of our remarks, the Bible places the eye of man in the pole of this unbounded globe of things, and projects to him a chart of the unmeasured, illimitable, glorious universe! It is needless to insist, that a clear and faithful epitome of all history ought to secure the interest and attention, as it challenges the admiration, of the civilized world!

For the term philosophy, we are indebted to the modesty of Pythagoras, who disclaimed the vain boast implied in the appellation of Sophist, and assumed the discreet but ample title of Lover of Wisdom. Wisdom both in the Greek and Hebrew languages,

is the word employed to designate the highest species of knowledge. It is the attempt of philosophy to investigate and comprehend the mystery of existence, the meaning of the universe. Like a solitary traveler, surveying, from some eligible summit, the numberless points and features of a newly-discovered landscape, over which are scattered the monuments and promiscuous demonstrations of an unknown but illustrious people, and attempting to answer to himself the important questions respecting their origin, their institutions, and their civilization, which would naturally occur to an intelligent mind; so the philosopher, elevated above the mass of his fellow-beings, by a loftier or more penetrating genius, stands out, isolated and alone, upon the verge of creation, and essays to solve the infinite problem implied in the great fabric of nature:—"Whence, and for what purpose, are these worlds of light, this boundless contiguity of things, this wonderful system of animate and inanimated forms?" If man is by nature an inquisitive being, this is the sublimest inquiry he can raise; and the answer which meets and satisfies this interrogation constitutes the essence of all philosophy, human and divine.

The speculations of enthusiasm and fancy have rendered the study of philosophy, to some extent, disreputable; but, in itself, it is the paramount topic of human investigation. Indeed, there is no topic which is not justly regarded as its property. It is the receptacle of all thought, of all science, of all experience. It is the focus to which the world's literature concentrates. It covers the entire ground of human inquiry. All history is but a continued illustration of its truths; and genuine poetry is only an embellished expression of its principles. The mere scholar, the devotee of science, the man of words, of facts, or of dimensions, is but the day laborer, the tasked operative to that widely surveying and constructive genius, which, like a sole architect, builds from the materials supplied him the august temple of philosophy. Christianity itself is philosophy more clearly and extensively taught; Christ is the key to that mystery which it proposes to expound; revelation breaks the seal of that volume which reason had ineffectually endeavored to unroll. With conceivable propriety was it said of Socrates, that he brought down philosophy from heaven to the abodes of men; for, in whatever light we regard it, it is divine. Human philosophy is the attempt of reason to explore the universe in search of its Author; sacred philosophy is the act of the Author of the universe in bringing his existence within the compass of reason. By the one, the soul puts on wings to soar upward through natural causes to its infinite Creator; by the other, the Creator

condescends to manifest his character through natural agencies to the soul. There would seem to be (I had almost said) a mutual affinity, a species of spiritual polarity, between the two beings, and nothing divides them but matter; each is seeking each, and neither is at rest till the other is found; and it is not less glorious than humiliating, that that which baffles the aspirations of the less, offers no obstacle to the omnipotence of the greater. If man, by his wisdom, cannot find out God; God, by his power, can find out man. Philosophy celebrates the moment, the act, the triumph, of mutual discovery; and whether it is founded upon reason or revelation, it is the most magnificent theme of human contemplation.

In all ages of the world, among every class of philosophers, this great subject has been conveniently surveyed under a three-fold division: whatever may have been the modifications of successive centuries and schools, GOD, the WORLD, and MAN, have been the three primary topics of philosophical reflection. First, they are separately and distinctly examined; then, the complex web of relations, and the intricate lines of duty, are instituted or explored. This, and nothing else, is philosophy. In pagan and Christian countries, in remote and modern times, the speculations of all individuals and sects have been consistently classified according to this division. God, the universe, and man, are the three WORDS of philosophy. No power can destroy either, as a subject of reflection. No wisdom can add another. All philosophy consists in an analysis of them. If these words are retained and comprehended by the mind, the world is safe against innovation and error. If either is omitted or misunderstood, the most dreadful consequences may ensue. The history of France furnishes an awful example. So intimately are these words allied, that error respecting one of them will infallibly communicate itself to the others. They are the three words of the Bible. They are the main columns of Christianity. In the name of both philosophy and Christianity, with a heart beating with interest for their preservation, we might appeal to the human intellect in the language of Schiller,—

> "O trust in these words of mightiest power,
> They are the wide world's treasure;
> Through ages they 've been man's richest dower,
> And the Spirit their depth must measure."

But, whatever has been the fate of the past, or whatever may be the destiny of the future, it is a consolation to a contemplative mind, that, amid the changes and revolutions of opinion, the problem itself which these words suggest, and which philosophy

proposes to explain, is as fresh to each new-comer on the stage of life, as when the universe first dropped, glorious and fair, from the plastic hands of Omnipotence.

In a few observations we shall endeavor to show that human philosophy, in its most triumphant period, is but seeing through a glass darkly; that sacred or revealed philosophy contemplates its objects, its realities, face to face.

In the celebrated painting of Raphael, entitled the School of Athens, the two rival aspirants to the philosophical crown are the most prominent figures. Aristotle stands with a deep, down-cast, penetrating look, as though he were scrutinizing the very essence of things; but Plato, with a countenance of serenity and great dignity, like an ancient prophet, is lifting his hand to heaven, as if in the act of revealing the mystery of nature to a listening world. Not only the pencil of this artist, but the better judgment of the learned, has awarded Plato the palm of pre-eminence over all philosophers who have based their speculations upon reason. In the magnificence of intellect, in the brilliancy of imagination, in the universal splendor of genius, he has perhaps never been surpassed. If his system be compared with the Bible, there will remain nothing to be done in behalf of Scriptural philosophy, which a just and judicious comparison will not accomplish. He may be regarded as having reached the summit of that pyramid, which, in his system, represents the eminence to which human effort can aspire; but that eminence, as we shall have reason to conclude, is far too humble for the satisfaction of an immortal mind.

In man, in other animals, in the vegetable world, Plato recognized the existence of two principles, operating together for the production of certain results; one of these principles was perceptible to the senses, the other was not; the first was active, the second passive; the former was mind, or soul, or spirit, the latter was substance or matter. All existences might be referred to these two principles; and if he sought their origin, he was compelled by the first maxim of ancient logic, and, as he supposed, by the very instinct of his spiritual being, to believe, that *from nothing, nothing can proceed;* that, without previous materials, mind could not create matter, nor matter mind. He must, therefore, recognize two distinct, independent, eternal natures, which, being combined in different proportions according to certain models which eternally existed in the conceptions of the divine mind, produced the infinite variety of forms which surround us.

Matter offered an obstinate, invincible resistance to the benevolent intentions of the First Intelligence; hence the universe is im-

perfect: clouds and storms, diseases and death, earthquakes and volcanic fires, will perpetuate their assaults upon the happiness of mankind, because the good Being who created the world had not the power to execute his desires. The universe is an animated being, a living animal, endowed with a sensitive soul; and the earth is turned upon its axis (for Plato had discovered its diurnal revolution) by the impulse of an inferior soul much corrupted by the free admixture in its composition of the material element. The spiritual nature of man was an emanation from the pure Intelligence; but, in its passage through the two world-souls, it had contracted a deep corruption, which infected its entire essence. The number of human souls was exactly equal to the stars of heaven; and one star was appropriated to each soul, as a solitary and perpetual residence. But, for some reason which is not adequately stated in the extant works of our philosopher, it became necessary, or expedient, or desirable, to give them a more contracted habitation. Material bodies or dungeons were created, into which the unfortunate or rebellious spirits were plunged, to serve a period of punishment or probation, until death, like a friendly bailiff, should break their fetters, and release them from life, the greatest calamity of their existence.*

Virtue consists in declaring indomitable hostility to matter; in asserting the dignity of the spirit; in pursuing the reminiscences of our former celestial condition; in abstract and protracted self-communion, by which the pure spirit is exalted above the appetites and passions originating in the corrupt portions of the soul, and carried on the wings of sublime and holy meditation to enjoy, in this life, the reflection of its supernal state, and, at death, to the realms of unfaded and unfading glory. The good Creator would certainly assist his offspring in this great work of self-elevation; nor would any unfortunate spirit be doomed to suffer the base alloy which had adulterated his being, and undermined the foundations of human happiness, a single moment after the creating Intelligence should acquire the means or the capacity to make the separation, or possess the art to hold in check the stubborn opposition of matter. The pure soul is immortal, *because*, in nature, all things end in their contraries: sleep terminates in wakefulness,

* Cicero expresses the same sentiment in his Cato:—"Nam, dum sumus in his inclusi compagibus corporis, munere quodam necessitatis et gravi opere perfungimur. Est enim animus cælestis ex altissimo domicilio depressus et quasi demersus in terram, locum divinæ naturæ æternitatique contrarium."—*XXI.* 77. And this opinion was almost universal among the most celebrated of ancient philosophers. It can be traced back to the soofeeism of the East, and forward to the scholasticism and monkery of the West.

life in death, and hence death in life; *because* the rational part of the soul is a simple, and hence indivisible, indissoluble, indestructible substance; *because* the fact of prior existence indicates the probability of a future life; *because* spirit is the only active principle, and matter, the sole antagonist of the thinking part, being merely passive, there remains no agent possessed of the power or the disposition to annihilate the mind. Such is the frail system which infidels have professed to prefer to the philosophical doctrines of the Bible.*

In contemplating this concentrated image of Platonism it will be expedient to repeat, that, by the confession of more than twenty centuries, it equals or transcends every other system in the dignity and sublimity of its doctrines, in the general consistency of its parts, and in the moral influence of its precepts. Every system which had preceded it was inexpressibly more ridiculous; profane philosophy has furnished in later ages nothing superior to it. The *similar parts* of Anaxagoras, the *atoms* of Leusippus, the *sensible elements* of Thales, the *unity* of Parmenides, the *mystic numbers* of Pythagoras, had all preceded the *ideal* theory of Plato, and were equally ludicrous when placed in juxta-position with his doctrines; while, as we have intimated, the world will be slow in acknowledging any debt of gratitude to the Grecian sects which succeeded Plato, to the belligerent and bloody feuds of the middle or scholastic period, or even to the more recent *dogmaticism* of Des Cartes, the *idealism* of Spinoza, or the still less sensible *realism* of Leibnitz. Kant, it is said, has founded a new and more glorious system; but, in the humble judgment of the writer, that system is nothing less than a vain attempt to amalgamate the dialectics of Aristotle with the celebrated ideas of Plato; and we may be assured, that a union of two old errors is not likely to produce a new truth. When the perfection of subtilty is wedded to a frantic imagination, we have no reason to expect a more tangible offspring than transcendentalism; nor have its greatest admirers been able to demonstrate a single advantage which philosophy has acquired from its existence. Bacon, Locke, and Reid, it is true, are the fathers of a new and rational school; but it forms no exception to the position previously assumed, if it is founded as much on the facts of revelation as on the conduct of experience. In a

* The above argument for the immortality of the soul, Cicero adopts as his own, and adds the significant—"Hic Plato noster." His own defense of this doctrine is enough to inspire us with respect for philosophy, but not enough to supersede the necessity of revelation. Let the reader consult the conclusion of that incomparable treatise, De Senectute.

word, it may be again repeated, that Plato expounded as much of the great problem of philosophy as any preceding or subsequent writer; and it is his far-famed and idolized theory that we compare with the philosophical doctrines of the Bible.

We are instructed by Eusebius to believe, that Moses was the author of certain theological and philosophical works not now extant, in which he displayed the most consummate knowledge of speculative wisdom, and of the arts and sciences; and upon the respectable authority of Philo, and several other Jewish writers, we might eulogize the great philosopher and historian of the Scriptures in the most ample and sonorous terms; we might almost convince ourselves that, from these books, Pythagoras and Plato condescended to rifle or borrow the elements of their respective systems; and, with twenty of the Christian fathers, we might challenge the world to demonstrate the improbability of this position. But we shall resort to no speculations of this character, or of any description, to exalt the philosophy of revelation. We rest the cause on the facts, the doctrines, the arguments, actually recorded in the Bible. Whatever may have been the literary character of the inhabitants of Palestine, their historians, lawgivers, and prophets exhibit a wonderful acquaintance with nature. How readily shall we recognize the change in passing from Grecian to Hebrew philosophy!

Instead of two causes of the universe, we have but one; and the conception of that Cause is the highest idea of the mind. It is a Being possessed of all the attributes of sublimity. He is the universal Father, and the Father of the universe. He is infinite in knowledge, unlimited in goodness, almighty in power. In his nature he is spiritual, immutable, eternal. He knows no fate or necessity to limit his virtues, no antagonist or rival to equal or oppose his designs. In his character he is more lovely than his works, more pure and radiant than light, more tender and affectionate than maternal love. He is more vast than space, more awful than nature, more majestic than the universe; as infinite as he is amiable, as glorious as he is infinite. In a word, (what volumes could not express,) how beautiful, how sublime, how inconceivable, is the character of God![*]

[*] The profound and elegant Cicero, the greatest of all commentators on Grecian philosophy, and whom, on this subject, it is necessary continually to consult, ingenuously exposes the dissension which reigned among ancient philosophers respecting the nature of the supreme Being; and as frankly confesses the unworthy and unsatisfactory notions which generally prevailed. His testimony is unprejudiced and decisive.—Vid., lib. i, c. 1, &c., De Natura Deorum.

The second topic of philosophy is the UNIVERSE. Though the Bible does not undertake to teach us astronomy, to display the length and breadth of creation, this, it should be remembered, is not the object of philosophy. It is the province of science to accomplish this purpose. It is the origin, not the extent, of the universe, which philosophers of every age have proposed to reveal. But the Bible alone has succeeded in the design. A single inquiry contains or suggests the substance of all philosophy: "Hath the rain a father, or who hath begotten the drops of dew?" And we recognize the voice of a Creator in the reply: "Whatsoever is under the whole heaven is mine!" "In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth." When this point is determined, physical philosophy is satisfied. The universe is accounted for, the mystery is broken, the darkness is expelled! Here, the first sentence of the Bible, one breath of inspiration, achieves in a moment what had baffled the philosophers of all ages! We have found the Creator of all things. But the single appellation of Creator involves every attribute of Deity; and the one characteristic of *created* includes every subordinate quality and relation of universal nature. In a word, we have reached the perfection of philosophy. The most clear and beautiful radiance is thrown over the world. The poet has full scope for his fancy, the philosopher for his intellect, the soul for its hopes, emotions, and desires. Nature is endowed with a voice. Her brooks can speak; her rocks, and caves, and woods address a language and a meaning to the soul; and the soul exults in the directness and majesty of her speech:

> "Motionless torrents! silent cataracts!
> Who made you glorious as the gates of heaven
> Beneath the keen full moon? Who bade the sun
> Clothe you with rainbows? Who, with living flowers,
> Of lovelier hue, spread garlands at your feet?"
>
> "God! let the torrents, like a shout of nations,
> Answer! and let the ice-plains echo, God!
> God! sing ye meadow-streams, with gladsome voice:
> Ye pine-groves, with your soft and soul-like sound!
> And they, too, have a voice, yon piles of snow,
> And in their perilous fall shall thunder, GOD!"

The last word of philosophy is MAN; at once the subject and object of philosophical reflection. Prior to revelation, man was indeed the greatest mystery to man. Neither his origin, his character, nor his destiny, was known. In the Bible he is caused to stand upon the foreground; and the light of the entire scene is

accumulated upon him. He is a compound being: he is spirit, and he is matter. By the one, he represents the universe; by the other, its author. Like the world, his body is temporal and passes away; like the Creator, the soul is immaterial and eternal.* His equality to his fellows teaches him the first lessons of social happiness and civil liberty; that he is the creature, the offspring, of God, impresses on his heart, on his conscience, the primary elements of piety and religion. He is the counterpart, the correlate, the microcosm, of the universe, and the reflected image of its Author. As an intellectual being, his law is eternal expansion; and there is no assignable limit to the growth of his moral powers. His aptitude for sorrow or joy, for pleasure and pain, is commensurate with the expansibility of his faculties and the duration of his being. Though, by personal transgression, he has brought darkness and evil upon the works of nature, and guilt, dejection, and terror into his own once-enraptured bosom, and, in his present state, is indeed but the

"Pendulum betwixt a smile and tear,"

the mercy of God, like an angel of light, has descended from heaven to indicate a destiny which an angel might covet, and which is evidently the utmost that mercy could devise.

"KNOW THYSELF" is the first precept of ancient wisdom; and a recent genius has remarked, that

"The proper study of mankind is man;"

nor can it be rationally doubted, that the knowledge of human nature is one of the best results of intellectual exertion. But where shall we find a teacher like the writers of the Bible? Among historians, Thucydides and Livy; among philosophers, Socrates and Theophrastus; and of all poets, Sophocles and

* No evidence is required to prove that the immortality of the soul is a doctrine peculiar to the gospel. The ancients were divided into three schools in relation to it. The first were the infidels, among whom is to be ranked the great Aristotle, who remarks, "That death is the most terrible of all things, it is the end of our existence, and after it, man has neither to expect good nor to fear evil." Their motto was, "When death is, we are not." The second class maintained the doctrine of emanation, and re-absorption, which destroys the soul's proper immortality. The third entertained a *hope*, more or less firm, of the truth of this sentiment; but were firmly persuaded of it, as Cicero somewhere observes, "only when they were contemplating the proofs by which it is to be maintained." But Christianity lays the foundation of *faith*; it renders the immortality of the soul as certain as any doctrine of the Bible. "*Because* I live," says the Saviour, "ye shall live also." "As in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive."

Shakspeare, have claimed, in all civilized countries, the merit of being the most admirable and penetrating expounders of this science; but what classical scholar will deny that, when compared with the master spirits of revelation, their pre-eminence is lost amid the lustre of superior qualities? Man never appears so beautiful, so noble, so true to himself, as when the Bible portrays the original excellences of his character; nor is there any thing so faithful, so perfect, so faultless, as the description which it gives of his condition as a sinner. When the Saviour throws the light of his countenance upon him, we are interested even in his weakness, we sympathize in his very degradation and distresses; and when man rises from the depths of his iniquity, and is purified by the blood, and clothed in the righteousness of his Redeemer, there is no object more interesting, more inexpressibly lovely. When, in the subsequent use of his faculties, he begins with enkindled zeal and generous interest to explore the philosophy of his being and abode, the full original of his manlike nobility reappears. The Bible is honored by this character; and Christianity might have dictated the splendid apostrophe of the poet,—

> "How beautiful, O man, with branch of palm,
> Thou standest on the century's slope! how calm,
> How noble in thy manhood's prime!
> With unseal'd sense, with spirit full and free,
> With smiling earnestness and still activity,
> The ripest son of time!"

Finally, it is the Bible alone that has revealed the origin, the relations, and the true destiny of man to man. It is the Bible alone that breaks the mystery of universal nature. It is the Bible alone that restores to the conceptions of the human mind the august character of that Being, who is the greatest and most glorious object of all philosophy, sacred and profane. It does not satisfy the truth to assert, that the Bible contains all the essential principles of philosophy. It is more emphatically true, that no other book or books in existence do contain them. If the speculative works of antiquity and modern times were swept into utter oblivion, there is enough in the Bible to rear a system which shall embrace all the symmetry and perfections which the mind is capable of appreciating, or adapted to conceive. There is scarcely a sabbath-school child in the bosom of the church that does not possess more real truth, more genuine philosophy, than can be found in the thirty-five Dialogues of Plato, or within the entire compass of Grecian and Roman speculation. Few of us have realized the philosophical influence of the Bible; and when this fact is suffi-

ciently stamped upon the convictions of our enlightened age, the adoration which has been paid a few names of antiquity will be softened to reverence, and that even will be transferred to a volume, which merits the respect, the gratitude, the homage, of the literary world.

"Nothing is beautiful but truth," is a maxim which the French nation originated, and has ever since continued to despise. It is, however, worthy of the deepest consideration; for it is not possible, with any opposite sentiment, to form or imbibe correct opinions of the poetic art. Poetry is the language of the imagination employed in giving utterance to the sentiments of the heart and the convictions of reason; and if all truth is beautiful, and all permanent and universal convictions of reason are truths, then poetry may be styled the delicate union which the imagination conceives or creates between the beauty of thought and the beauty of expression. Both are necessary to genuine poetry. A fine figure would be marred or concealed by homely or unsuitable apparel; nor can the utmost grace or richness of attire make amends for any considerable deformity of person. When they are perfectly united, it is like clothing the Venus of Praxiteles in Coan gauze.*

Poetry is the first, free, and elegant expression of the intellect, wrapt into enthusiasm or ecstasy, by the varied forms and power of truth. It is the highest effort of the mind. It demands the widest development of the moral and intellectual faculties. It is one of the leading agents in the work of human civilization. It expands, elevates, and purifies the soul. It is the genius of the beautiful giving form to the good and the true; and, to illustrate its value, we might properly adopt the sentiment of a German poet:—

> "Only through beauty's morning-gate
> Canst thou to knowledge penetrate.
> The mind, to face truth's higher glances,
> Must swim some time in beauty's trances.
> The heavenly harping of the muses,
> Whose sweetest trembling through thee rings,
> A higher life into thy soul infuses,
> And wings it upward to the soul of things."

Poetry, in every age, has been deemed the express gift of the Creator; in its principal features it does very nearly resemble our ideas of inspiration; indeed, it is the imagination which inspiration,

* The ancients called this gauze, "woven wind." It was very transparent and delicate; the very drapery of a poet's dreams.

which the Bible, has most expressly honored; nor should it seem singular that there have been ages when

"the sacred name
Of prophet and of poet were the same;"

for not the slightest exception could be taken to this synonyma, if we were certain of its derivation from the double virtue of the existing monuments of the Hebrew muse. The Jewish prophets stand emphatically at the head of impassioned poets; while the lighter graces of Moses, of Deborah, of David, attest their unsurpassed excellence in the more fanciful species of the art divine.

In the conception and elaboration of poetical productions, the imagination may draw its materials from the past, the present, or the future; and, hence, poetry may be properly classified into historical, experimental, and rational or prophetic—we say rational *or* prophetic, because both reason and prophecy contemplate the future. Historical poetry includes epic and dramatic compositions; experimental poetry is based upon the personal experience and feelings of the poet, surrounded and prompted by the thousand influences of the natural, moral, and intellectual world; rational or prophetic poetry transports us into the world of hope, and sheds the light of the fancy upon truths which human reason has rendered probable, or the divine reason has revealed as certain.*

To the Jews the past, the present, and the future were full of poetic interest. If the poet of inspiration looked backward, his vision was supplied with historical incidents of the most wonderful character. There was a poetic background of national history, which had never been surpassed, never equaled, in the annals of the world; and if such a retrospect is necessary to the existence, development, and elevation of national or individual genius, the genius of no individual of any nation was ever more bountifully supplied with the most inspiring themes of poetic contemplation. Those themes were also of a pure, innocent, and elevated character, adapted to impart chasteness, morality, and sublimity to the conceptions of an order of poets who were divinely commissioned to record and transmit them. If the poet yielded himself up to the influence of the present, there was never a moment in the history

* Lord Bacon divided poetry into narrative, dramatic and parabolic. This classification is neither natural nor perfect. It does not exhaust the subject; while it separates parts which ought to be united, and confounds distinctions which ought not to be forgotten. Mr. Montgomery quotes this classification and follows another, which, though more easy and popular, is still less consistent and philosophical.

of that celebrated people when *that* present was not crowded with facts, with incidents, with scenes, sufficient to throw inspiration into the profanest bosom, or perfect rapture into a breast inspired. If the conceptions, the hopes, which futurity furnishes, were the objects of regard, what nation in any age could look forward to a destiny so glorious with all the elements of real or poetic grandeur? If poetry is the elegant expression of sublime or beautiful sentiment, what people, what language, ever possessed such a magazine of thoughts, adapted to awaken the profoundest emotions, and elevate the soul to the summit of its capacity?

The civilization of this people was just of a character to develop and animate the genius of poesy. It is in the season of youth that the imagination carries sway; and it is a singular fact, that poetry has always most flourished in the adolescence of nations—in dark and half-civilized periods. The five great epics of ancient and modern genius; the chief surviving relics of the Athenian, the Roman, and the English stage; the sweetest lyrics, the most splendid rhapsodies, the richest variety of miscellaneous effusions, to which the daily experience of the poet has given birth; the most admirable expositions or poetical anticipations of the future, with the exception, perhaps, of the fourth pastoral of Virgil; in a word, the highest specimens of every species and variety of poetry, have been produced before or long after the people, to whom each specimen pertains, had reached the zenith of their civilization and national glory: as though such stars could not shine, except in the darkness which precedes or follows the brilliancy of day.

If, by these remarks, we are prepared to expect great achievements of the muse of inspiration, a careful examination of the Bible would not disappoint such hopes. Both the matter and the style of Hebrew poetry are of the very highest order. The great facts of Jewish history, and the principles of their unrivaled philosophy, when molded into forms of beauty by the powers of inspired fancy, unite the authenticity and simplicity of truth with all the fascination and splendor of fiction. Compared with the works of pagan antiquity, or the productions of modern genius, how infinitely superior, in their substance or matter, do the poetical books of the Bible appear! The wrath of an offended warrior, the homeward wanderings of a defeated general, the early adventures of an infant colony seeking a resting place in Italy, a false and wretched dogma of the Roman Church, the romantic exploits of knights errant, the successful issue of the celebrated but inglorious crusades, or even the banishment of man from the bowers of Eden, which respectively

furnished Homer, Virgil, Dante, Ariosto, Tasso, and Milton with the substrata of their far-famed epics, are greatly though not equally unworthy of a serious comparison with the subject matter of the great poems of Scripture. Pindar, who, according to Horace,* might wear the lyric crown of Apollo, celebrates only the virtues and successes of the gods and victors of classical Greece; David, with whom the Theban lyrist has been compared, records in loftier strains the infinite attributes of Jehovah, the magnificent grandeur of the universe, and the sublimest characteristics and relations of man. It is related of Sophocles, that, for twenty tragedies, he received the laurel; and he was famed above all competitors. The most popular, the best of his dramas, has survived the dilapidations of time; but what dignity or sublimity of subject does the Œdipus Tyrannus possess when compared with the book of Job? The latter transcends the former, as far as the sublime doctrine of an overruling providence exceeds in grandeur the fictitious fortunes of the foundling of Mount Cithæron. The prophetical books of the Bible have no precedent or parallel. The puerile nature of the Sibyline books is sufficiently demonstrated by the few oracular fragments that remain; while the Hebrew prophets survive to illustrate the august character of that most remarkable species of human composition, in which the reason of God is communicated to the world through the imagination of man. In Grecian and Roman verse, though the verse is beautiful, every thing it describes seems human, imperfect, carnal; with the bards of Palestina, all is ethereal, spiritual, glorious. If the former treats of the gods, they appear like men; when the latter record the original or restored condition of man, you would almost mistake it for the character of a seraph. The one is a splendid burlesque on the majesty of God and his creation; the poets of inspiration, on the other hand, extend and illuminate the vision of man, till he conceives (if he does not comprehend) the sublime realities of the present and the future, of substance and spirit, of things temporal and eternal.

The popular method of testing the style of the poets, by selecting and comparing their choicest passages, is unworthy of good sense. It is condemned by the later and improved works on the art of criticism. It would be obviously unjust to estimate the talents of two rival orators by enumerating the happy expressions which they might respectively utter. It cannot be supposed that Matthew Green is to be compared with the author of Paradise Lost, or the author of the Seasons with the Stratford bard; though a critic can

* Liv., Ode 2.

select more original and glowing passages from the "Spleen" of the former, and more splendid images and descriptions from the "Winter" of the latter, than can be respectively produced from fifty times the amount of verse composed by Milton and Shakspeare. There are individual lines and stanzas in the skeptical deliraments of Queen Mab, which, if the usual critical method were adopted, would elevate Shelley as far above ordinary poets as his own "magic car,"

"Flashing incessant meteors,"

rose above the surface of this earth. Nay, the first canto of this poem is unequaled for descriptive powers; but who thinks of ranking its author with the greatest poets of the English language? It would be useless to demonstrate that it is the general scope, the sustained elevation, of a poem, which imparts to it a character and a name; and it is on this basis that we should determine the poetical merits of the Bible. It cannot be denied, however, that the poets of Scripture furnish the largest proportion and richest variety of beautiful, sublime, and pathetic single passages, which can be found in an equal extent of composition in the entire circle of the world's literature. Longinus decides for the sublimity of the Bible; and Montgomery, the best modern critic of poetry, selects a part of the fifteenth chapter of Exodus as unrivaled for "majesty of fact" in human composition; and remarks, that the events are so graphically given, that it might be said, in the language of Wesley,—

"The Invisible appears in sight,
And God is seen by mortal eye."

He quotes the next chapter as a specimen of the "highest poetry." But the Bible is radiant with such passages. Its prose affords more sublime conceptions than the poetry of the Greeks and Romans. We hesitate not to challenge the literary world to produce a sublimer sentiment than that by which the apostle would urge upon the brethren of Thessaly the duty and safety of spiritual watchfulness:—"*For the Lord himself shall descend from heaven with a shout, with the voice of the archangel, and with the trump of God!*"*

* An infidel once quoted a line from Homer, and challenged his hearers to produce its equal from the Bible:—

"Jove frown'd, and darken'd half the skies."

A Christian, who was listening, repeated a part of the vision of St. John:—"And I saw a great white throne, and him that sat on it, from whose face the

Some critics of distinction have proposed, as a convenient test of poetical merit, the method of selecting, from writers whom we would compare, those passages which describe the same, or similar objects; and while it is more philosophical than the preceding, it stamps the Bible with evident superiority. How majestic is the description of the passage of the Israelites through the Red Sea!—

"With the blast of thy nostrils the waters were gathered together;
The floods stood upright as a heap;
And the depths were congealed in the heart of the sea!"

Such is the grandeur with which the scene is introduced. The host of Pharaoh pursue into the midst of the sea—the children of Israel are safe on the opposite shore. The triumph of Moses and the song of Miriam continue:—

"Thou didst blow with thy wind:
The sea covered them:
They sank as lead in the mighty waters!"

The sister of Aaron concludes with a strain of victory:—

"Sing ye to the Lord,
For he hath triumphed gloriously:
The horse and his rider hath he thrown into the sea!"

The host of the redeemed throw up a shout to heaven, which makes the hills of Araby tremble; and the obedient waters roll in upon chariots and horsemen, and cover them with everlasting oblivion. We submit to the judgment of scholars, whether the entire circle of the classics can furnish a parallel to this passage.

Thomson, who wears the laurel in descriptive poetry, has paraphrased a part of the ninety-first Psalm in the following celebrated strains:—

"O'er thee the secret shaft
That wastes at midnight, or the undreaded hour
Of noon, flies harmless: and that very voice
Which thunders terror through the guilty heart,
With tongues of seraphs whispers peace to thine."

Every individual will exclaim, This is beautiful! And very beautiful it is. But let us listen to the original poet himself; or, rather, to a literal prose translation of the mighty monarch-bard:—

earth and the heaven fled away, and there was found no place for them!" If this anecdote is genuine, it is not probable that the contest was lengthy; if it is fictitious, it illustrates equally well the superlative sublimity of the Bible.

"He that dwelleth in the secret place of the Most High
Shall abide under the shadow of the Almighty!
He shall cover thee with his feathers;
And under his wings shalt thou trust!
Thou shalt not be afraid for the terror by night,
Nor for the arrow that flieth by day,
Nor for the pestilence that walketh in darkness,
Nor for the destruction that wasteth at noonday!
Thou shalt tread upon the lion and adder;
The young lion and the dragon thou shalt trample under feet!"

What sentiment, what language, what figures are here! They might be dwelt on for an hour. But we must proceed. The reader can pause at his pleasure.

The duke of Buckingham thus eulogizes the prince of epic poets:—

"Read Homer once, and you can read no more;
For all books else appear so mean, so poor,
Verse will seem prose:—but still persist to read,
And Homer will be all the books you need!"

This is the language of a professed friend of the Puritan reformation and faith. The Bible itself is not excepted. It was once fashionable thus to depreciate the literature of the Scriptures. The fashion still remains; and Christians are sometimes seen to bend the knee at this unholy shrine. The exclusive and fulsome praise bestowed, by the ostensible friends of religion, upon the writers of classical paganism, is enough to move the pity of a heathen, or stir the indignation of a seraph. Let us apply the last-named rule of criticism in a brief comparison of Homer with Job. We will select the favorite animal of the Greek poet, the horse; that which he most admires to describe; and it shall be the horse of his hero:—

"Then brave Automedon (an honor'd name,
The second to his lord in love and fame,
In peace his friend, and partner of the war)
The winged coursers harness'd to the car;
Xanthus and Balius, of immortal breed,
Sprung from the wind, and like the wind in speed;
Whom the wing'd harpy, swift Podarge, bore,
By Zephyrus upon the breezy shore:*
Swift Pedasus was added to their side—
* * * * *
Who, like in strength, in swiftness, and in grace,
A mortal courser, match'd the immortal race."

* The chaste reader will not deplore the license we have taken in slightly altering the sense of this line. Pope follows the original.

Without emphasis, without italics, without versification even, let us now listen to the majesty of the Hebrew poet:—

"Hast thou given the horse strength?
Hast thou clothed his neck with thunder?
Canst thou make him afraid as a grasshopper?

The glory of his nostrils is terrible!
He paweth in the valley, and rejoiceth in his strength!
He goeth on to meet the armed men!
He mocketh at fear, and is not affrighted;
Neither turneth he back from the sword!
The quiver rattleth against him;
The glittering spear and the shield!
He swalloweth the ground with fierceness and rage;
Neither believeth he that it is the sound of the trumpet!
He saith among the trumpets, Ha! ha!
And he smelleth the battle afar off,
The thunder of the captains and the shouting!"

Let this passage be properly read, and it will make its own comment. The reader should draw the picture in his fancy, as the poet proceeds in his description; and if he will then produce its equal from the most glowing page of the classics, it is certain it must be derived from some author as yet unknown to the literary world.

The vision of the prophet Obadiah is expressed with remarkable brevity; but it is of sufficient length to contain the most sublime comparison of the ambition of man and the power of God, ever made:—

"Though thou exalt thyself as the eagle,
And though thou set thy nest among the stars,
Thence will I bring thee down,
Saith the Lord!"

But from this gem we must pass to another; or rather, to a cluster of gems. We have seen that God, man, and the universe, are the three words of philosophy. They are, also, the greatest, if not the only, subjects of poetry. It would be decisive of the question, if we had space and time to compare the Bible and the classics on these incomparable topics. The recollections of the scholar must spare us this labor. Let the following passages make their own impression; though the reader will be doing his taste, his sensibilities, a favor, by allowing his mind to rest and reflect upon each line as he passes:—

"The Lord reigneth, let the earth rejoice!
Let the multitude of the isles be glad thereof!

Clouds and darkness are round about him:
Righteousness and judgment are the habitation of his throne!
A fire goeth before him
And burneth up his enemies round about!
His lightnings enlightened the world:
The earth saw and trembled!
The hills melted like wax at the presence of the Lord;
At the presence of the Lord of the whole earth!
The heavens declare his righteousness,
And the people see his glory!"

Man, his character, position, relations, and office, are beautifully set forth in the following strains:—

"When I consider thy heavens, the work of thy fingers,
The moon and the stars which thou hast ordained:
What is MAN, that thou art mindful of him?
And the son of man, that thou visitest him?
For thou hast made him a little lower than the angels,
And hast crowned him with glory and honor!
Thou madest him to have dominion over the works of thy hands!
Thou hast put all things under his feet!
All sheep and oxen, yea, and the beasts of the field,
The fowl of the air, and the fish of the sea,
And whatsoever passeth through the paths of the seas!"

The enthusiastic Platonist must confess that his master, in the highest exercise of his brilliant imagination, never conceived such an image as this of the original dignity of man; nor could Shakspeare, in the highest flights of his fancy, not even in the happiest stroke of Prince Hamlet, where man is very beautifully characterized, attain to such excellence of description. Every thing is said that can be said, and in the most poetical manner, of the pristine glory and honor of man.

The universe, or the world, or nature, is portrayed in the four last chapters of Job. The length of this passage forbids a full quotation; nor is it easy to make a selection, it is all so uniformly and inexpressibly sublime. Is it in the power of infidelity to scoff at the descriptive excellences and power of these chapters? Newton, by the invention of his telescope, was himself a telescope to man. Through his industry and genius the universe is greatly expanded to our eye. But, had the whirlwind of God overshadowed him, how could he have replied to the mighty interrogations which the Almighty poured down like a tempest upon Job! And, then, how beautiful are many of them!

"Canst thou bind the sweet influence of Pleiades?
Or loose the bands of Orion?
Canst thou bring forth Mazzaroth in his season?
Or canst thou guide Arcturus with his sons?"

With what transport might the elder Pliny have perused such a passage as the following:—

"Behold, now, behemoth, which I made with thee!
He eateth grass like an ox.
Lo, now, his strength is in his loins;
And his force is in the navel of his belly!
He moveth his tail like a cedar;
His bones are as strong pieces of braes;
His bones are like bars of iron!
He is the chief of the ways of God:
He that made him can make his sword to approach him
He lieth under the shady trees,
In the covert of the reed and fens;
The shady trees cover him with their shadow;
The willows of the brook cover him about.
Behold, he drinketh up a river, and hasteth not:
He trusteth that he can draw up Jordan into his mouth!
He taketh it with his eyes;
His nose pierceth through snares!"

Aristotle, Cuvier, and Buffon are the great names in the splendid science of zoology; but the profundity of Aristotle, the industry and genius of Cuvier, and the eloquence of Buffon, combined, could not produce a description so accurate, so perfect, so mighty, as that of the leviathan in the forty-first chapter of Job. What an image do the following verses convey!—

"By his neesings a light doth shine,
And his eyes are like the eyelids of the morning!
Out of his mouth go burning lamps,
And sparks of fire leap out!
Out of his nostrils goeth smoke,
As out of a seething-pot, or caldron.
His breath kindleth coals,
And a flame goeth out of his mouth!"

But it is time to bring these quotations to a close; however, as we have given distinct illustrations of the characters of God, the universe, and man, it may not be uninteresting to persons of taste to dwell for a moment on a passage in which the attributes and relations of the three are beautifully and graphically united; in which the necessities and dependence of man, the grandeur of the world, and the dread omnipotence and tender mercy of God, are blended in a single picture:—

"In my distress I called upon the Lord,
And cried unto my God:
He heard my voice out of his temple,
And my cry came before him, even into his ears.

Then the earth shook and trembled!
The foundations of the hills moved, and were shaken,
Because he was wroth!
There went up a smoke out of his nostrils;
And fire out of his mouth devoured:
Coals were kindled by it!
He bowed the heavens and came down:
And darkness was under his feet!
And he rode upon a cherub and did fly;
Yea, he did fly upon the wings of the wind!
He made darkness his secret place;
His pavilion round about him
Were dark waters and thick clouds of the skies!
At the brightness that was before him
His thick clouds passed, hailstones and coals of fire!
The Lord also thundered in the heavens,
And the Highest gave his voice;—
Hailstones and coals of fire!
Yea, he sent out his arrows and scattered them,
And shot out lightnings and discomfited them.
Then the channels of waters were seen,
And the foundations of the world were discovered,
At thy rebuke, O Lord,—
At the blast of the breath of thy nostrils!"

Whether the judgment, the emotions, or the taste is most addressed and captivated by this passage, it is difficult to conclude.

From the examples above given, and from what every reader more abundantly knows of the poetical character of the Bible, we are prepared to assert that there is no work of ancient or modern genius to which we can so triumphantly apply the celebrated critical test of Longinus:—"He that hath a competent share of natural and acquired taste may easily distinguish the value of any performance from a bare recital of it. If he finds that it transports not his soul, nor exalts his thoughts; that it calls not up into his mind ideas more enlarged than what the sounds convey, but, on the contrary, its dignity lessens and declines; he may conclude, that whatever pierces no deeper than the ear cannot be the true sublime. That, on the other hand, is grand and lofty, which, the more we consider, the greater ideas we conceive of it; whose force we cannot possibly withstand, which sinks immediately deep, and makes such an impression on the mind as cannot be easily effaced: in a word, we may pronounce that sublime, beautiful, and true, which permanently pleases, and takes generally with all sorts of men." All this is true of the Bible, and especially of its poetry. Like the prophet's river, the oftener you sound it, the deeper does it measure. It seizes upon the imagination and sympathies, and

fastens its sentiments upon the soul. It pleases all men, and pleases them always. It indicates more than it expresses. In this it differs from philosophy and history. History recovers the past; philosophy breaks the mystery of the present; but poetry regards the present and the past, and overlooks the future; it leads you down into the deep ravines and quiet dells of truth, from whose shade you discover the star-light of the other world.

But we may advance a step higher in presenting the merits of the poetry of revelation. All accurate readers have been impressed with the unity which prevails in the collection of Psalms; and those who recollect the loose manner in which the rhapsodies of Homer were occasionally thrown out from his prolific imagination, and how they were long afterward collected, arranged, and published as consecutive poems by Pisistratus, will not gratuitously reject the ingenious suggestion of Bishop Horsley, that these splendid effusions constitute a species of heroic tragedy of the most sublime and elevated character. The redemption of man and the destruction of Satan is the plot. The persons represented are God, Christ, Satan, Judas, apostate Jews, heathen persecutors, and apostates of subsequent ages. The attendants are believers, unbelievers, and angels. The scenes, heaven, earth, and hell. The time of the action, from the fall of man to the final overthrow of the apostate faction and the general judgment. The last psalm constitutes the concluding chorus, in which the universe is sublimely challenged to unite in celebrating the victory of heaven over the powers and principalities of hell :—

> "Praise God in his sanctuary!
> Praise him in the firmament of his power!
> Praise him for his mighty acts!
> Praise him according to his excellent greatness!
> Praise him with the sound of the trumpet!
> Praise him with the psaltery and harp!
> Praise him with the timbrel and dance!
> Praise him with stringed instruments and organs!
> Praise him upon the loud cymbals!
> Praise him upon the high-sounding cymbals!
> Let every thing that hath breath praise the Lord!
> Praise ye the Lord!"

What a mighty conception! If the learned divine could demonstrate it by an application of the rules of Aristotle, or Dionysius, or Longinus, or establish it by independent criticism, it would eclipse the entire list of tragic poets from Æschylus to Shakspeare; for, admitting its truth, what dramatic piece does the world afford, comparable with a composition which covers the whole compass

of time, represents the most interesting and awful beings in the universe, and includes all that is grand in scenery, majestic by association, or sublime and beautiful in its glorious and boundless results!

It is sometimes difficult to distinguish epic from dramatic compositions. They equally belong to the class of historical poems; the one narrates the facts of history as past, the other represents them as present; and this distinction ought to determine the question so long agitated respecting the book of Job; which, while it admits short speeches and dialogues almost in the dramatic style, everywhere preserves the distinguishing peculiarity of an epic. This book, however, whether it be regarded as an epic or dramatic piece, is not to be judged by the rules of criticism which the learned have derived from similar compositions in the classical languages. Its author possessed a genius which entitled him to lay down rules for himself. In whatever light it is examined, whether its subject, its style, its morality, or its literary and moral influence be the point of examination, it should be esteemed the noblest, sublimest poetical production ever published to the world. It has no rival in any language. Its hero is the absolute impersonation of the chief of virtues. Its machinery is of the most wonderful nature. Three worlds are visited and exhausted to supply it with characters. The conduct of the piece is most admirable. It opens with the boldest images of distress; and in this respect resembles the Iliad. It progresses with an uninterrupted exhibition of unshaken faith and unsullied virtue; and differs, in this particular, from all epic pieces of ancient or modern times. It closes with a triumph, in which a rectified heart must experience the most exquisite satisfaction and delight. When we read Homer, we are gratified and amused with the exhaustless resources of his fancy. If we listen to the epic muse of the bard of Mantua, we are impressed with the judgment and dignity of his genius, and the stately majesty of his verse. Dante startles us by the boldness of his descriptions and imagery. Camoens interests every reader with the romantic feats and fortunes of Vasco de Gama. The Deliverance of Jerusalem combines the invention of Homer with the sustained elevation of Virgil, and has probably delighted more individuals than any modern poem. But Milton stands at the head of epic poets, who have flourished since the revival of literature; he always charms and fascinates the reader; his genius has kindled more delight, and exercised a better influence upon public morals, happiness, and taste, than any writer in the language. All these names are sacred to the epic muse, and are endeared to the

hearts of all nations. We would not detract a particle of their fame. But, in comparison of the book of Job, that master-piece of inspiration, their productions seem to be absolutely puerile, both in substance and style, in thought and in expression. We have hung with satisfaction, sometimes with rapture, over the pages of these uninspired poets; but a man of keen sensibility could never read a page of the book of Job without experiencing an indescribable emotion of the most elevated and impetuous character. The writer has persisted to read, when chills would rush over his body as if a current of electricity were set in motion. If the book of revelation contained no other poetical performance, just rules of criticism would pronounce it the deposit of the most perfect and sublime monument of genius, and the very paragon of literary taste.

Without exhausting the subject, we have now concluded our remarks. We have endeavored to illustrate the literary character of the Bible. We have spoken of its history, its philosophy, its poetry. We have seen how intimately it is related to the memory, to the reason, to the imagination. Its influence, as a whole, upon the mind cannot be doubtful. We have attempted to show how superior is its history to the great works of classic and modern times. We have regarded its philosophy as the only true theory of man, of God, of the universe; and, by placing it in juxta-position with the most celebrated and successful uninspired attempt to investigate and expound these wonderful mysteries, we have witnessed the infinity of its triumph over the loftiest efforts and sublimest aspirations of reason. Its poetical pre-eminence has been traced to the history, experience, and future spiritual prospects of the most remarkable of people; the past, the present, and the future have opened their treasures to our recollection and reason; and the poets of antiquity have been eclipsed by the superior splendor of the poetic genius of revelation. Perhaps the writer ought to feel encouraged (which is the sole intent and reward of his labors) that the interest of some portion of his readers, for the literary beauties of the Bible, will be to some extent advanced by the critical observations which it has been his privilege to offer them.

But the subject would be incomplete should we omit addressing to your judgment and experience a few practical inquiries. If the literary character of the Bible be such as we have described it, why is the volume so little studied or read, as a literary production, in our families and social circles? Why are its merits so seldom adverted to in polite or fashionable companies? Why are we

instructed to believe that the Bible was not given us to impart the knowledge, or furnish examples, of literature, of history, of philosophy, of poetry; and taught to associate all that is stern, and stiff, and uninviting, with a book which, in fact, sparkles with the purest, brightest gems, and glows with indescribable lustre? What has occasioned the contempt which our colleges and schools have cast upon the Bible, by expunging it from the list of classical pursuits, and consigning it to the bigotry and malevolence of religionists and unbelievers? Why do not our presidents and professors exercise the independence of character which their stations demand of them, and pay due honor to the Bible, by placing it at the head of the classification of literary studies? What has created this voracious and almost universal appetite for a stale and meaningless fiction, which is at this moment devastating the morals and tastes, and corrupting the hearts, of all classes of society, from the beggar to the prince? Let these questions be answered, and we will engage to trace the origin of the worst of the numerous evils that are now preying upon the world with almost irresistible power: we will display the cause which has bound the people in a mighty spell, and armed them against the word of God; which has repulsed the men of genius of almost every country from the study of that volume, which they were taught to regard as a magazine of penalties and laws; which has cast a gloom over the science of theology, and discouraged many a brilliant intellect from entering into the penetrolium of the august temple of divinity, and from becoming the heralds of that gospel which they had not learned to admire; which has clothed the bright form of Christianity itself with sable habiliments, and disfigured the loveliest image, the purest, divinest conception, which the pencil of inspiration has drawn upon the imagination of man; which has robed the angel of mercy in mean apparel, and masked a countenance which beams with unearthly beauty, and spreads a charm on the paths of devotion; which, by repelling the taste, has checked the interest, and thereby sealed the destiny of many a sinner, and thus depopulated the church, disheartened its friends, and perpetuated to this hour the desolations of error in every quarter of the globe!

Here is an evil of wonderful magnitude. It is sweeping like the besom of destruction over the fairest portions of society, over the brightest intellects of the age, over the most interesting and promising field of our labors. The young will not study with seriousness a book which they cannot peruse with pleasure. The students of our seminaries and colleges are instructed to admire the literature of every people, but of those who have given to the world its

most glorious monument. And is it absolutely certain that the ordinary course of theological instruction is adapted to inspire the young mind with zeal for the direct study of the Bible? Do not the majority of divinity students read fifty pages of profane composition to one of the sacred Scriptures? Do they not graduate with a literary rather than a Biblical taste, and ultimately enter the pulpit with an ambition to emulate the elegance and refinement of their classical models, rather than with a soul instinct with the living precepts and wrapt by the holy fervor of the gospel? Whence this affected erudition, this over-wrought and fastidious polish, this chiseled stiffness and molded precision of manner, in the pulpit? If they write, who is the exemplar, Isocrates or St. Peter? If they speak, who is the paragon, Cicero with his faultless symmetry, and finished, flowing periods, or St. Paul with his careless manly energy, with his free and irresistible power?

The remedy of these evils lies with the enlightened friends of revelation. The Bible must be brought into action. It must shape the intellect and inspire the heart of the young. Its treasures must be thrown open to their view. The nature, extent, and value of its history must be engraved upon their memories. They must be taught to sit on the brow of the sacred mount, and listen to the philosophic sages of inspiration, while they expound to their opening faculties the sublime theory of nature. They must be permitted to soar upon the pinions of a heaven-illuminated fancy, and explore the broad limits of the universe, and celebrate with the psalmist the character of the great Creator, and with the prophets pursue the destinies of the deathless spirit, as it rises to the dignity and enters upon the fruition of immortality. Every thing, in a word, should be attempted to render the Bible more engaging to the young. The imagination is the first intellectual power that expands. It is the leading faculty in the development and cultivation of the mind. And, like the needle that vibrates to the pole, it cannot be directed by constraint; but is attracted with unerring certainty when left to the action of its relative power. That relative power is the Bible. It is the pole of the human mind. Remove all disturbing forces, all negative and counteracting influences, and let the Bible exert its native energy upon the soul, and man will soon return to his true position in the sight of God. Let the ruinous popular fictions of the day be discountenanced by every friend of mankind. If the fancy must be instructed by pictures; if it must be warmed by the touch of beauty; if it demands a peculiar aliment for its sustenance, and clamors for gratification; let those pictures be drawn by the pencil of inspira-

tion; let that touch of beauty be from the hand that planted the flowerets of Eden; let that aliment gently fall upon the soul like manna from the heavens. We need not fear we shall accomplish too much in attempting to throw a livelier interest around the Bible. A modern poet has correctly and beautifully said,—

"As into seven softer hues
Shivers the silvery beam of light,
As all the seven rainbow hues
Run back into the dazzling white;
So round the swimming eyes of youth
With all your glancing witcheries play,
So flow into one bond of truth,
Into one stream of perfect day."

Can the reader evade the poet's touching appeal? What exertions should be regarded as arduous, in comparison of so happy a result? Let the sabbath school be made a nursery of little plants extracted from the paradise of revelation. Let the smaller gems of the Bible be transferred to the coronet of all juvenile readers. Let the pulpit become radiant with the literature of the Scriptures. Let the halls of education emit the twofold splendor of classic and Biblical learning. Let the fireside, the family circle, be adorned and hallowed by choice recollections of the history, philosophy, and poetry of inspiration. How many youthful, straying feet, might be allured to the noblest walks of piety and duty if the parent only, the mother, would take the pains to display the flowers which inspiration has thrown upon these paths of peace! For himself, the writer will take occasion at this moment to render a tribute of gratitude to divine Providence that a mother was allotted him who loved and appreciated the Bible; who stored his young fancy with such bright images and lovely pictures as a boy could receive. Thus early was he induced to reverence that religion, the record of which he had been taught to admire; and now

"Before thy mystic altar, heavenly Truth,
I kneel in manhood, as I kneel'd in youth;
Thus let me kneel, till this dull form decay,
And life's last shade be brighten'd by thy ray:
Then shall my soul, now lost in clouds below,
Soar without bounds, without consuming, glow!"

And what Christian will not exult, that the age is advancing when the literary character of the Bible shall be appreciated and acknowledged by all? Perhaps the period is dawning, when its literature shall have possessed and subdued the imagination; and the imagination shall have captivated the reason; and the reason of man,

enlightened and controled by the philosophy of revelation, shall guide the fortunes of a redeemed and happy race, till the millennial light shall break upon the world, *and the sun shall no more go down, neither the moon withdraw itself:* when the sorrow which we now feel shall be dispelled by the brightness of that dispensation, *when the Lord shall be our everlasting light, and the days of our mourning shall be ended.* T.

East Greenwich, R. I., June, 1842.

ART. II.—*Exposition of Heb. vi*, 4–6. By Rev. SILAS M'KEEN. Biblical Repository, January, 1842.

PERHAPS no department of study has, in this country, made greater advancement, or risen more in interest, within the last quarter of a century, than that of Biblical criticism. The labors of such men as Stuart, Robinson, Nordheimer, and others, have given an impulse to this branch of theological knowledge as honorable to themselves as it will be beneficial to the cause of Christianity. No harm can result to the cause of religion from the critical and thorough investigation of the Scriptures. On the contrary, when conducted upon the principles of candor and piety, its tendency is highly favorable, both as it interests the public mind in the word of God, and tends to remove error and establish truth. It is a test, therefore, from which no denomination should shrink: we should rather court it. If any are in error, the sooner they are undeceived the better.

There is much in the exposition before us which every unprejudiced reader cannot but approve. The author deserves the credit of frankness and candor. What he concedes, he concedes explicitly, and when he opposes, it is with manly strength and decision. His article is marked with much learning and critical acumen. He directs his inquiries to the three following points:— 1. Who are the persons here spoken of; 2. What is supposed concerning them; 3. What is affirmed respecting them, in case the thing supposed should occur. On the first of these points, he maintains, with much force of argument and great depth of research, that the persons described are true Christians. We think his comment upon this part of the passage is the best we have ever seen. His earlier remarks, also, under the second division, are in general unexceptionable. He shows conclusively that by "falling away," the apostle meant an entire and utter defection from the

high and holy state which he had just described in verses 4, 5. Having conceded these two points, that the persons in question are true Christians, and that their falling away denotes real and final apostasy, we did not see how he could well avoid yielding what appears to us a very natural and correct inference from these premises, namely, that saints do not of necessity, in all cases, persevere. But we soon found that though he had made these concessions, he had no idea of abandoning the main point of attack. He considered his citadel quite as impregnable as before he had surrendered his outposts. And as we differ from him upon this subject, we shall here join issue with him, and proceed to a short, but regular siege. And we will, first, let him speak for himself. "Some have maintained that the supposition of apostasy in this passage, and others like it, implies that the salvation of those concerning whom it is made—of true believers, if these were such*—cannot be certain, even in the purpose of God. But the inference is not legitimate. For how does it appear that God might not from eternity have purposed, that this very warning against falling away should be the effectual means of preventing it? When God said, 'If the heavens above can be measured, and the foundations of the earth searched out beneath, I will also cast off the seed of Israel for all that they have done,' Jer. xxxi, 12, [37,] he did not mean that the thing supposed was possible for *man*, but the contrary. When the apostle said, 'If we, or an angel from heaven, preach any other gospel unto you than that which we have preached, let him be accursed,' it is plainly a case supposed, which was not expected ever to occur. And so when he said to the centurion with respect to those who were about to leave the foundering vessel, 'Except these abide in the ship, ye cannot be saved,' it did not imply that God had not purposed to save them; for he had said before, 'There stood by me this night the angel of God, whose I am, and whom I serve, saying, Fear not, Paul; for thou must be brought before Cesar: and lo, God has given thee all them that sail with thee.' God had determined to save them, and carried that determination into execution by warning them effectually against all measures inconsistent with his purpose. The supposition that the persons described were true believers, militates in no wise against the doctrine of the saints' perseverance. If God has determined that his saints shall persevere unto the end, he has, of course, determined to preserve them from apostasy; and this

* And he says, p. 208, "As thorough an examination as we have been able to make, has convinced us fully that the persons spoken of are true believers in Christ."

not by absolute force, but by means of motives addressed to them as intelligent beings, and made efficacious by the agency of his Spirit on their hearts. God can effectually incline his people to obedience without the least infringement of their free agency. 'I will make,' he says, 'an everlasting covenant with them, that I will not turn away from them, to do them good; but I will put my fear in their hearts, that they shall not depart from me,' Jer. xxxii, 40."

Let us now examine these remarks in their order. "For how does it appear that God might not from eternity have purposed that this very warning against falling away should be the effectual means of preventing it?" 1. If this were so, then it would follow, that up to the time when this passage was written, the apostasy of the saints was possible, and now it is possible to all by whom it has not been read. 2. But is this according to genuine Calvinism? Does the Confession of Faith predicate the final perseverance of the saints upon the effectual influence of the sixth chapter of Hebrews? On the contrary, it declares, chap. xvii, sec. 2, that the perseverance of the saints depends "upon the immutability of the decree of election," &c. And likewise the Larger Catechism, answer to question seventy-nine, says, "True believers, by reason of the unchangeable love of God, and his decree and covenant to give them perseverance, &c., can neither totally nor finally fall away from the state of grace," &c. 3. Our expositor maintains that this text presents so effectual a warning to saints against falling away, as to be the very means of preventing it; and then goes directly on to show, by labored argument and several quotations, that the text contains no intimation that saints can fall away, but, to the contrary, teaches that such an event is impossible! That is, it gives an effectual warning, by teaching that all danger is out of the question! Surely, if this passage has served as an effectual warning heretofore, Mr. M'Keen has exerted himself faithfully to prevent it ever having that effect again.

Let us now look a moment at his quotations. "When God says, If the heavens above can be measured, and the foundations of the earth searched out beneath, I will also cast off the seed of Israel for all that they have done," (Jer. xxxi, 37,) he does not mean that the thing supposed was possible for *man*, but the contrary. 1. If this place is quoted to prove, directly, the final perseverance of the saints, it is wide of the mark, for the immediate context shows that it is of the *national*, and not of the spiritual Israel, that the prophet is speaking. See verses 35, 36. 2. If it was quoted because he imagined there was any important analogy between it and the

place under consideration, he has committed an egregious oversight. For in order to avail any thing in this respect, he ought to bring a quotation where the *supposed* delinquency of a moral agent implies the impossibility of such delinquency. But that this quotation is utterly foreign from all that, is perfectly evident; indeed, it does not concern the moral conduct of the creature at all, but that of the Creator.

But again: "When the apostle said, 'If we, or an angel from heaven, preach another gospel, let him be accursed,' it is plainly a case supposed, which was not expected to occur." Ay, but to sustain the argument it ought to have been a case that was not *possible* to occur. For the point in debate is not whether saints are "expected" to fall away, but whether they are capable of doing so. But was it impossible that another gospel should be preached? No; for this had already been done. It was the very fact which the apostle was deploring. Was it impossible that Paul should preach another gospel? He informs us it was possible for him to "become a castaway," 1 Cor. ix, 27. And when a castaway, he might preach a spurious gospel. But you must, at least, grant that it were impossible for "an angel from heaven" to preach a spurious gospel. Alas! the sad history of original sin has proved, to our sorrow, that this, too, is possible! Satan is a fallen angel from heaven. Having suffered in that world which is free from temptation, what Mr. M'Keen thinks it is impossible that we should suffer in this world which is full of temptation, he fell, and "kept not his first estate." He came to the abode of primeval innocence, and preached to our first parents a spurious gospel. God had said, "In the day that ye eat of the forbidden fruit, ye shall surely die." This was the true gospel. But Satan preached "another gospel:" he said, "Ye shall not surely die. You cannot fall from that high state of grace which you now enjoy." They ate and fell. And the "angel" that "preached" the impossibility of the catastrophe, and the poor creatures that were seduced from their steadfastness, were "accursed."

Again our expositor continues: "And so when he (Paul) said to the centurion, with respect to those who were about leaving the foundering vessel, 'Except these abide in the ship, ye cannot be saved,' it did not imply that God had not purposed to save them, for he had said before, 'There stood by me this night, the angel of God, whose I am, and whom I serve, saying, Fear not, Paul; thou must be brought before Cesar, and, lo, God hath given thee all them that sail with thee,' Acts xxvii, 24, 31." We are not positive that we understand the author of the Exposition in the

whole of his application of these texts. But if we get his meaning he certainly has not studied them with his usual discrimination. The ship's company were composed of two classes, the "shipmen" and the "soldiers." Mr. M'Keen speaks of the former, "those who were about leaving the foundering vessel." And if he could show that they were deterred from the execution of that design by the admonition of the apostle, his theory of the effectual warning of Christians, who are tempted to leave the old ship Zion, would receive a fine illustration. But, unfortunately for him, the warning was not directed to this portion of the company, but to the soldiers, who had no design of leaving. And the shipmen were not hindered from their purpose of abandoning the ship by being warned of Paul, but because the soldiers had cut away their boat. That is, they were not hindered by the power of motives, but by physical necessity.

As to the observations intervening between this and the final quotation, we will just simplify their phrascology a little, and then let them speak for themselves:—"If God has determined [decreed] that his saints shall persevere unto the end, he has, of course, determined [decreed] to preserve them from apostasy; and this not by absolute [physical] force, but by means of motives addressed to them as intelligent beings, and made efficacious [irresistible] by the agency of his Spirit on their hearts. God can effectually [irresistibly] incline his people to obedience without the least infringement of their free agency." That is, God makes man a locomotive engine, and propels him along the cast-iron track of his destiny, from which he cannot turn an inch to the right hand or left; and yet man is a perfectly free moral agent! *Credito qui possit.*

In proof, however, that God does "effectually incline" his people, so as to preclude the possibility of their falling away, Jer. xxxii, 40 is brought into requisition: "I will make an everlasting covenant with them, that I will not turn away from them, to do them good; but I will put my fear in their hearts, that they shall not depart from me." An equally literal rendering of the original phrase לְבִלְתִּי סוּר מֵעָלָי would be, *that they may not*, or *lest they should depart from me;* which divests the passage from all appearance of absoluteness, and leaves the persons to whom it relates in the undoubted possession of the power of choice. It should be observed, however, of this text, as of the other quoted from Jeremiah, that it is spoken of the Israelites in their national capacity. Jehovah was about to bring upon them the seventy years' captivity, an awful calamity, one which would afterward affect them with

such a dread of the divine judgments, that for a long time, at least, they would not depart from the Lord. But that the covenant did not preclude, unconditionally, their subsequent defection and consequent abandonment, is evident from the present deplorable condition of the Jews, and from what it has been for some two thousand years. The covenant remains unaltered. God has not failed to fulfil on his part: he has not departed from them; but they, in the exercise, I should rather say the abuse, of their free moral agency, have departed from him, and have rejected the counsel of God against themselves.

We wish now to state, briefly, some of the reasons why we think the passage does imply the possible forfeiture of salvation on the part of the saints, and we have done.

1. The simple literal rendering of the first clause of the sixth verse, *και παραπεσοντας*, and have fallen away; the "if" and the "shall" being supplied by the translators, as Mr. M'Keen freely acknowledges. Now take these words in connection with the context: those who have once been enlightened, and have tasted the heavenly gift, &c., and have fallen away; and what is the first simple impression made upon the mind of a child, or any unprejudiced person? Why, that people can be enlightened, can taste of the heavenly gift, and can fall away. And the last idea would be as distinctly and as strongly impressed as either of the others, and for this good reason, that it is just as distinctly and strongly stated. And we have just as much ground to infer from this passage that it is impossible for a sinner to be enlightened, and to taste the heavenly gift, as Mr. M'Keen has to infer that when he has tasted, it is impossible for him to fall away.

2. The context. The seventh and eighth verses are evidently designed as an illustration of the passage in question. And if the interpretation which we advocate, be correct, the illustration is apposite and vivid. Christians who have once been enlightened, and tasted the heavenly gift, and have been made partakers of the Holy Ghost, are very aptly represented by the earth which has been moistened and fertilized by the genial showers of spring, and which is expected to "bring forth herbs meet for those by whom it is dressed." But when, instead of this, it produces nothing but briers and thorns, is nigh unto cursing, and has, for its end, to be burned, it becomes a striking emblem of the unfaithful disciple who neglects to improve the grace that is given him, sins against God, and falls away into awful apostasy and final perdition. But how is this figure applicable to Christians, if they cannot fall away? In that case, the illustration and the thing illustrated, would form

a perfect contrast. See again, verses 9–12, "But, beloved, we are persuaded better things of you, and things that accompany salvation," &c. Better things than what? Why, better than that you should fall away. Why so? Because God has decreed that if once in grace, always in grace? No; but because we believe you do, and will adhere to your "labor of love," your "diligence," your "faith" and "hope, unto the end." That is, Paul was persuaded they would be saved, not because they could not fall away, but because he expected they would, by divine aid, keep the conditions of salvation "unto the end."

3. The scope of the writer. And here some observations of our expositor, though made with a different view, are very much to our purpose. He says, (p. 222,) "In this very epistle, [to the Hebrews,] which was undeniably addressed to supposed Christians, we find numerous examples, [that is, of warnings against apostasy.] Indeed, to warn his brethren against apostasy, and excite them to go forward in the divine life, appears to have been the apostle's main design. 'How shall we escape,' he says, 'if we neglect so great salvation?' 'Let us labor, therefore, to enter into rest, lest any man fall after the same example of unbelief.' 'If we sin willfully after we have received the knowledge of the truth, there remaineth no more sacrifice for sin; but a certain fearful looking for of judgment, and fiery indignation which shall devour the adversaries.'" And these remarks of Mr. M'Keen apply with especial force to the whole of the sixth chapter. Read it carefully, and you will find it was the constant aim of the writer "to warn his brethren against apostasy; and excite them to go forward in the divine life." Well, now, to tell them, in this connection, that there was a possibility of falling away, and that, too, to an extent that their recovery would be hopeless, was perfectly consonant with his design, and chimed admirably with all the parts of the exhortation. But to stop short in the midst of this animated appeal, and inform them that there was no such thing as a final moral lapse on the part of Christians, were not only aside from his object, but in flat opposition to it; and directly calculated to frustrate his whole purpose. And how it was possible for the author of the Exposition to advocate this view on the same page where he declares it was Paul's design to warn his brethren against apostasy, we cannot, for our life, explain. And yet, as we have seen, he does declare this, and then enters immediately into a labored argument to prove that it would be as impossible for a saint to fall away, as for "man" to measure the heavens above, or to search out the foundations of the earth beneath!

4. The interpretation which we oppose gives the whole passage and its context a vain and trifling air, entirely incongruous with the character of an inspired apostle. For, according to this, he first wastes his own time, and that of the brethren to whom he wrote, in describing a character which never did, and never can exist, in heaven, earth, or hell; namely, an apostate Christian. Next he goes on to instruct them gravely in the final destiny of this fallen phantom: "It is impossible to renew him to repentance." Having arrived at this point, we should assuredly suppose that the inspired author had dwelt long enough upon nonentities, and that now he would leave the spectre to his fate. But, behold, he takes a wider range in the land of shadows: it is yet necessary to vindicate the justice of that fate; it is impossible to renew him to repentance, "seeing he crucifies to himself the Son of God afresh, and puts him to an open shame." Well, certainly the pen of inspiration will not go to greater extremities in trifling. Having been employed so long upon things without "a local habitation or a name," it will now, at least, return to sober realities. Not at all. The important subject of the justice of the fate of the phantom must now be illustrated: "For the earth which drinketh in the rain," &c., verses 7, 8. This done, the apostle closes up the whole with an extended exhortation to prevent the brethren from becoming precisely what he had described, and what they could not become to save a universe! And thus nearly a whole chapter is devoted to a subject that has neither meaning nor moral. But how does all this accord with the declaration that "*all* Scripture is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, and for instruction in righteousness?"

5. Finally, the principle of interpretation employed upon this passage tends not only to destroy confidence in the word of God, but annihilates its authority. For if the circumstance of *supposing* the delinquency of a moral agent in this place implies that such delinquency is impossible; (the principle distinctly maintained by the Exposition on page 222;) and that, hence, the threatenings denounced against it are nugatory; it follows that the same circumstance would imply the same thing in every other place. That is, all *supposed* delinquencies are impossibilities, and the threatenings denounced against them are mere empty words. So, when Isaiah says to his countrymen, "If ye refuse and rebel, ye shall be devoured by the sword," he means they could neither be guilty of the crime, nor suffer the penalty. "If thou forsake him, he will cast thee off for ever," signifies it is impossible for thee to forsake God, and it is impossible that he should cast thee off for

ever. And this reasoning is not confined in its application to passages commencing with the conditional *if*. This is only one mode, out of many, for expressing suppositive propositions. But the reasoning applies with equal force to every passage where *supposed* delinquencies, however expressed, are denounced. For example: "Every one that heareth these words of mine, and doeth them not, shall be likened unto a foolish man who built his house upon the sand, &c., and it fell, and great was the fall of it." "He that believeth not shall be damned." "Whosoever shall say to his brother, Thou fool, is in danger of hell fire." Now all these faults are *supposed;* and, consequently, according to the doctrine set up in the Exposition, they never can occur, and, therefore, never can be punished. No man can fail to believe. No man can be damned. Is this wholesome doctrine? Is this correct interpretation? Yet it is the legitimate result of the premises laid down in the Exposition. And this result assumes a still more serious character when we consider to how large a portion of the Scriptures it extends. The truth is, the Bible, as a whole, is a code of moral laws. And these laws do, and must, from the very nature of things, contemplate *supposed* cases of delinquency. This is the case with all laws, human and divine. Open any statute book in our country, and you will find it so. Such are the laws of all nations, excepting only the *ex post facto* laws of tyrants. Hence, all the commandments and precepts of the Bible involve, directly or indirectly, cases of *supposed* moral delinquency. Therefore, this strange principle of exegesis, which says that all such delinquencies are impossible; and that, hence, the penalties annexed will never be inflicted, jeopardizes the truth of the Bible as a whole. It makes that sacred book a volume of nullities. It drives its presumptuous ploughshare under the very foundations of the moral government of God. Apply this principle to the civil code, and you reduce the whole to a dead letter in an instant. Let it be avowed before an enlightened court by an advocate, and it would be taken as evidence of his insanity. That the principle will not hold, when applied to the Bible, might be shown directly by referring to innumerable cases recorded. Instance those of our first parents, Lot's wife, Pharaoh, and Achan: for in all these cases the *supposed* delinquencies actually occurred, and the threatened penalties were executed.

We have now stated some of our reasons for adopting the Arminian construction of this passage, and some of the absurdities that result from that given in the Exposition. And now if the author still think, that to save the doctrine of the inevitable perse-

verance of the saints, is of sufficient importance to justify him in doing violence to the connection in which the passage is found, and to the acknowledged scope of the writer, and in assuming principles unfounded in themselves, and which, in their consequences, nullify the meaning of large portions of Scripture, and undermine the authority of the divine law, why, he must be allowed his opinion; but it is doubtful whether the world will be convinced of its soundness, or its wholesome tendency. R.

Art. III.—*Education in the Methodist Church.*

The charge has been repeatedly brought against the Methodists, that they are ignorant, both in the ministry and in the laity. This imputation has been indignantly repelled; and, to show its falsity, appeals have been made to distinguished names, which are acknowledged to adorn the annals of science, both sacred and secular. It is probable, however, that the Christian spirit has been as little manifested in the temper with which the charge has been met, as in the motives with which it has been made. It requires but a glance to see that the reply has not met the imputation, and that the imputation itself is not worthy of a reply.

It is very true, that the doctrines which were defended and illustrated by the varied learning of Wesley, and the profound theological erudition of Watson, are daily extending their sway, commending themselves to the favor of all judicious divines, and greatly modifying, if not entirely uprooting, systems of theology that had grown venerable long before these men exposed their unsoundness. It is very true, that Biblical literature has been greatly enriched by the extensive philological acquirements of Clarke and Benson. It is very true, that Charles Wesley, Thomas Olivers, and other preachers, their associates and successors, have left such evidences of poetical genius, that many of their devotional poems, could they be considered apart from their religious associations, would be ranked among the most spirited lyrics in the English tongue. It is very true, that Fisk, Emory, Ruter, and others who might be named, have both adorned and enriched the literature of their language. And it is equally true, that a list, by no means diminutive, might be named, of men now living, of whose reputation for sound scholarship, neither their church nor their country has any cause to be ashamed.

But while we consider these claims to a literary reputation worthy of the highest respect, we freely admit that the Methodists, as a people, are, and have ever been, comparatively unlearned in human science. The multitudes who swell the number in their communion have, for the most part, been gathered in from the humbler walks of life, from that grade of society which enjoys but few of the advantages of cultivation, and feels but little of the pride of birth and worldly importance. Their ministry have generally been selected from the same ranks, and have been aided only by the same imperfect means. Their attention has been engrossed by subjects but indirectly connected with those branches of learning which are deemed essential to eminent scholarship, and they have not been able, therefore, to overtake the progress of general science and refined literature. No array of eminent names, which we are able to present, can fully meet the imputation, that the Methodist Church, as a body, is unlearned.

But we proceed to remark that the imputation is not worthy of a reply. Both those who make this charge, and those who impatiently repel it, have mistaken the spirit and design of Methodism. To rival other churches, is no part of the object for which this church has been raised up. To acquire and sustain a *reputation*, is no part of that object. To promote the progress of science and literature, is no part of that object. When the Wesleys and Whitefield visited the mines of Kingswood and Cornwall, it was not to inspect the geological structure of the earth, nor to search for mineral specimens to adorn their cabinets: but they saw, beneath the filthy and haggard exterior of the miner, a gem more precious than any that sparkles in the caverns of earth, and they renounced their ease, and periled their lives, that they might rescue this treasure from the pollutions that obscured it, and present it purified, a diamond of the first water, to glow for ever in the diadem of Christ. When the hardy itinerant plunges into the frontier forest, and limits his circuit only by the farthest shanty of the settler, it is not that he may explore the wild beauties of nature; it is not that he may be the first to lay before the world the scientific riches of the wilderness; it is not that he may gratify an idle reader, and acquire for himself an evanescent name by a published narrative of romantic adventures. No, it is not for these. But the backwoodsman has gone into the forest, and the panther is scarcely more keen-scented for his blood than the Methodist preacher is for his soul. In one word, the design for which this church has been raised up is, to "spread Scriptural holiness over the earth." If, in the prosecution of this purpose, unlearned men

are needed in any particular section, it is the policy of Methodism to employ unlearned men. If, in another section, learned men are needed, it is the policy of Methodism to employ learned men. But the circumstance of their being learned or unlearned, gives them no preference in the eye of the church, only as the one is best adapted in this section, and the other in that, to carry forward the great work of Scriptural holiness. If, in the pursuit of this object, the Methodist Church has come to be, in any sense, the rival of other churches, this is only an accidental, and, perhaps, an unfortunate circumstance. If she has, by any means, acquired a reputation for some degree of learning and influence, this, also, is only an accidental circumstance, and possibly this, too, may be unfortunate. But it would be most unfortunate of all, if the zeal of the church, in defending her *character*, should divert her attention from the great work which alone has given her a character. The rescue of lost men from the thraldrom of sin is her appropriate vocation. Her zeal and success in this cause, and not her learning or her want of learning, have given her a name; and now he that comes to us with the charge that our church is characterized by ignorance, manifests, at least, as little acquaintance with the real objects of our pursuits as we do with those things which he supposes ought to characterize a church.

While some have seemed to think that the appropriate business of a church is, to settle the floating speculations of metaphysics and theology, Methodists have always deemed it their vocation to use efficient means for bringing the world to a knowledge of God. They have felt it incumbent to adapt their instrumentalities to the circumstances of those for whose salvation they labor. While, therefore, they have, in some parts of the work, considered human learning comparatively unimportant, they have, nevertheless, endeavored to keep pace with the advancement of the times, at least so far as to be able to prosecute their holy calling in all places, and among all ranks of society. In many parts knowledge is extensively cultivated, but righteousness does not necessarily spring up as the result. The learned and the refined live in the practice of sin, and in these circles, therefore, our church finds a field of labor.

It is for this reason that so vigorous efforts have, within a few years, been made to promote the cause of education in the church. Institutions of various grades have been established, and efforts have been made to enlist the co-operation of the people in their support. The old objection, that a few terms in school will destroy the piety of a young man and fill him with pride, is dying away

before the evidence which facts are believed to present, that fewer, comparatively, lose their piety in school than in other situations; while the manifest favor with which Heaven has regarded these institutions has created the belief, now quite general, that they are among the most efficient means for the conversion of the young. Nowhere have revivals of religion been more frequent, nowhere more general, nowhere have conversions been more sound, than in the literary institutions connected with the Methodist Church; and, on the other hand, we believe that nowhere have religious declensions been less frequent than in the same schools. From a connection with these institutions for nearly ten years, we believe that it is quite within the bounds of truth to say, that the ratio of young persons who are there brought to a saving knowledge of God, to those who there turn back and abandon his service, is not less than as *fifty* to *one*—a ratio greater by one half, we believe, than will be found in most other circumstances of life. These facts, if known, would remove the scruples of many who now hesitate to afford their support to the cause of education, lest they should be found doing ill-service to piety; and would soon place our institutions above embarrassment, and crowd their halls with the young, seekers alike of science and religion.

But an important inquiry arises, to which we propose to devote attention. What mode of education is best adapted to the circumstances and wants of the Methodist Church? The question is restricted to this church, with special reference to the great design for which, as we have just said, Providence has raised it up. This design is a practical one. The whole genius of Methodism is militant; not with carnal weapons, but with the sword of the Spirit. Its design is to act upon society in high places and in low; to enfore divine truth upon the consciences of men. An education that shall accomplish effectually these purposes, must have regard to the peculiarities of the times in which we live.

The characteristics of the human mind have varied in different periods of the world. In early ages, before the fame of great exploits could be perpetuated by historical records, the desire for immortality exhibited itself in gigantic works of art. Pyramids and other monuments of Cyclopean architecture have come down to us as the characteristics of those early ages. When, at a subsequent time, the genius of poets and historians was seen to be a more stable reliance, a passion for military glory arose, and the immortal achievements of Grecian and Roman arms were the result. In modern times, a new impulse has been given to the human mind. The great facilities which recent inventions of art

afford for the diffusion of intelligence, have aroused a general attention to the rights and capabilities of our nature. Christianity has appeared, and brought the realities of a future life so vividly to view, that the distinctions of rank and fortune, anciently so dazzling, are beginning to lose the power of their enchantment. In the science of government a new principle has sprung up, which is changing the civil aspect of the world. That all men possess equal and inalienable rights, is a principle pregnant with the most important interests to mankind. Every government that is truly liberal must rest on this basis; but every one that is not so, is in danger the moment this principle finds access to the minds of the people. It is consonant with the innate feelings of the human heart, and it is sanctioned by the divine doctrines of Christianity. It is professedly the foundation of our civil policy; it is recognized by all the more liberal governments of the earth; and it is beginning to be felt even in the strong holds of despotism. The striking peculiarities of the present age are owing chiefly to the silent but powerful operation of the principle of civil and religious liberty. Not the surface of society only has been affected by it, but it has gone down to the deep foundations of the social structure; and although many of its effects are open and visible, yet, by a strong unseen influence, it is working revolutions in the political and moral systems of the world, which must, at no very distant period, transform the whole aspect of human governments.

We hear much of the agitation and radicalism of our times, and the opinion is, perhaps, prevalent, that ultraism is the great characteristic of this age. But these extravagances should be regarded rather as the result of principles deep-working in the heart of society. They do not characterize the age. Is the mere driblet of lava that hisses down the mountain side the characteristic of Etna? Equally absurd is it to suppose that the superficial agitations which terrify the timid, are going to stamp upon this age the features that will mark it in the eye of posterity. Deep central fires are glowing unseen, but unsmothered; and what wonder if they sometimes stream out in erratic flashes through society, hissing as they go?

But though these extravagances are only of secondary moment, yet they cannot be disregarded. They disturb the minds of men; they convulse communities; they threaten, and they may destroy the fairest model of civil government which the world has ever known. At the least, they divert the minds of men from those personal applications of divine truth, which it is the object of our holy religion to enforce. They unsettle the principles of men, and

hurry them away into the wildest speculations. In such a disturbed state of society, splendid geniuses may arise, but liberty, and morality, and all things are insecure.

Such is the character of the times to which our system of education must be adapted.

This system should afford sedatives, and not stimulants, to human passion. The world itself is a school of excitement; seminaries and colleges should be schools of calm and salutary discipline. An opinion, the offspring of the social perturbations of the day, has been sent forth, requiring some of the sterner branches of a liberal education to be abandoned, on the ground that they demand two or three years of the student's time to be spent in dry study, and afford but a meagre amount of knowledge as a recompense. If there were no other reason for retaining the proscribed studies, their influence in counteracting the tendencies of the age to extravagance would be sufficient. Stability of mind is the effect of discipline, dry it may be, but still productive of the most useful and permanent results. If the time has ever been when two years given to such studies as would merely augment the student's knowledge, were a better preparation for practical life than four years devoted to branches which would discipline and strengthen the intellectual powers, although the amount of knowledge gained might be comparatively small, certainly that time is not in our age. The philosophy of Bacon is called "a philosophy of fruit;" but the passion for fruit has been stimulated to such a degree, that now we are unable to wait for it to grow to maturity. We pluck it unripe, and demand another crop before the bud has had time to expand. At no period has the maxim, "Learn to labor and to wait," been more appropriate than at the present. Intellectual discipline, to be useful, must be sound. But sound intellectual discipline is never gained when the student constantly feels that he must hasten through his studies, because the world is waiting impatiently for him to commence his labors!

There is no danger in our country that close application to the severer branches of study will draw off the mind from the affairs of real life, and fill it with the exclusive love of books and the abstractions of science. All things around us are too instinct with life and stir to allow such a result.

In these remarks on the cultivation of the intellect, we have not forgotten that the object of an education is to fit men for active duties in the midst of an active world. The evils of ultraism are not to be remedied by opposing a dead resistance to the rush of human passions. He that is able to guide, will do more toward

allaying, than the man who can only resist. An education suited to these times should give expansion to the mind, maturity to the judgment, and a manly stability to the whole character.

The cultivation of the moral nature of man demands our notice. Our literary institutions are designed to pay no less regard to this department of education than to that of the intellect. We have been fully aware that there is more meaning in the maxim of the great philosopher than he himself conceived—"Knowledge *is* power;" but there is a kind of knowledge which, although to the natural man it is nothing but foolishness, yet to him who receives it, is more powerful for self-control, more powerful for elevating and beautifying the character, more powerful for salutary influence upon society, than the largest acquaintance with the phenomena of science. Alexander possessed a military power which subdued the world; but he fell an easy victim to his own depravity. Lord Bacon possessed an intellectual power which has gained conquests over the world more magnificent than those of the Macedonian; but he, too, sunk a pitiful slave to the vices of his own heart. To one source of power neither the conqueror nor the philosopher applied; and, in the absence of this, they stand before the world dazzling beacons, only to show how closely human greatness may be wedded to moral degradation. But a small part of the great lesson of self-knowledge is learned when the student has become acquainted with the capabilities of his intellect. When this alone is cultivated, there may be a dazzling display of genius, but there is no security that it will be employed for the benefit of the world. France, for the last half century, has exhibited a greater number of strong and brilliant minds than any other nation, and has done more for the advancement of science than any other. And yet France, within the same period, has been perpetually seething with internal discord. She has abolished from her language every term which indicated distinction of rank in society; she has thrown off every consideration of morality and religion, which could, in the least, restrain the madness of unbridled passions; she has formally, and by decree of her national assembly, pronounced death an eternal sleep, abolished the worship of the God of heaven, and paid public adoration to an unchaste opera-dancer, whom she deified as the "Goddess of Reason." All this mockery was enacted in the very blaze of science and intellectual refinement, as if to teach the world how impotent for good is human wisdom, when divorced from the reverence and love of God.

Apparently there is no danger that scenes so revolting will be transacted in this nation. But the only reason we have for a better

hope is, that here the restraints of morality and religion are felt. Should these fall into neglect, science will afford but a feeble assurance against the triumph of discord and cruelty. When there is just that degree of intellectual cultivation which begets in each individual self-confidence, what security have we against anarchy, unless there is, also, that degree of moral cultivation which will, at the same time, beget subordination?

The permanency of our national liberties, the purity of the church and her usefulness, and the advancement of mankind in the pursuit of an exalted happiness, all are promoted by the same means—the practical inculcation of morality and religion.

In a condition of things such as this world presents, where the passions of men are ever ready to blaze out into crime, where the principles of truth are obscure, and the laws of rectitude may be transgressed with apparent impunity, it is well that there is in the nature of man one conservative power. Conscience asserts a claim to supremacy, and, with authority, lifts a warning against the impulses of unsanctified propensities. The correct education of the conscience should be a first consideration in every system of mental discipline. This is the avenue through which divine truth finds access to the mind. Impulses to right action may sometimes be given through the medium of the passions; but such impulses can be but momentary, and of uncertain tendency. Passion soon subsides, or conflicting passions arise; and the just purpose that had been formed, and perhaps partially executed, is abandoned. But when truth has secured for itself an abode in the moral citadel of the soul, at once the hope springs up and prevails, that there will be a consistent prosecution of worthy objects, a steady resistance of every unholy demand of passion and every unjust claim of self-interest. When all the charms of an enticing world, and all the promptings of a greedy selfishness, and all the clamors of disturbed passions, are sternly disregarded, through reverence to the silent whispers of the inward monitor; when the slightest indication of duty is heeded with the same attention as would be the audible voice of God, and the feeblest purpose of rectitude is fostered as a germ implanted by a celestial hand; and when the noble resolution of self-denial and of devotion to the heaven-born objects of the Christian faith is sustained and carried on, unwavering alike through the glitter of prosperity and the gloom of adversity—then are the lofty purposes of a moral education accomplished. Enlightened conscience then sways a majestic control, and, unlike the impulses of passion, which come and go as the fitful gusts of the storm, she prompts, by a

permanent and a steady impulse, to the highest resolves and the noblest labors. There is no prior obligation bearing upon those who have influence over expanding minds, than to inculcate a sacred regard for the decisions of a well-instructed conscience. And there is no more stable security to the church for the efficient usefulness of her members, than such a reverence for the voice of this inward moral dictator.

There is but one text-book for the education of man's moral nature. Other books may be consulted, as the classical or scientific student consults his books of reference; but the Bible alone teaches with authority. We are not at all disposed to argue here the propriety of introducing this book into our literary institutions. If there are any who think that learning and religion have no connection, with them it may be a question for argument. But it is a thing too strange for supposition, that a church, whose only object is to spread Scriptural holiness over the earth, should be found really debating the propriety of such a measure. Our prosperity, thus far, has been the result of a lively faith in the doctrines of that sacred book. Our humblest members have drunk in with rapture its holy comforts. Our preachers, though children in the wisdom of this world, have been deeply versed in the book of God, and largely imbued with its sacred spirit. The question appropriate for our consideration is not, should the Bible be introduced as a book of study? but in what manner may the Bible be studied so as best to promote the great objects of the church? It is not our purpose to enter into a discussion of this question, or to propose any specific plan for the accomplishment of the object designed. Whatever plan may be adopted, it will fail of success unless it shall result in begetting a deep reverence for the authority and precepts of the sacred oracles. To degrade them to a level with the common text-books of science, would be as destructive of our purposes, as it would be irreverent toward their divine Author. There is no more certain precursor of contempt for the Bible than the opinion that its individual doctrines may be considered apart from the general evidences which authenticate the whole, and each one accepted or rejected, to suit the caprice of him who may choose to speculate upon them. When once the truth is established, that this book is the word of God, no efforts of a disobedient will can invalidate the least of its specific precepts, however offensive may be their stern requisitions.

There is another view in which the Scriptures may be regarded, which, although coupled with great apparent reverence for their authority, is, nevertheless, equally destructive of their efficacy in

accomplishing the objects for which the Methodist Church is laboring. An opinion has prevailed to some extent, nearly throughout the history of Christianity, and has recently found strenuous advocates in high places, both in England and in America—an opinion which places all the vitality of religion in the careful compliance with certain external and imposing conditions. That the lineage of the priesthood can be traced back in unbroken succession to the apostles, is deemed by some a more efficient chain of communication with the divine Redeemer than that a present and living faith is permitted to penetrate the veil of the mercy seat. That the sacred ordinances are administered by one on whose head thrice-consecrated hands have never been imposed, is deemed a greater impiety than that these holy duties are performed by one whose heart is polluted by infidelity, depravity, and crime. If such opinions correctly express the doctrines of the Bible, then, indeed, Methodists are justly exposed to the charge of ignorance. It is all the same that God has not spoken at all, or that he has spoken and meant nothing. But we are the antipodes to either belief. We hold the Bible to be that word which is quick and powerful, which appeals to the conscience, which discerns the thoughts and intents of the heart. We believe, that in it life and immortality are brought to light; and in commending it as a text-book to the young, we would inculcate an ardent love for its vital doctrines, and a profound reverence for it as the only and the infallible source of truth. To repose an implicit faith in the word of God, is the lesson that most needs to be impressed upon the young.

There is, therefore, one recipient of truth within, and one source of truth without—a conscience and a Bible. The former, without the latter, is but an erring guide; the latter, without the former, is but a lifeless letter. But when both mingle their mutual light and influence, hope dawns upon the world.

A conscience and a Bible! On all the pathways of human life, so thickly crowded with dangers and with deaths, they shed a cheering illumination, they point out a highway of peace and safety. And when the gloom of the grave gathers in as if for one unending night, they lift up a veil, and disclose, as the abode of the redeemed, a realm of more enchanting loveliness than poet ever fabled the "gardens of the Hesperides, beyond the bright ocean." Philosophy, centuries agone, conceived the lofty idea of a code of morals which would elevate mankind from the degradation of vice and error. She imagined a position of dignity, to which she believed our race might be exalted, and for ages she toiled to effect

her noble object. It was a useless labor; man was degraded still. But religion descended from the skies, and with a conscience and a Bible for her instrumentalities, reached down to the deepest fallen, and raised them up to the divine privilege of coheirship, in nature and in glory, with the Son of God—an elevation to which the loftiest conceptions of philosophy had never soared.

A conscience and a Bible! The nations of Christendom have felt their life-giving power, and started up in beauty from the gloom of spiritual night. The spell which chained the pagan world in moral and intellectual thraldrom has been dissolved; and over all the broad regions where society has exhibited only the ghastly lineaments of death, pulsations of life are seen, and there is the incipient stir of preparation for the joyful and universal jubilee of man.

When the conscience and the Bible shall have fully assumed their authority over mankind, then will the objects of a moral education, and, at the same time, the objects of the Methodist Church, be accomplished; and then may we hail all churches as coworkers with us in spreading Scriptural holiness over the earth.

Gouverneur, N. Y., May, 1842.

ART. IV.—*Literature of the Arabs.* By J. C. L. SIMONDE DE SISMONDI.

(*Translated from the French for the Methodist Quarterly Review.*)

THE West was plunged in barbarity; its population and its wealth had disappeared; its inhabitants, scattered over vast countries, were unceasingly occupied in wrestling with the vicissitudes of their lot—the invasions of barbarians, intestine wars, and feudal tyranny. Even their lives, continually menaced by famine or the sword, were preserved with difficulty; and in this state of incessant violence or fear there remained to them no leisure for mental enjoyment. Eloquence was without an object; poetry was unknown; and philosophy was interdicted as a revolt against religion. Language itself was destroyed. Barbarous and provincial dialects had supplanted that elegant Latin which had so long constituted the bond of the western nations, and preserved to them so many treasures of thought and of taste. But at this epoch a new nation, which by its conquests and its fanaticism had contributed more than any other to destroy the worship of science and letters, strengthened in its empire, in its turn cultivated the field of lite-

rature. The Arabian, master of a great part of the East—of the country of the ancient Magi and the Chaldeans, whence the germs of knowledge had been spread over the earth; of fertile Egypt, long the depository of human sciences; of Asia Minor, where poetry, taste, and the fine arts had developed themselves; of burning Africa, the country of impetuous eloquence and the most subtle intellect—the Arabian seemed to unite the advantages of all the countries which had been subjected to his sway. He had obtained by arms successes which might satiate the most unmeasured ambition; the extremities of the East, with those of Africa, were under the dominion of the califs. Immense riches had been the fruit of their conquests; and a luxury without bounds had developed itself among the Arabians—formerly rude and savage, but fallen into effeminacy after subduing the happiest countries of the universe, over which voluptuousness had exercised in all time its most absolute empire. To all the enjoyments which human industry, excited by immense riches, can procure; to all that can flatter the senses and intoxicate the life, the Arabs wished to join all the pleasures of the mind, the flower of all the arts, of all the sciences, of all human knowledge—the luxury of thought and of imagination.

In this new career their conquests were no less rapid than they had been in that of arms: the empire which they here founded was no less vast; it was elevated with a celerity no less surprising, to a grandeur no less gigantic; but doubtless it was based upon foundations equally feeble, and its duration was equally brief. The flight of Mohammed from Mecca to Medina, which is called the Hegira, corresponds to the year 622 of the Christian era; the supposed conflagration of the Alexandrian library by Amrou, a general of the calif Omar, corresponds to the year 641, the epoch of the greatest barbarity of the Saracens; and this wanton outrage, however doubtful it may be, has left an indelible impression of their contempt for letters. A century had hardly elapsed from the period to which the execution of this barbarous act is assigned, when the passionate love of the arts, of science, and of poetry was seated, in 750, on the throne of the califs, in the family of the Abbassides. In Greek literature the age of Pericles had been prepared by nearly eight centuries of progressive culture since the Trojan war, (from B. C. 1209 to B. C. 431.) In the Latin, the age of Augustus was also eight centuries removed from the foundation of Rome. In the French, the age of Louis XIV. was distant twelve centuries from that of Clovis; but in the rapid growth of the Arabians, the age of Al-Mamoun, the father of letters, and the

Augustus of Bagdad, was not one hundred and fifty years from the first origin of the monarchy.

All the literature of the Arabs bears traces of this rapid growth; and in that of modern Europe, formed in the school of the Arabs, and enriched by them, we still catch glimpses of the ancient vestiges of a too prompt development, of a first intoxication of spirit, which had bewildered the imagination and the taste of the people of the East.

We purpose to present to the reader but a slight notice of Arabian literature; sufficient merely to show its spirit, and the influence it has exercised over the people of Europe; to enable us to comprehend in what manner the Oriental style, borrowed from this literature by the Spaniards and the Provençals, has infused itself into all the Romanshe languages Could we plunge deeper into Arabian literature; could we unroll to the eyes of our readers those brilliant fictions which made of Asia a fairy land; could we cause them to taste the charms of that inspired poetry, which, expressing the most impetuous passions, employed for its language the boldest and most ingenious figures, and communicated to the soul a thrilling influence, of which our own more timid poets have scarce a conception, we should doubtless find, in a taste so new and so different, ample recompense for the faults that would strike us. But we cannot flatter ourselves with making upon the mind of another a deeper impression of the beauties of a foreign language than we have ourselves felt. To move others, it is necessary to be moved; and to inspire confidence, we must judge from our own sentiments. I have no knowledge of the Arabic, or of any of the languages of the East; and it is therefore to extracts, rather than to translations, that I shall be obliged to confine myself.

Ali, the fourth calif in succession from Mohammed, was the first in the Arabian empire who granted protection to literature; his rival and successor, Moaviah, the first of the Ommiades, (A. D. 661–680,) was still more eminently its patron. He called to his court the men most distinguished in the sciences; he surrounded himself with poets: and as he had already subjected to his empire several Grecian isles and provinces, the sciences of the Greeks began, under him, to exercise their first influence over the Arabs.

After the extinction of the dynasty of the Ommiades, that of the Abbassides afforded yet greater protection to letters. Al-Manzor, or Mansour, the second of these princes, (A. D. 754–775,) invited to reside with him a Greek physician, George Backtischwah, who first gave to the Arabs translations of the Greek writers on medicine. Backtischwah, or Bocht Jesu, was descended from those Chris-

tians in the Greek empire who were persecuted for their attachment to the dogmas of the Nestorians, and who had sought safety and peace among the Persians, and founded, in the eleventh century, the famous medical school at Gondisapor. Nestorius, patriarch of Constantinople from A. D. 429 to 431, who separated too widely, in the opinion of the orthodox, the two persons as well as the two natures in Christ, had manifested a persecuting zeal, of which he was in his turn a victim. Thousands of Nestorians, his disciples, after the councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon, had perished by fire and the sword. In their turn they massacred in Persia, about A. D. 500, from seven to eight thousand of their orthodox adversaries, the Monophysites; but, after these first reprisals, they devoted themselves to the sciences with more ardor, and, at the same time, with more charity, than the other Christian churches, and preserved the Greek learning in the Syriac language, at the time when superstition had overshadowed it in the empire of the East. From their school of Gondisapor there issued a crowd of learned Nestorians and Jews, who, obtaining credit by their medical science, transported to the Orientals all the rich inheritance of Greek knowledge.

The celebrated Aroun-al-Raschid, who reigned from A. D. 786 to A. D. 809, acquired a brilliant fame for the protection which he granted to letters; and the historian Elmacin asserts, that he never undertook a journey without taking at least one hundred learned men in his suite. To Aroun the Arabs are indebted for their rapid progress in science and letters; for he made it a rule to himself never to build a mosque without attaching to it a school. His successors imitated him, and in a short time the sciences cultivated in the capital were borne to the utmost extremities of the empire of the califs. Wherever the believers assembled themselves to worship God, they found in his temple the occasion of rendering to him the noblest homage permitted to the creature—that of cultivating the faculties with which the Creator has endowed him. Aroun was sufficiently superior to the fanaticism which formerly animated his sect, not to despise the knowledge acquired in another religion. The chief of his schools, and the great director of education in his empire, was Jean Ebn Messua, a Nestorian Christian of Damas.

But the true protector and father of Arabian literature was Al-Mamoun, (Mohammed-Aben-Amer,) the seventh Abbassidan calif, and son of Aroun-al-Raschid. While the father was yet living, in a voyage to Khorasan, Al-Mamoun chose to accompany him the men most celebrated for their knowledge among the Greeks,

Persians, and Chaldeans. Succeeding to the sovereignty, (A. D. 813–833,) he made of Bagdad the centre of literature. Study, books, and learned men were almost the only objects of his attention. Letters became his favorite amusement; his ministers were solely occupied with the progress of literature; and it might be said that the throne of the califs had been elevated for the honor of the muses. From all parts of the world learned men were sought out and called to his court. He retained them by rewards, and by honors and distinctions of every kind. He collected all the important books that could be discovered in the subjected provinces of Syria, Armenia, and Egypt. These were the most precious tribute demanded by the sovereign; and every governor of a province, and all under the administration, were charged, first of all, to collect the literary treasures of the conquered country, to be deposited at the foot of the throne. Hundreds of camels were seen to enter Bagdad, laden solely with papers and books; and all that were thought proper for public instruction were immediately translated into Arabic. Masters, censors, translators, and commentators of books formed the court of Al-Mamoun, which had more the appearance of an academy of learning than of the centre of the government of a warlike empire. When this calif dictated peace to the Greek emperor, Michael the Stammerer, he demanded of him as a tribute a collection of Greek books. The sciences were especially favored by the califs; speculative philosophy was exercised on the highest questions, in spite of the jealous distrust of some Mussulman fanatics, who accused Al-Mamoun of thus endangering the foundations of Islamism. Medicine had enlisted in its cause several of his most illustrious doctors; law had been taught him by the celebrated Kossa; and as this, in the eyes of the Mussulmans, was the most religious of all sciences, it was this to which his subjects devoted themselves with the greatest ardor; while Al-Mamoun was governed by his taste for the mathematics, which he studied with brilliant success. He undertook the great operation of measuring the earth, and caused it to be accomplished at his own expense by his mathematicians. The elements of astronomy of Alfragan, (Fargani,) and the astronomical tables of Al-Merwasi, were the work of two of his courtiers. This same Al-Mamoun, not less generous than enlightened, in pardoning one of his relatives who had entered into a conspiracy against him to usurp the throne, exclaimed, "Ah! were it known how much pleasure I take in forgiving, all who have offended me would come and confess their faults."

The progress of the nation in the sciences was proportioned to

the zeal of its chief. Colleges, schools, and academies were erected in every city, and learned men went forth from all parts of the country. Bagdad was the capital of letters as well as of the califs; but Bassora and Cufa nearly equaled this city in celebrity, and produced nearly as many distinguished works in prose and verse. Balkh, Ispahan, and Samarcand were also nurseries of science. The same zeal had been carried by the Arabs far from the frontiers of Asia. The Jew Benjamin of Tudela relates, in his Itinerary, that he found at Alexandria more than twenty schools for teaching philosophy. Cairo also contained many colleges; and that of Betzuaila, one of the suburbs of this capital, was so strongly built, that in a rebellion it served for a citadel to an army. In the cities of Fez and Morocco the most magnificent buildings were dedicated to study, and sustained by the wisest and most benevolent institutions. Valuable books, which had everywhere else disappeared, were preserved to Europe in the rich libraries of Fez and Larace. But Spain was pre-eminently the seat of Arabian sciences; there they shone with the greatest brilliancy, and there they made the most rapid progress. Cordova, Grenada, Seville, and all the cities of the peninsula vied with each other in the magnificence of their schools, their colleges, their academies, and their libraries. The academy of Grenada had for its preceptor Schamseddin de Murcie, so celebrated by the Arabs. Metuahel-al-Allah, who reigned at Grenada in the twelfth century, possessed a magnificent library; and a great number of manuscripts transcribed for his use are still preserved in the Escurial. Alhaken, the founder of the academy of Cordova, gave six hundred volumes to the library of that city. Seventy libraries were opened for the use of the public in the different cities of Spain, precisely at the epoch when the remainder of Europe, without books, without science, without culture, was plunged in the most shameful ignorance. The number of Arabian authors in Spain was so prodigious, that several Arabian bibliographers wrote learned treatises on the authors born in a single city, as Seville, Valencia, or Cordova; or on those among the Spaniards who had consecrated themselves to a single science, as philosophy, poetry, medicine, or the mathematics. Thus, throughout the vast extent of the Arabian dominion in the three parts of the world, the progress of letters had followed that of arms; and during five or six centuries, being from the ninth to the fourteenth or fifteenth of our era, literature preserved all its brilliancy.

One of the first cares of the Arabs, at the revival of letters, had been to perfect the instrument of thought and imagination. The

cultivation of language, among many of their learned men, was the principal object of their labors. They divided themselves into two rival schools, that of Cufa and that of Bassora; and these schools sent forth distinguished scholars, who analyzed with subtilty the rules of the Arabic language.

The study of rhetoric was united to that of grammar; and, as happens in all literatures, precepts in these arts were subsequent to models. The Koran was not written according to rhetorical rules. A disorder of thoughts, produced by an overwrought enthusiasm—obscurity and contradiction, the consequence of the agitated life and varied plans of the author, destroy the unity, and even the interest of this book. Besides, its chapters were arranged, not according to their date or their connection, but according to their length, beginning with the longest and ending with the shortest; and a work in which the ideas were less gigantic and less disordered would yet oftener be made unintelligible by so whimsical an arrangement. Still, no other book in the Arabic language presents passages written in a sublimer poetic strain, or with more fascinating eloquence. In like manner, the first discourses addressed to the people and to the armies, to penetrate them with the new faith, and inspire them with a love of arms, had doubtless more true eloquence than those which were afterward composed in the schools of the most famous Arabian rhetoricians. These latter, however, were eager to translate the most celebrated Greek works on rhetoric—to adapt them to their language, the genius of which was so different, and thus to form a new art, which was illustrated by several Arabian Quintilians.

After the time of Mohammed and his first successors, popular eloquence ceased to be cultivated among the Arabs. Oriental despotism having succeeded the liberty of the desert, the principal men in the state and in the army regarded it as beneath them to harangue the people or the soldiers. They no longer expected aught from their deliberations or their zeal, and appealed only to their obedience. But if political eloquence was of brief duration among the Arabs, they were the inventors of that species which is most cultivated at the present day. They exercised themselves alternately in academic eloquence and in that of the pulpit. Their philosophers, if enthusiasts of the beauty of their language, seized with eagerness the occasion to develop, in their learned assemblies, all that it possessed of numbers and of harmony. In this career Malek was considered the most fascinating of their orators; Schoraïph was acknowledged to possess pre-eminently the power of uniting the brilliancy of poetry to the vigor of prose; and Al-

Harisi was placed by his contemporaries in the rank of Demosthenes and Cicero. On the other hand, Mohammed had enjoined that his faith should be preached in all the mosques. The name of orator (*khateb*) was specially appropriated by usage to sacred speakers, and that of discourse (*khotbah*) to their sermons. Many of these sermons have been preserved in the library of the Escurial; and it may be seen from them that their method was very similar to that now observed by Christian orators. The preacher commenced by thanksgivings, the profession of faith, and prayers for the king and the happiness of the kingdom. He afterward named his text and developed his subject. He supported himself on the authority of the Koran and the doctors; and endeavored to dissuade the people from vice, and to incline their hearts to a virtuous life.

Poetry, even more than eloquence, had been, from their first origin, the favorite occupation of the Arabs. It has been asserted that this nation alone has produced more poets than all others united. Arabian poetry existed even before the use of writing became universal; and from the highest antiquity, academic games, and a meeting of poets, were annually celebrated in the city of Ocadh. Mohammed, however, prohibited them, as a lingering vestige of idolatry. Seven of the most famous of the ancient poets are designated by Oriental writers under the name of the Arabian Pleiades; and their works were suspended about the Caaba, or temple of Mecca. Mohammed himself cultivated poetry, as did also Ali, Amrou, and some of the most celebrated among his first companions; but after his time the muses seem to have remained mute until the reign of the Abbassides. It was under Aroun-al-Raschid and his successor, Al-Mamoun, and still more under the Ommiades of Spain, that Arabian poetry attained its greatest excellence. Then appeared that army of poets, of chivalrous lovers, and of princesses, whom the Orientalists compare to Anacreon, to Pindar, and to Sappho. Their names, which I have vainly sought to impress upon my memory, in the absence of a knowledge of their works, would also probably escape that of most of my readers. The highest celebrity in languages so distant from us, so different in orthography and the form of its letters, is so fugitive, that I do not recognize in D'Herbelot those whom Andrès places in the first rank, such as Al-Monotabbi of Cufa, whom he names the prince of poets.

In their poems the Orientals displayed great subtilty, and great ingenuity of thought. The expression is graceful and elegant, the sentiments are noble; and we may easily credit the assertions of Orientalists, that in the original language there is a harmony in

the verse, a justness in the expressions, and a grace pervading the whole, which are necessarily lost to us. But it must also be acknowledged that the effect of these poems arises in part from bold metaphors, huge allegories, and excessive hyperbole. We cannot but feel that what characterizes Oriental taste is an abuse of the imagination and the intellect. The Arabs disdained the poetry of the Greeks, which to them appeared timid, cold, and formal. Among all the books which they borrowed from the Greeks, and reverenced with a worship almost superstitious, there is not a single poem. None of these works of classic genius were judged by them worthy of a translation; and, in their opinion, neither Homer, nor Sophocles, nor even Pindar, could bear a comparison with their native poets. The Arabs wish to shine by the boldest and most gigantic images; they wish always to astonish the reader by startling expressions; they overload their subject with ornament, and seem never to suppose that what is beautiful can be superfluous. They are not content with a comparison, but they heap comparisons one upon another; not to give clearness to the idea, but to impart brilliancy to the coloring. To describe natural sentiments forms no part of their solicitude; they wish that art may appear; and art to them is admirable in proportion as it enables them to multiply ornament.

Among classic nations the imitation of nature led to the invention of epic and dramatic poetry, in which the poet aims to lend to sentiment the true language of the heart. To this the Orientals made no pretensions. All their poetry was lyric. To seem inspired, poetry should assume the language of nature; and under whatever name it may be known, to whatever rules it may be subjected, it should always echo the voice of the passions.

Among the Arabs, as with us, rhyme was an essential requisite of poetry. It was carried even further than with us in the construction of verses; and a uniformity of sound was often kept up throughout an entire phrase. Their lyric poetry was also subjected to particular rules—either with regard to the form of the strophe, the order of the rhymes, or the length of the poem—which extended that poetic harmony over the whole that already governed each phrase or verse. Two forms of versification, the *ghazèle* and the *casside*, principally prevailed among the Arabs and Persians. Both these forms were composed of distichs: the first lines of these distichs were without rhymes; the second lines were rhymed throughout the poem. Thus, in the species of versification which the Spaniards term *asonancia*, and which they have apparently borrowed from the Arabs, while the first lines are not rhymed, the

same assonant rhyme, or rhyming of the vowels, occurs throughout the second lines of the distichs. The *casside* was an amatory or warlike idyl, the length of which was limited to from twenty to a hundred distichs; the *ghazèle* was an amorous ode, which might contain no fewer than seven, nor more than thirteen distichs. The first is in the style of the *canzoni* of Petrarch, and the second in that of his sonnets. As Petrarch composed a *canzoniere*, that is, a collection of *canzoni* and sonnets on different subjects; and as all the other Provençal poets, Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese, have also a *canzoniere*, the principal merit of which consists in the variety of images in the same sentiment, and the variety of harmony in the same measure of verse; in like manner the Arabs and Persians have their *divan*, which is a collection of *ghazèles*, varied by termination or rhyme. A perfect *divan* is where the poet regularly follows, in his rhymes, all the letters of the alphabet; for they have a taste for constraint, without harmony; a taste which we shall find in all the Romanshe poetry, and in that of all the nations educated in their school.

But if the Orientals had neither epic nor dramatic poetry, they were the inventors of a species which takes the place of the epic, and which, among them, was substituted for the drama. We owe to them those stories, so brilliant in their creation, so rich and varied in imagination, which made the charm of our childhood, and to which we cannot recur in more advanced age without experiencing anew their fascination. The *Thousand and one Nights* are familiar to all readers; but, if we may credit the translator, what we possess is but the thirty-sixth part of the great Arabian collection. This collection is not merely contained in books; it is the wealth of a numerous class of men and women, who, throughout the extent of the dominion of Mohammed, in Turkey, in Persia, and even to the extremities of the Indies, make a business of amusing by their stories a people who love to forget, in the dreams of imagination, the painful sensations of the present moment. In the coffee-houses of the Levant, one of these story-tellers assembles about himself a listening crowd; he sometimes excites the terror or pity of his auditors; but oftener he brings before their eyes those brilliant and fantastic visions which are the patrimony of Oriental imagination; occasionally he awakens laughter, and only on this occasion does the cloud rise from the brow of the fierce Osmanli. This is the only spectacle known in the Levant, and these story-tellers there take the place of comedians among us. Even the public square has often its story-tellers. The females of this class divert the tedium of the seraglio. Physicians often order

their patients to procure the services of a story-teller, to soften their griefs, to calm their agitation, and to induce sleep after long periods of watchfulness; and the artist, accustomed to suffering, modulates his voice, softens its tone, or gradually suspends it, in the manner best calculated to provoke sleep.

The Arab imagination, which shines with all its brilliancy in these stories, is easily distinguished from the imagination of chivalry; but it is easy to see that the two have a strong relationship. The supernatural world is to both the same; the moral world is different. The Arabian stories, like the romances of chivalry, introduce us into the same fairy land; but the human personages there created are of another order. These stories have been invented since the Arabs, yielding the power of the sword to the Tartars, the Turks, and the Persians, have occupied themselves solely with commerce, letters, and the arts. We recognize in them a commercial people, as in the romances of chivalry we recognize a warlike race. Riches, and the luxury of the arts, there dispute with the fairies the palm of splendor. Their heroes are constantly traversing new countries; and their activity is not less exercised by the interest of trade, than our ancient cavaliers were excited by the desire for renown. Besides the women, we see in these stories but four classes of persons: princes, merchants, monks, and slaves. Soldiers have little or no part in them; valor and high military exploits, in them, as in the pageants of the East, excite terror, and carry desolation, but awaken no enthusiasm. In these stories there is consequently something less noble, less heroic, than we are accustomed to desire. But, in return, we should consider these story-tellers as our masters in the art of creating, varying, and sustaining the interest of a tale. To them we are indebted for that brilliant mythology of genii and fairies which enlarges the world of fancy, which multiplies human strength and riches, and enables us to live in the marvelous without freezing us with terror. From them are derived that tenderness, that delicacy of sentiment, that devotion to woman, which have had so great an influence on our chivalry, and which we shall find in all the literature of the south of Europe. The stories themselves penetrated our poetry long before the translation of the *Thousand and one Nights*. We find several of them in our old fabliaux,* in Boccaccio, and in Ariosto; and these same stories, which made the delight of our childhood, passing from language to language, and from nation to nation, often through channels unknown, are at

* A sort of story in verse, very common in early French poetry.

present connected with all the remembrances, all the pleasures of imagination, of the inhabitants of half the globe.

But the influence on letters which the Arabs have exercised in Europe has not been proportioned to the admiration which their poetry alone has excited. Their rapid progress in the sciences gave them a universal authority over all the empire of mind; and those whom European scholars were accustomed to regard as their masters in the science of numbers, the study of nature, and the knowledge of history or geography, appeared to them equally entitled to preside as infallible oracles of taste. As regards European literature, therefore, the state of the sciences among the Arabs, when our ancestors emerged from barbarism, is a matter of no little moment.

All branches of history were cultivated with a lively interest by the Arabs; several among them, the most celebrated of whom was Aboul-Feda, prince of Hamah, wrote universal histories, which embraced a period extending back from their days to the creation of the world. Each state, each province, each city had its own chroniclers and historians. Several, in imitation of Plutarch, composed biographies of the great men among them who had distinguished themselves by their virtues, their talents, or their exploits. So strong a passion existed among the Arabs to explore every path, and to leave no subject untouched, that Ben-Zaid of Cordova, and Aboul-Monder of Valencia, seriously wrote histories of celebrated horses. Alasueco, in like manner, wrote a history of celebrated camels. Historical dictionaries were invented by the Arabs, and Abdel-Maleck gave to the people who spoke his language what Moreri has given to Europeans. They had also geograghical dictionaries of great exactness, and critical and bibliographical dictionaries; all those inventions, in short, which facilitate labor, which obviate research, and which divert idleness, were early in use among the Arabs. The science of numismatics was cultivated by them, and Al-Namari wrote a history of the moneys of Arabia. Every art, every science, had its history; and the Arabs were richer in this respect than any other people, ancient or modern. Al-Assaker wrote commentaries on the first inventors of the arts; Al-Gazel, in his Antiquities of the Arabs, treated with profound knowledge of the studies and inventions of his contemporaries. Medicine and philosophy had a greater number of historians than the other sciences; but all were united in the Historical Dictionary of the Sciences, by Mohammed-Aba-Abdallah, of Grenada.

Philosophy was cultivated with ardor by the Arabs, and made the glory of many ingenious and discriminating men, whose names

are still revered in Europe; as Averrhoes of Cordova, the great commentator of Aristotle, who died A. D. 1198; Avicenna, from the neighborhood of Chyraz, not less profound as a philosopher than celebrated as a physician, who died A. D. 1037; Al-Farabi, of Farab, who spoke seventy languages, wrote on all the sciences, and united them all in an encyclopedia; he died A. D. 950; Al-Gazeli, of Thous, who subjected religious studies to philosophy; he died A. D. 1111. Arabian scholars did not confine themselves to the studies which they could pursue in their closets; for the advancement of science they undertook the most toilsome and perilous journeys; they entered the councils of princes, and were often engaged in the violent and bloody revolutions of the East; their private history is also more varied, more filled with incident, and more romantic, than that of the philosophers and scholars of all other countries.

Of all the Arabic sciences, philosophy was that which first penetrated the West, and had the greatest influence on the schools of Europe; it was also, nevertheless, the science whose progress had the least of reality. The Arabs, more ingenious than profound, attached themselves rather to subtilties than to the connection of ideas; they were far more eager to dazzle than to instruct; in the eyes of the vulgar, the darkness of obscurity gave to them an air of profundity; they tasked their imagination for mysteries; instead of penetrating the depth of the nature of things, where obscurity arises from human feebleness, and the greatness of the subject, they enveloped science in clouds. More enthusiastic than daring, they preferred to consider man as the oracle of all human knowledge, rather than to seek information in the book of nature; and in this spirit they rendered almost divine worship to Aristotle. In their eyes, all philosophy was found in his writings, and all metaphysics were to be explained by the scholastic method.

An exact translation, a subtle illustration of the work of the Stagyrite, was deemed the sublimest attainable point for the genius of a philosopher; and to this end they read, explained, and compared all the commentaries of the first disciples of Aristotle. It is matter of astonishment, however, that men so acute, with so much study, and the application of so many years, did not succeed in comprehending and explaining with clearness the books which were the object of all their labors. All have bewildered themselves, and sometimes grossly. Averrhoes, in his translations and his commentaries, has often no resemblance to the original; and the perpetual search for mysteries in simple things, and for concealed meanings in the clearest phrases, would have rendered the

school of Aristotle among the Arabs unintelligible to that philosopher.

The natural sciences were cultivated among the Arabs, not with more ardor, but with a more just appreciation of the means necessary to be used in their acquisition. Abou-Ryhan-al-Byrouny, who died A. D. 941, traveled forty years in quest of information on the science of lithology; and his treatise on precious stones is a rich collection of facts and observations. Ibn or Aben-al-Beïthar, of Malaga, who devoted himself with the same passion to botany, at first visited the mountains and plains of Europe, to learn the history of their vegetables; he afterward, with invincible courage, traversed the burning sands and deserts of Africa, to collect or describe the plants that can support the intense heat of the sun; and finally he made a tour of the most distant countries of Asia. In the three parts of the then known world, he observed with his own eyes, and touched with his own hands, all that nature in her three kingdoms presents of uncommon or rare; animals, vegetables, and fossils, all were subjected to his examination. He afterward returned to his own country, rich with the spoils of the East and the South, and published successively three books,—one on the virtues of plants, another on stones and metals, and the third on animals,—which contained more true science than had been developed by any other naturalist. He died A. D. 1248, at Damas, to which place he had returned, and where he was made intendant of the gardens of the prince. Others among the Arabs, as Al-Rasi, Ali-Ben-al-Abbas, and Avicenna, have merited the gratitude of posterity. Chimistry, which was in some sort the invention of the Arabs, gave to them a deeper knowledge of nature than was possessed by the Greeks or Romans, and this science received from them an extensive application to all the necessary arts of life. Agriculture was studied by them with that perfect knowledge of climate, of soil, and of the growth of plants and animals, which alone can reduce a long practice to a science. No civilized nation, ancient or modern, has possessed a wiser, more just, or more perfect code of rural laws than the Arabs of Spain; no country was ever elevated by its wise laws, by the intelligence, activity, and industry of its inhabitants, to a higher degree of agricultural prosperity than Moorish Spain, and particularly the kingdom of Grenada. The arts were cultivated with no less success, and were not less enriched by the progress of the natural sciences. For a great number of inventions which at present contribute to the conveniences of life, and even for those without which literature could never have flourished, we are indebted to the Arabs. Thus paper—so necessary at present

to the improvement of the mind, the want of which plunged Europe, from the seventh to the tenth century, in such a degree of ignorance and barbarism—is an Arabian invention. From the highest antiquity, it is true, this article was manufactured at China, from silk; but about the year 30 of the Hegira, (A. D. 649,) this branch of industry was introduced into Samarcand; and when that flourishing city was conquered by the Saracens, in the year 85 of the Hegira, Joseph Amrou, an Arabian, transported the process by which paper was manufactured to Mecca, his native city. He employed cotton in its fabrication; and the first paper similar to that in use at the present day was made in the year 88 of the Hegira, (A. D. 706,) at Mecca. From this city the art was carried into all the Arabian states, but especially into Spain, where the city of Sativa, in the kingdom of Valencia, now called San Felipo, was celebrated from the twelfth century for its paper-mills. At this period the Spaniards substituted linen for cotton in the manufacture of paper; the former being abundant with them, but the latter scarce and expensive. It was not till the end of the thirteenth century, by the efforts of Alfonso X., king of Castile, that paper-mills were established in the Christian states of Spain, whence they were introduced, so late as the fourteenth century, into Treviso and Padua.

Gunpowder, the invention of which is attributed to a German chimist, was known among the Arabs at least a century before any indications of it are found in European historians; it was frequently employed in the wars of the Moors of Spain in the thirteenth century, and some monuments would appear to indicate the knowledge of it in the eleventh. The mariner's compass, the invention of which has been attributed alternately to the Italians and the French, in the thirteenth century, was known to the Arabs in the eleventh. The geographer of Nubia, who wrote in the twelfth century, speaks of it as a thing universally in use. Arithmetical figures, which we term Arabic, but which might, perhaps, more justly be denominated Indian, have at least been communicated to us by the Arabs. Without them, none of the sciences of numbers could be carried to that degree of perfection which they have attained in our day, and which the great mathematicians and astronomers of Arabia very nearly approached. The number of Arabic inventions which we enjoy is doubtless immense; but they have been introduced into Europe from several quarters at the same time, slowly, and without causing any sensation, because he who imported them did not attribute to himself the glory of their discovery, and because he encountered in every country those who,

like himself, had seen them practiced in the East. It is a characteristic of all the pretended discoveries of the middle ages, that at the moment when history makes mention of them for the first time, it is as of things universally in use. Neither gunpowder, the mariner's compass, figures, nor paper are anywhere noted as discoveries; yet they were to change the nature of war, of navigation, of the sciences, and of education. Can we doubt that the inventor, had he existed, would have prided himself upon so important an innovation? and if he has not done so, ought we not to conclude that these things have been slowly imported, from a country where they were universally known, by obscure persons, and not by men of genius?

Such was the brilliancy with which science and literature shone, from the ninth to the fourteenth century of our era, in the vast countries which had submitted to Islamism. The saddest reflections attach themselves to that long enumeration of illustrious names, unknown to us; of works buried in manuscript in dusty libraries, which nevertheless had a powerful influence, for a time, on the cultivation of the human mind. What remains of so much glory? But five or six persons are able to examine the treasure of Arabic manuscripts shut up in the library of the Escurial; some hundreds more, scattered over Europe, have prepared themselves, by obstinate labor, to search the mines of the East; but they have merely obtained, with much toil, some rare and obscure manuscripts, and they are unable to elevate themselves sufficiently high to judge the whole of a literature of which they have examined but a part. Meantime the vast regions hitherto and now under the dominion of Islamism are dead to all the sciences. The rich countries of Fez and Morocco, celebrated, five centuries since, for so many academies, universities, and libraries, are but deserts of burning sand, the possession of which is disputed by tyrants and tigers; the pleasant and fertile shores of Mauritania, where commerce, the arts, and agriculture had risen to the highest state of prosperity, are to-day the retreats of corsairs, who spread terror over the seas, and rest from their labors only to plunge into the most shameful debauches, till the pestilence yearly marks them for its victims, and thus revenges outraged humanity. Egypt is nearly buried by the sands which it formerly fertilized; Syria and Palestine are desolated by wandering Bedouins, who are yet less formidable than the pacha that oppresses them. Bagdad, formerly the abode of luxury, of power, and of learning, is a city of ruins; the celebrated universities of Cufa and Bassora, of Balkh and Samarcand, no longer exist. In this immense extent of country,

two or three times larger than Europe, naught remains but ignorance, slavery, terror, and death. Few of its inhabitants are able to read the writings of their illustrious ancestors; fewer would be able to comprehend them, and none are able to procure them. That immense literary treasure of the Arabs, of which we have given but a sketch, exists no longer in any of the countries where the Arabs or the Mussulmans are dominant. In vain do we seek there for the renown or the writings of their great men. The remnant of them is in the hands of their enemies—in the convents of monks, and the libraries of the kings of Europe. Still, these vast countries have never been conquered; it is not the stranger that has stripped them of their riches, annihilated their population, and destroyed their laws, their manners, and their national spirit. The poison was within them; it has developed itself by its own strength, and annihilated all things. J. L. J.

New-York, July, 1842.

Art. V.—*History of the Expedition under the Command of Captains Lewis and Clarke to the Sources of the Missouri, thence across the Rocky Mountains, and down the River Columbia to the Pacific Ocean: performed during the Years* 1804, 1805, 1806, *by Order of the Government of the United States.* Prepared for the Press by Paul Allen, Esq. Revised and abridged by the Omission of unimportant Details, with an Introduction and Notes. By Archibald M'Vickar. Harper & Brothers. Vols. 154 and 155 of the Family Library.

The Journal of the Expedition of Lewis and Clarke was not made public until the year 1814. There was an edition afterward given; but, according to our recollection, not under the direction of the original editor. Whatever may have been the number of copies in these editions, the work has for a long time past been scarce—not to be had of the booksellers, rarely to be met with in private libraries, and to be found with certainty only on the shelves of the public libraries. Under these circumstances the publishers, the Messrs. Harpers, were of opinion that this work might be reduced in bulk without injury to the matter, and, with such modification, be introduced with advantage into the body of the school library.

On comparing the pages before us with the original work edited

by Mr. Paul Allen, it appears that in the compression of the narrative, the most important portions have been retained in the words of the original. The same caution has been observed in the accounts of the natives, and of their usages and habits of life. In the monotony of a progress along a river, with long lines of banks, and scenery of wearisome sameness, and these daily noted, much might be omitted or pared down without injury to the narrative. So, likewise, when separate parties were sent out, in different directions, by land and by water, in search of some desirable, yet distant and uncertain point, the story of fruitless wanderings ending in disappointment, might, except where some stirring incident occurred, or some unexpected discovery was made, easily be brought within a less compass.

The Introduction prefixed to this new form of the original work brings together in one general view information as to various subjects which should be interesting to readers of the Journal of Lewis and Clarke. A sketch is given of early maritime discoveries along the north-western shores of America by the Spaniards. Mention is made of Captain James Cook's visit to the coast at a much later day. The slight circumstance, that some furs were obtained from the natives by the officers and men of the squadron, which were by them applied to the most ordinary uses, and were afterward sold at high prices in the market of Canton when Captain Clarke put into the river flowing by that city, gave beginning to the fur trade, which was for many years successfully carried on by British and American merchants by direct voyages to the north-west coast of America. A more familiar acquaintance with the coast was the consequence. More particular surveys were made, among the results of which the most important was the ascertaining, by Robert Gray, of the ship Columbia, from Boston, of the mouth and stream of the Columbia River, the existence of which, up to the very time of Gray's discovery, was a questionable point with seamen, who had in vain sought it. From discoveries on the side of the ocean the Introduction turns to the attempts of enterprising travelers to penetrate the country by land, and thus reach the shores of the Pacific. The names of Carver and Mackenzie here occur. A view of the origin of the British and American Fur Companies is given; a sketch of the great project of Mr. John Jacob Astor, in its beginnings, progress, and failure. These are followed by notices of the further efforts of companies or individuals from the United States to carry on a trade or form establishments west of the Rocky Mountains.

A short description is added of the face of the country, of the

ranges of mountains, and of the rivers which flow from them.* In conclusion, there is a statement of the condition of the trading posts of the Hudson's Bay Company at Vancouver and elsewhere; and of the less ambitious mission establishment founded by the Methodist Episcopal Church of the United States, with a small body of colonists, in the valley of the Multnomah. Occasional notes give the observations and remarks of travelers who have within late years visited the country west of the mountains.

It is the part of an American reviewer to hail with pleasure the first appearance of any respectable literary work of native production, and, as in the instance before us, where a narrative and subject are again brought forward, which, though for a long time overlooked by the generality of readers, still have an intrinsic value and interest—he should bestow upon them a more than passing notice. The expedition of Lewis and Clarke further recommends itself to the American reader, in that it is especially national in its objects, actors, subjects, and scenes. In the conducting of it, and in its successful results, it was highly honorable to the leaders of the expedition, who, as occasion demanded, showed courage, resolution, perseverance, and powers of endurance, and, toward the natives, forbearance, and a spirit of humanity. The men who composed the body of the party were entitled to praise for the discipline and spirit with which they underwent every toil and hardship. The utmost harmony seems to have prevailed throughout the long journey outward and homeward, which ended safely and happily, with but a single death either by disease or casualty.

Some remarks we are here tempted to make, from which a lesson may be drawn, valuable to those who, in the midst of the comforts and in the shelter of civilized life, too sedulously and anxiously guard their health. The party which accompanied Captain Lewis as far as the Mandans, where they wintered, was forty-two in number. The body which proceeded onward in April, 1805, was reduced, by a return of a part of the men homeward, to thirty-two. Yet these were led across the Rocky Mountains to the shores of the Pacific, and back from thence to St. Louis, where they arrived on the twenty-third of September, in the year 1806, in the full enjoyment of health and strength, after an absence, since the day of their entering the mouth of the Missouri in May, 1804, of two years,

* The boundaries to the north, as respectively claimed by the American and British commissioners in the years 1818, 1824, and 1826, are given with this unsatisfactory result, viz., the common occupation of the country, as it had previously existed, and still continues to exist.

four months, and some days. They encountered some perils, endured much hardship, and had gone through excessive labors and fatigue: they were exposed to the unknown diseases of a strange land and skies; sometimes full fed, sometimes sparely, and more than once threatened with the pangs of hunger and starvation—without physician, surgeon, or surgeon's mate; with no well-furnished medicine chest, if that may be inferred from the remedies at times resorted to. The last of the stock of spirits, often used to qualify the water of new countries, was served out on the celebration of the fourth of July, 1805. Yet, in the face of all these, allowing some exceptions under scarcity and change of food, health, and its companion, buoyancy of spirits, were found in continual exertion, in novelty of scene and adventure, and from a life in the open air. When in winter quarters, or stationary for any length of time, and without occupation, Captains Lewis and Clarke encouraged their men to engage in lively amusements, as, at a later day, did Captain Parry, when blocked in the ice of the polar regions.

Although no naturalist, or professedly scientific man, was attached to the expedition, yet Captains Lewis and Clarke found, or made time, in the midst of the arduous duties of conducting the journey, and of watching over the discipline, welfare, and safety of their men, to collect and record, in conformity with the instructions furnished by Mr. Jefferson, a large and valuable mass of information. They ascertained the geographical position of the principal points on their route. The varying character of the Missouri, and the changing features of its banks, and of the adjoining country were noted, as well as the streams which discharged their waters into it. The nature of the soil, the different kinds of timber, shrubs, and other vegetable productions, were carefully observed. They give a copious catalogue of the quadrupeds, birds, fish, and reptiles which abound in prairie, forest, or river, with such full descriptions as denote careful observation, although wanting in scientific accuracy. The same comprehensiveness and minuteness of remark characterize the journal of the travelers in their passage through the mountains, in their voyage down the new stream of the Columbia, and while at the encampment on the shore at its mouth. An account, minute as well as ample, is given of the different tribes they met with throughout those wide regions, the correctness of which is confirmed by all succeeding travelers.

Works of this class lie so much out of the track of ordinary reading, they are so little connected with scholastic or professional

studies, and involving but remotely, as they do, questions of commerce, or of national policy, it is but in their commencement that attention is drawn to them by the periodical publications of the day, with now and then a passing after-notice when fresher travels over the same ground appear, or new questions arise which make their information valuable. The volumes, after a hasty perusal, are, in general, left to remain undisturbed upon the shelves, and a traveler of a later day not well instructed, and so the reader of his journal too, will find, on reference to the neglected volumes of his predecessor, that very much of what he has seen and described has been seen and described before. It is for these considerations that more space will be devoted to the subjects of this work, and to the analogies and inferences they suggest, with a freedom of quotation which would not otherwise be thought necessary.

The persons composing the party were selected by its chiefs in the close of the year 1803. It had been their intention to winter at La Charette on the Missouri. But the cession of Louisiana to the United States not having been made known officially to the Spanish authorities, it was thought better to take a position at the mouth of Wood Creek, on the east side of the Mississippi.

Captain Lewis and his party left their winter quarters on the fourteenth of May, 1804. They were embarked in three boats—the largest of which was fifty-five feet in length, drawing three feet water, carrying a large square sail, and having twenty-two oars; she had a decked cabin and forecastle, each ten feet long; the intervening space had lockers, which might be raised so as to form a defense in case of a hostile attack; the others were open boats, or pirogues, of six and seven oars. The expedition was well provided with stores, arms, and ammunition, and presents for the Indians: two horses were led along the banks to be used in hunting or other services. On the twenty-first they left St. Charles, twenty-one miles up the Missouri, the last place of any note at that day on the river. At La Charette, sixty-eight miles from the Missouri, they found the last settlement of whites, a small village of seven poor families. On the thirtieth of July they reached the Council Bluffs, a name given to a spot on the bank of the river, where a council was held with the Ottoes and Missouries. Near this place is now to be seen Fort Calhoun.

On the twentieth of August, three miles below the mouth of the Sioux River, Charles Floyd, one of the sergeants, died, after one day's illness, with a bilious colic, an event which the Journal mentions in becoming and feeling terms. The place of his interment was the summit of a bluff, on which was placed a cedar post

with name and date. This still remains, a touching memorial to travelers. In September the boats arrived at the Grand Detour, or great bend of the Missouri, and soon found themselves in the very midst of the Teton Sioux. The warlike propensities of this nation, and their repeated attacks upon the neighboring tribes, have left their traces in the ruins of villages along the river, whose inhabitants they have driven off or destroyed. In Lewis's progress up the river he found the spirits of the weaker tribes weighed down by the memory of recent sufferings, or the apprehension of further attacks on the part of the powerful Sioux. If ever the defenses of the large boat were to be raised, and the rifles of the company called into action, it was while among the Sioux, or within reach of their wandering bands. It was owing to the self-possession and resolution of the leaders, and to the courage and steadiness of the men, that bloodshed did not follow on the repeated insolences and provocations of the people of this tribe. This nation has lost nothing of the character or power of annoyance which they formerly enjoyed, and applications have just been made to the agents of the United States, by the remnant of the Delawares, and the more numerous Chippeways and Potawattomies, against the threatened attacks of the Sioux. The American Fur Company now have a strong trading post here.

At the time Lewis passed up the river, a Mr. Loisel had a fort and trading house, sixty or seventy feet square, on an island, called Cedar Island, a few miles below the Sioux camps. The tribe of the Ricaras, whose villages they next reached, offered a pleasing contrast to their neighbors below, of whom they had such fears that they dared not pass down the river. The Ricaras were at war with the Mandans, and the mediation of Lewis was sought by them in order to effect a peace, which he most readily promised. Mutual peace was what he constantly urged upon contending tribes, to bring about which was one of the objects of the expedition. While with some other tribes, whisky had been begged as the great father's (president's) milk, the Ricaras, on its being offered, declined it with this remark, "That they were surprised that their father should present to them a liquor which would make them fools." The Ricaras, like the Mandans and the Minnetarees, who are higher up the river, dwell in villages, the lodges of which are of a circular form, of thirty or forty feet in diameter, and constructed of upright posts, from which poles verge to a centre, where they are supported by four taller posts. The floor is a few feet lower than the surface of the ground, and a hole is left as a vent for the smoke. Remains of Mandan villages, from which the inhabit-

ants had in former years been driven by the more powerful Sioux, repeatedly met the eyes of the travelers, until they reached the existing villages on the twenty-seventh of October, 1804, after a river voyage from the entrance of the Missouri of five months and some days.

They were now in latitude 47°, 21′ north: the winter was approaching: the mountains, the abode of frost, ice, and snows, were near: this was among the last resting places this side of the mountains. It was thereupon determined to stop among the Mandans. A spot was selected, in which suitable buildings were erected, into which they moved on the twentieth of November: the boats were securely moored,, and the party took up their quarters for the winter.

Let us now throw a backward glance on the voyage of the party up the Missouri. St. Charles was the last place of any name, at the short distance of twenty-one miles from its mouth. At La Charette they left the last settlement of whites, consisting of seven poor families, at no more than sixty-eight miles from the Mississippi. In a voyage of sixteen hundred miles, far as the Mandans, besides the Indians in their canoes, in their villages, or on the banks, they had met with no dwellers or wanderers in the land, except now and then a French trader or hunter, with his companions, either stationary in the villages or coming down the river from remote points of the Kanzas, the Platte, or the Missouri, in canoes or in rafts laden with skins and buffalo lard. The only vestiges they beheld of former occupation of the country by Europeans were the ruins of a fort in the rear of an old Indian village, which was marked by "some remains of chimneys, and the general outline of the fortification, as well as by the fine spring which supplied it with water. The party who were stationed here were probably cut off by the Indians, as there are no accounts of them."—Vol. i. p. 60. French fort and garrison, village and Indian, have passed away, but the fine spring which quenched their thirst is there still, to "murmur on a thousand years, and flow as now it flows."

At this day there is the state of Missouri, which extends north and south of either bank, and stretches westward from St. Louis on the Mississippi, four degrees of longitude. Through the whole breadth of the state the banks of the river are dotted with towns and villages, from its mouth to the town of Independence on the western limit of the state. This place is the entrepôt of the trade carried on between the states east of the Mississippi, and the far west. Steamboats convey to its piers the merchandise intended for the posts of the fur companies in the neighborhood of the

Rocky Mountains, or for Sante Fé, and other points in the Spanish territories. This is carried to its destination by large and armed caravans, who bring back to their starting point the returns in peltry and other products of the country, and sometimes from the Spanish trade in specie.

A period of more than five months passed in winter quarters afforded ample opportunity for studying the character of the Mandans, and for the observation and description of their ceremonies, field sports, games, and modes of life. From the first knowledge had of them by early travelers, this tribe has been regarded with more than ordinary interest. A complexion not so dark as that of the Indians in general, and heads of hair of various hues, instead of being uniformly black, furnished an argument in favor of an old story believed among the whites, which would make out the Mandans to be the descendants of a Welsh colony, who, under their prince, Madoc, sailed in the twelfth century for unknown shores. Their own traditions, and the remains of villages, from which they had been from time to time driven, trace them, in their advance to the present villages, along the banks of the Missouri, as far as from the Mississippi, and even to remoter points on the last-named river. Their habits are less roving, and manners more gentle, than those of the tribes who dwell in tents, and shift their camps at will over the wide extent of the prairies. The Journal ascribes great simplicity to their religious belief.

"The whole religion of the Mandans consists in the belief of one Great Spirit presiding over their destinies. This being must be in the nature of a good genius, since it is associated with the healing art, and the Great Spirit is synonymous with great medicine, a name also applied to every thing which they do not comprehend. Every individual selects for himself the particular object of his devotion, which is termed his medicine, and is either some invisible being, or, more commonly, some animal, which thenceforward becomes his protector, or his intercessor with the Great Spirit; to propitiate which, every attention is lavished, and every personal consideration is sacrificed. 'I was lately owner of seventeen horses,' said a Mandan to us one day, 'but I have offered them all up to my medicine, and am now poor.' He had in reality taken all his wealth, his horses, into the plain, and turning them loose, committed them to the care of his medicine, and abandoned them for ever."—Vol. i, p. 141.

This protecting genius, selected by every individual, Catlin represents under the form of a medicine bag—which is either the skin of the animal chosen, or contains what represents the charm. The term *medicine*, thus applied by the Indians, is from the French

medecin; but the Indian notion is better expressed by the word *mystery.*

Among the scourges which have thinned the Indian population, and reduced powerful tribes to a handful of people, none has been so terrible as the small-pox, not even excepting their mutual and unceasing wars. From a very early day travelers have described and lamented its ravages, which are still going on, notwithstanding the aids held out by science and humanity. Under this scourge of their race, and the hostility of the Sioux, the Mandan nation and name utterly perished in the year 1838.

The party met at the Mandan villages not only French traders, but also men in the employ of the Hudson's Bay Company, from their posts at the north.

The winter commenced early: the ice of the river, opposite to the fort, where it is five hundred yards wide, was strong enough, on the fifteenth of December, to permit the crossing of herds of the buffalo. In this and in the ensuing month the mercury of the thermometer frequently fell to 40° and 45° below zero. The men suffered much by being frostbitten; yet the spring advanced so rapidly that they were able to resume their voyage in a north-west direction toward the mountains on the seventh of April, 1805—a time at which the harbors of Lakes Ontario and Erie are yet obstructed by ice. By the return of the large boat with some of the men to the United States, bearing presents and dispatches, the party was now reduced to thirty-two persons, who embarked in the two pirogues and in six canoes. On the fourteenth they reached a creek, which was called by them Chaboneau's Creek, after their interpreter, who had once encamped on its banks with a party of Indians. "Beyond this no white man had ever been, except two Frenchmen, one of whom, Lapage, is with us; and who, having lost their way, straggled a few miles further, though to what point we could not ascertain."—Vol. i, p. 179.

The canoes arrived on the twenty-sixth of April at the junction of the Yellow Stone River and the Missouri, eighteen hundred and eighty miles from the Mississippi. In the year 1832, twenty-seven years afterward, Mr. Catlin arrived *by a steamboat from St. Louis* at this point, where he found a strong fort and trading station of the American Fur Company. On this spot no white man, before Lewis and his men, had ever set his foot. Here, and subsequently at the Mandan village, with that admiration of wild life which had drawn him from the schools of art in the city of Philadelphia, Catlin devoted himself to his favorite object, and transferred to canvass the portrait of many chiefs, and made sketches of

the wild sports and grotesque ceremonies of Indian life. A downward voyage to the Mandan village in a canoe, which stopped or went on at his pleasure, enabled him to trace the bold and fantastic bluffs which border the river, which words attempt in vain, and where florid descriptions, like mists and clouds, serve but to dim and confuse the landscape.

Early in the month of June the party under Lewis arrived at the junction of two streams of about equal promise. Doubts were entertained as to which was the true Missouri. Separate parties went out with Lewis and Clarke to trace the course of each. Lewis returned after much travel, hardship, and peril, satisfied that the river coming in on the north was not that which was indicated by the Indians; while Clarke, after tracing the southern branch, was not able satisfactorily to decide the question. It was therefore determined that Lewis, with a party, should follow the southern branch by land until they reached either the falls or the mountains. The name of Maria River was given to the northern branch. Clarke, who remained with the canoes at the point of junction with the Missouri, began the construction of cachés, that the heaviest of the baggage, and what other articles could be spared, might be deposited in them. The caché is common with those who traffic in the Indian country: the name is French, but the thing itself must have been long in use among the natives. A dry situation is chosen where the caché is to be made; a circular sod, of about twenty inches in diameter, is carefully removed; a hole of about a foot is sunk, an excavation is made below to the depth of six or seven feet, and is gradually enlarged as it descends; in shape it may be compared to an inverted kettle. The earth is carefully removed, carried off, and thrown into the river, so that no traces of it may remain. The bottom is covered, and the sides lined with dried sticks, with the additional guard of dried hides: when filled, a skin is laid over the goods, earth is thrown in, and beaten down, and the sod is carefully replaced in the spot from which it had been taken. Such contrivances are found among all nations at that stage of society when the inhabitants of each district are exposed to the marauding attacks of hostile neighbors, or the rapid incursions of more distant enemies. In Hindostan, where, from the earliest times, the inhabitants have lain open to the sudden inroads of a wild cavalry, recourse has been had to this subterranean mode of security. Stores of grain are deposited in this manner, and the Mahrattas, in their repeated incursions, often detected them by sounding or boring the ground.

The Hovas, a tribe in the Island of Madagascar, keep their rice

in circular excavations, five or six feet in diameter, and of like depth. The form of these rice pits resembles a bee-hive—the bottom and sides are lined with a coating of clay, which becomes hard and impervious to moisture; the opening at the top is small, and is covered with a stone. The same form for their granaries is seen in the clay structures of the neighboring tribes, which have a height of about fifteen feet, with an opening at the top, to which the ascent is by steps notched in the trunk of a tree. There can be little doubt that the pit was at first contrived as a security against marauding neighbors. The Hovas are of the olive-colored race of the island, and resemble, in other respects, many of the inhabitants of the Polynesian islands, and are derived, most probably, from a common stock. Many inquirers are disposed to refer the Indians of America to the same. The similarity of the caché of the Indians, and the granary of the Hovas grew out of like necessities, and argues no intercommunication of the two people, nor a common race.

While Clarke applied himself to the construction of the cachés, Lewis started with four men on the morning of the eleventh of June, and after proceeding on that and the two following days over thirty miles with some deviation from the course of the river,

"his ears were saluted with the grateful sound of a fall of water; and, as he advanced, a spray, which seemed driven by the high south-west wind, arose above the plain like a column of smoke, and vanished in an instant. Toward this point he directed his steps, and the noise, increasing as he approached, soon became too tremendous to be mistaken for any thing but the great Falls of the Missouri. Having traveled seven miles after first hearing the sound, he reached the falls about twelve o'clock. The hills, as he approached, were difficult of access, and two hundred feet high: down these he hurried with impatience, and, seating himself on some rocks under the centre of the falls, enjoyed the sublime spectacle of the stupendous object, which since the creation had been lavishing its magnificence upon the desert, unknown to civilization."—Vol. i, p. 222.

The river above the falls is three hundred yards wide, bounded on either side by perpendicular cliffs. The height of the falls is eighty feet. For several miles above the falls the river presents a succession of rapids and cascades. The length of the portage, which here became necessary, was seventeen and three quarter miles. The portage commences at the mouth of a stream called Portage Creek, and terminates opposite to Bears' Islands, so called from their being found the favorite haunt of the grisly bear. Cachés were made at each extremity of the portage, and the pirogue was laid up below the falls. Several pages are devoted to

the description of the falls, the rapids, and the portage, which have, besides, the illustration of two plates.

The delays occasioned by the transportation of canoes and stores across the portage, together with a failure in the skin covering applied to the iron frame of a boat, constructed at Harper's Ferry, on the Susquehannah, thirty-six feet in length, and of proportionate depth and breadth, and the necessity of supplying this deficiency by preparing canoes from poor timber, did not allow the party to embark on their upward voyage until the fifteenth day of July. The Journal for the month passed in the neighborhood of the falls, records not only great exertions called for by unwonted difficulties, but several exciting instances of peril by flood and field, and grisly bears, in the most alarming of which Captains Lewis and Clarke were separately concerned. On the first arrival of the party at the falls large herds of buffalo were seen as well above as below the falls; but not many days had elapsed before they disappeared almost entirely from the range of their camp above, though they still abounded below the falls. This neighborhood is a favorite spot with the grisly bear. The buffalos resort in large herds to the banks in order to drink; the passages to the river are narrow and steep, and the foremost are pressed into the stream by the impatience of those behind. In this way ten to a dozen were seen by Lewis's party to be carried over the falls at one time, furnishing a feast to the bears, wolves, and birds of prey.

While lying in the camp, opposite to the island named from the bears, these animals became very troublesome. They infested the close neighborhood of the camp, carried off buffalo beef attached to a pole, and inspired such apprehension, that the men slept with their arms by their side, and relied on the watchfulness of their dog for warning of the bears' approach. These bears never climb, and two of the men, perching themselves in a tree, nigh a copse of brushwood, where the tracks of a bear made them believe that one lay couched, roused him by a shout; he was shot, and is described as the largest yet killed; his fore feet were nine inches across, and the hind feet were seven inches wide, and eleven and three quarters long, exclusive of the claws.—Vol. i, p. 240.

Many were the encounters which members of the party had at various times with the grisly bear. The first, we think, mentioned in the Journal is when, on the twenty-ninth of April, the second day after leaving the Yellow Stone, Lewis was on shore with one hunter, they met two white bears. The dread with which the Indians regard an encounter with this animal is so great, that, armed with their feeble weapons, they never attack him but in

parties of six or eight, and even then are often defeated with the loss of one or more of the party. The bear rather attacks than avoids man, and the Indians, when they go in quest of him, paint themselves, and go through the superstitious ceremonies customary when they make war on a neighboring tribe. For an Indian singly to kill a bear is a greater triumph than the death of an enemy, and his claws are worn as a prouder trophy than a scalp.

In this first contest with these animals, Lewis and the hunter wounded them both; one made his escape, the other pursued the captain seventy or eighty yards; he had time to reload his piece, and on a second shot from himself, and a third from the hunter, the bear was brought to the ground. It was a male, not quite grown, and weighed more than three hundred pounds. This animal, which is at times called by the several names of white, brown, and grisly bear, is, some think, the same as the black bear; but it is a distinct species.—Vol. i, p. 189.

His tenacity of life is most extraordinary. Clarke and a hunter had an adventure with one, which, after five balls had passed through his lungs, and with five other wounds, swam half across the river to a sand bar, and survived twenty minutes. It was not until the approach of the party toward the base of the Rocky Mountains that the grisly bear made his appearance. No mention is made of him before leaving the Mandan village. On the tenth of April, the third day after quitting the winter quarters there, the tracks of the bear were first seen. Catlin, in his descriptions and paintings of wild Indian sports, in the vicinity of the Fur Company's fort at the mouth of the Yellow Stone, of which he was both a spectator and a part, gives nothing respecting this ferocious animal. On his return down the river from the fort, he describes the alarm of himself and two companions of the voyage, when they were startled in the morning by the appearance of a bear and her two cubs, which had been prowling round their little encampment through the night. The appearance of the male checked any desire they had for battle, and was followed by a speedy retreat to the river and canoes.

When at the great Falls of the Missouri

"a strange noise was heard coming from the mountains in a direction a little to the north of west. It is heard at different periods of the day and night, (sometimes when the air is perfectly still, and without a cloud,) and consists of one stroke only, or of five or six discharges in quick succession. It is loud, and resembles precisely the sound of a six-pound piece of ordnance at the distance of three miles. The Minnetarees frequently mentioned this noise, like thunder, which they said

the mountains made; but we had paid no attention to it, believing it to have been some superstition, or perhaps a falsehood."—Vol. i, p. 746.

A note subjoined from the London Quarterly Review gives an account of similar noises, resembling the discharges of artillery, having been heard in the mountainous districts of different provinces in South America, which were ascribed by the narrators to the explosion of round stones about the size of a man's head, which, upon bursting, disclosed the inside, sparkling with precious gems and crystals. [Such specimens of stones, inclosing crystals, are to be seen in any mineralogical collection.] The experience of Mr. Hunt and party, when on their passage through the mountains, confirms the fact of the occurrence of such noises. A suggested explication of Humboldt that these reports may be occasioned by the disengagement of hydrogen gas by mines of coal in a state of inflammation, is given by the London Review. The note closes with an extract from the narrative of the Rev. Mr. Parker, who, in 1835, visited the Oregon Territory. This extract implies, and very strongly too, an incredulity in the existence of such noises, and that from the bare negative testimony of his own ears. Besides, his route was not on the same line with that of our travelers, or that of Hunt. At page 252 there is another distinct mention of these noises from the mountains being heard, when Lewis was out with some hunters: "They heard, about sunset, two discharges of the tremendous mountain artillery."

That these accounts of mountain noises are not derived from the superstitions of the natives, or the fabling of travelers, may be evinced from the narratives of those who have penetrated the recesses of the mountains which form the northern barrier of Hindostan. In "an account of Koonawur in the Himalayas, by the late Captain Alexander Gerard," distinct mention is made of these thunderings being heard, and which are supposed to proceed from the bursting of glaciers, or the falling of avalanches, and of rocks precipitated from the summits and sides of the mountains. In curious coincidence, too, with a custom of the tribes near the Rocky Mountains, the rude inhabitants of the Himalaya regions suspend fragments of cloth on poles set up on the crags as propitiatory offerings to the spirits of the mountains.

Having left the falls on the fifteenth of July, after more than a month's detention, they arrived at a pass in the river, to which they gave the appropriate name of the Gates of the Rocky Mountains. For five and three quarter miles dark-colored rocks rise perpendicularly from the water's edge to the height of twelve hundred feet;

the river, with a breadth of but one hundred and fifty yards, seems to have forced its channel through the rocks; for three miles the water was deep to the very base of the cliffs, with but one spot of a few yards where a man could find footing between the water and the perpendicular wall. At the outlet lay vast columns which had been torn from the mountain in the convulsion, which opened a passage for the waters. The party afterward proceeded in two divisions, by land and by water: they soon arrived at the head waters of the Missouri, consisting of three streams, to which the names of Jefferson, Madison, and Gallatin were given. The land party under Lewis, on the twelfth of August, reached the dividing ridge of the streams flowing east and west, and on the same day drank of the waters of the Missouri, and of the Columbia Rivers. Their course had been guided by an Indian road, which they pursued the next day, and after alarming, by their appearance, some straggling men and women who were shy at the sight of the stranger, succeeded, by presents of trinkets, in removing the fears of two females, who led them on the road till they met a band of sixty well-armed and well-mounted Shoshonees. These were the first Indians they had met with since leaving a hunting band of the Minnetarees, a little above the Mandan villages, in the month of April; although they had repeatedly seen Indian encampments, which appeared to have been recently occupied. As the troop of Indians advanced, Captain Lewis put down his gun, and went forward fifty paces with the flag. The chief, who, with two men, was riding in front, spoke to the women, who explained that the party was composed of white men, and exultingly showed the presents they had received. "The three men immediately leaped from their horses, came up to Captain Lewis, and embraced him with great cordiality, putting their left arm over his right shoulder, and clasping his back, applying, at the same time, their left cheek to his, and frequently vociferating, Ah-hi-e! ah-hi-e! I am much pleased! I am much rejoiced!"—Vol. i, p. 301. Notwithstanding that Lewis had smoked with Cameahwait, (such was the name of the chief,) with all the ceremonies which denote friendly feelings and intentions, he found him and his band, in his intercourse after the first interview, disquieted with apprehensions of some hostile design. An Indian and two women, whom they had seen at a distance early in the morning of the day on which they met the Indians, and who had fled at the sight of strangers, had spread an alarm that their enemies, the Minnetarees of Fort de Prairie, whom they call Pahkees, were advancing against them. Lewis, however, prevailed on Cameahwait and part of his people

to accompany him to the forks of Jefferson River, where he expected to find Clarke and the canoes.

One inducement held out to the Indians was, that they would find with the party below one of their countrywomen who had been taken prisoner by the Minnetarees. This was Sacajawea, the wife of their interpreter, Chaboneau, who had purchased her of the Minnetarees when young, brought her up, and made her his wife. As Lewis and his party approached the river, he met Clarke with Chaboneau and his wife, who had been just landed, and were walking on the shore. The demonstrations of joy which the poor Indian woman exhibited on recognizing her countrymen, and the warmth of affection with which she was embraced by a female who made her way through the crowd, and their mutual joy when they recognized each other as companions in childhood, and afterward as fellow-prisoners taken in the same inroad of the Minnetarees, are sufficient to rescue the Shoshonees, at least, from the apathy of feeling ascribed to the Indian character. To heighten still more the romance of her story, when brought into the tent to interpret between the strangers and her own people, in Cameahwait she recognized a brother. "She instantly jumped up, and ran and embraced him, throwing over him her blanket, and weeping profusely: the chief was himself moved, but not in the same degree."—Vol. i, p. 319.

The travelers remained for some time with the Shoshonees. The canoes were now to be abandoned, and superfluous baggage to be disposed of. Horses were to be procured, and preparations made for crossing the mountains to the Columbia, or for pursuing the course of the river to a point where canoes might be built and floated on its waters. In their intercourse with the Shoshonees, during this necessary delay, nothing occurred to lessen the mutual good feelings which grew out of the unlooked-for meeting of Sacajawea and her brother and friends. The Shoshonees are a small band of the nation called the Snakes, who are found in the southern parts of the Rocky Mountains and the plains on either side. Cameahwait's band numbered one hundred warriors, and about three times that amount of women and children. From the month of May till September they keep in their mountain retreats about the head waters of the Columbia, secure from the attacks of the Pahkees. While here, their subsistence depends on the salmon of the river, and the spontaneous supply the earth affords of roots and berries. When these fail them, they cross the mountains, and uniting at the forks of the Missouri with friendly bands of their own nation, or of the Flatheads from the west of the moun-

tains, they venture to hunt the buffalo in the plains through which flow the upper tributaries of the Missouri. Notwithstanding this precarious mode of life, with gaunt famine on the one side staring them in the face, and on the other the overpowering Pahkees, they exhibit a cheerful, and even a gay temper. Poor as they are, they are neither beggars nor pilferers. They are, says Lewis, frank, brave, and hospitable, and "their character has in it much of the dignity of misfortune." Hardly as they are beset by scantiness of food, they are rich in horses, arms, and clothing.

Before the main body left the Shoshonees, Clarke, under the conduct of a guide, made an attempt to cross the mountains. He found the obstacles to his progress insurmountable, and was obliged to return. On the thirtieth of August the whole company set out in a northerly direction, under the guidance of an old Shoshonee. They soon lost any distinct road, and took their course sometimes along a mountain stream, where they were obliged to cut a path through thickets of trees and bushes—sometimes making their way over rugged ridges. On the fifth of September they fell in with a band of Ootlashoots on their way to the three forks of the Missouri: on the sixth they came to a stream, to which the name of Clarke's River was given: on the ninth they struck a stream flowing through an open prairie. Through this prairie passes the great Indian road to the Missouri, so direct that four days' journey would lead the traveler to the extensive valley which spreads on either side of the river at the distance of thirty miles from what had been called the Gates of the Rocky Mountains, and which the canoes passed through on the twentieth of July. After parting from the Ootlashoots, the party suffered much from the ruggedness and steepness of their path, and more from cold and scanty food: even horse-flesh failed them. In order to obtain game, Clarke with a party went on ahead, and, on descending the mountains, reached, on the twentieth of September, the villages of the Chopunnish or Pierced Noses, under their chief, Twisted Hair. They were soon joined by Lewis. The heat of the weather proved oppressive to men exhausted with fatigue, and suffering from scarcity of food, and indifferent fare, and Lewis, Clarke, and several of the men were attacked with illness. The party began now to work on canoes; the horses, to the number of thirty-eight, were branded and intrusted to the charge of Twisted Hair. On the eighth of October they embarked on the waters of the Columbia. Their faithful Shoshonee guide, with his son, quitted them without notice, and without his stipulated reward; "but it was of no consequence,"

said one of the Chopunnish, "for his nation would not suffer him to bear it off safely."

The voyage down the Columbia was attended by the usual incidents of river navigation where there are found the obstructions of cascades and rapids. The banks of the river, nearly to its mouth, were never without the marks of actual or recent occupation by the natives. All these are duly observed and noted in the Journal. On the second of November they reached the tide water immediately below the falls; and on the sixth of November arrived and encamped on the shores of the bay at the entrance of the river. On the clearing off of a thick fog, in the course of the next day, they had a prospect of the Pacific, the utmost limit of a journey bravely and happily achieved. It was now the rainy season, and the discomforts of the party were not small. A spot was selected for the erection of winter huts on a creek which empties into an embayment of the wide mouth of the river which was named Meriwether's Bay, in honor of Lewis, without doubt the first white man who surveyed it. Here they remained through the winter season, which was diversified with storms of wind, rain, and sleet, until the twenty-third of March, 1806. A free intercourse had been kept up with the tribes of the coast, who were of inoffensive manners and easy tempers, and the monotony of winter quarters had been varied by occasional excursions to the coast, or into the adjoining country.

The party retraced their course up the river, and to the Chopunnish, where they recovered most of the horses left with the chief, Twisted Hair. Under the conduct of Indian guides they attempted, and at length effected, the passage of the mountains. When this was done, they, on the first of July, started in two divisions: Lewis with nine men directly for the Falls of the Missouri and Marias River; Clarke, with the remainder, for Jefferson River, with the intention of uniting again at or near the mouth of the Yellow Stone. This was not accomplished before the twelfth of August. While Lewis was in the neighborhood of Marias River, an attempt to carry off the horses by the Minnetarees of Fort de Prairie was the occasion of the death of two of the Indians, an event which long rankled in the breasts of that tribe. The united party arrived on the twenty-third of September, 1806, safely at St. Louis, "where they received a most hearty and hospitable welcome from the whole village."

The purchase of Louisiana by the United States was a source of much self-gratulation to Mr. Jefferson. This country was first

settled by the French, in the reign of Louis XIV., about the end of the seventeenth century. It was ceded by them to Spain in 1762; and again receded by Spain to France in the year 1800. Negotiations were soon after entered upon with the French government for its transfer to the United States, which was completed in 1803. By this transfer the United States obtained the undisputed navigation of the Mississippi, where it formed the boundary of the western territories, together with the possession of the city of New-Orleans. The discontents of settlers from the United States, who had early settled themselves along the banks of this river, were thus removed, and their interests closely entwined with those of the states lying east of them. Now that steam vessels boldly stem the current of this mighty river, the interests of the Atlantic states, and of those on both sides of the Mississippi, seem united beyond any ordinary possibilities of severance. This acquisition was well-timed. In the changes of dynasties and dominions, which the gigantic wars of Europe occasioned, this colony, whether of France or of Spain, might have fallen into other hands, and the cross of St. George be now waving over strong military defenses at St. Louis, New-Orleans, and the Balize. This addition of a vast territory, almost destitute of white inhabitants, was not only favorable to national harmony, but held out the prospect of a wider extension of our liberal institutions. Besides, there can be no question but that Mr. Jefferson contemplated with satisfaction a large diffusion of benefit to the native tribes, in the influence to be exercised by the government of the United States in extinguishing mutual feuds and hostilities, and in introducing the arts and policies of civilized life. The instructions so carefully drawn for the guidance of the leaders of the expedition denote that such was his purpose. But untoward circumstances throughout the whole time of his presidency interposed to defeat these views. Great virulence of party spirit prevailed throughout the United States. Mr. Jefferson himself (See Tucker's Life, vol. ii, p. 162) seems to think that Louisiana, with its unexplored wealth, whose acquisition was of such advantage to their common country, was regarded by his political opponents as the empty speculation of a vain philosophy. About the time of the successful close of the expedition, what is called Burr's conspiracy engaged much of national, and much of Mr. Jefferson's personal attention. Then followed commercial embarrassments and restrictions, which grew out of the high-handed and unjustifiable decrees and orders of the two great warring nations of Europe. Much bitterness of feeling was excited among ourselves by the

measures which the ruling party in the general administration resorted to for the averting or defeating of these evils. At this time Mr. Jefferson retired from the presidency, at the conclusion of his second term, which had been overhung by the dark thunder cloud of war without its lightnings.

Under the administration of his successor, Mr. Madison, actual hostilities soon took place between the United States and Great Britain; and while Indian was arrayed against Indian on the Canada frontier, little thought was given to the remote red man of the Missouri. When peace returned, the novelty and grandeur of the idea, that a great Indian population was dependent on the white man for much of good or of evil, had passed away, and the gradually advancing settlements of the whites were little calculated to foster mutual good will. The Indians, both within and without the old limits of the United States, have been driven from their ancient possessions. Like the early European discoverers of this continent, we hold ourselves to be lords paramount of the land, and are contented to look with apathy on the supplanting of the red man by the pale face as an inevitable destiny. The enterprise, sagacity, and industry of settlers from our Atlantic states, on or near Indian grounds, tend more surely to the utter extirpation of the Indian race than did ever the thirst for gold, or the exacting and life-wasting servitude of the early Spanish invader. Temptation is ever held out by the improvidence of the Indian to the spirit of fraudful gain, and his imbecility of character invites continual encroachments. Under such circumstances what can secure to the Indians the rights of life common to all men, but shutting out the intrusion of cupidity in the shape of hunter, trader, or trapper? This can be done only by a chain of military posts along their frontier, and by the exclusion, with proper exceptions, of white men from their limits. Trading houses might be erected at certain points, where the Indians could exchange the products of the chase, or works of ingenuity, for articles of necessity, use, or comfort. This show of military strength on the borders, with occasional posts across the country, and some well-timed marches through the land, all under the direction of a principal with qualities of head and heart suited to the task, would do more to extinguish mutual animosities, hostilities, and plunderings, than volumes of civil enactments. Nothing but some such system as this can secure that spectacle, which some delight to contemplate, of the Indian retaining his simple manners in the midst of his hunting grounds, open to the kindliest influences of religion, civilization, and humanity, and thus rescued from the combined and

mingled vices and miseries of savage and civilized life. This appears to be a necessary stage in the social existence of the tribes of the western prairies, if they are to be preserved in the shape of a people, in their advance to a higher state of cultivation. They might thus be gradually led to an agricultural life, and the occupations which it gives rise to, while the herds of buffalo, and the other beasts of game, become insensibly thinner upon the prairie, from the instinct which bids them retire from the advance of the white man and cultivation.

Public attention has of late years been much attracted to the region west of the Rocky Mountains. Narratives of travelers, accounts of trading expeditions, the annual reports from the missionaries sent out and maintained there by the zeal of the Methodist Episcopal Church of the United States, together with the occasional departure of parties of colonists from the shores of the Atlantic, or the western borders of Missouri, have all had a share in effecting this. The recent visit of the squadron, under Lieutenant Wilkes, and the loss of the United States sloop-of-war, the Potomac, at the mouth of the Columbia River, have imparted an additional interest to those shores. The citizens of the United States in the Oregon Territory are now said to be eight hundred in number. Petitions to congress in their behalf, and that of many residents in Missouri, have called for the action of the government. Lieutenant Freemont, of the topographical engineers, has, with a party, left St. Louis for the survey of the country, from the mouth of the Kanzas River to the head waters of the Platte, and of the southern pass of the Rocky Mountains, with a view toward forming a chain of posts from the western bounds of the state of Missouri to the mouth of the Columbia. It is the intention of the government of the United States to extend to its citizens in that territory the jurisdiction of courts and the operation of laws, neither of which do they enjoy at the present time under any enactments of congress. While the jurisdiction of the courts and laws of Upper Canada, with the appointment of local magistrates, are extended to British subjects, and to the dependants of the Hudson's Bay Company in this territory, American colonists have to depend on voluntary regulations adopted by themselves, and suited to their condition. These movements seem to look to ulterior objects —as if the question of boundary, so long open, was at length to be settled. Yet it is said by the journals of the day that this boundary question is not to be brought within the present special negotiations.

The conflicting claims of boundary may be shortly stated. By

a convention between the two governments made in 1818, the forty-ninth parallel of latitude was agreed on as the dividing line between the territories of the two nations, from the Lake of the Woods, or the meridian of its north-west extremity, to the Rocky Mountains. No arrangement could be made as to a definite boundary west of the mountains; and it was determined that, for ten years, all territories claimed by either power between the mountains and the Pacific should be free and open to the subjects and citizens of both nations. In 1824 the question was again agitated without effect. The negotiations were renewed in 1826, when Mr. Gallatin was American minister at the court of St. James; the British commissioners then expressed their readiness to abide by their offer made in 1824, to admit the Columbia as the line of separation between the territories west of the Rocky Mountains, securing to the United States all that lies east of that river, and south of the forty-ninth parallel of latitude. Failing in subsequent attempts to effect a definitive settlement of the question, a convention was signed in 1827 by Mr. Gallatin and the British commissioners, that the article of the convention of 1818 should be further indefinitely continued, either party, however, being free, after 1828, to annul the agreement by the due notice of twelve months to the other. So it remains to this day, although repeated efforts have been made by members of congress, from states west of the Mississippi, to terminate this arrangement by some definite settlement. In this joint occupancy of the land, the Hudson's Bay Company have for many years past been growing in moral and effective strength. Their principal fort and trading station at Vancouver, on the north side of the Columbia River, numbered, in 1835, Europeans, thirty; Canadians and half-breeds, one hundred; and of families and slaves of the natives, to make up the amount of seven hundred and fifty to eight hundred persons. In the six or seven years that have since passed, this post must have increased in numbers and strength, to say nothing of the men stationed or employed at other points on the Columbia and its tributary streams, while the American colony has increased more in numbers than in combined and efficient strength.

Notwithstanding the persevering zeal and liberality of the M. E. Church, the prospects of the mission, as far as the native tribes are concerned, are not so flattering as could be desired. The character and condition of the Indians themselves account for this. They are generally of milder tempers and greater docility than the tribes east of the Rocky Mountains; but in qualities of mind and body they are inferior to them. Game is not so abundant, and

their subsistence depends, in a great measure, on salmon of the rivers, or fish of the sea-shore, and the spontaneous growth of berries and roots. And of such indifferent food there is frequently a scanty supply. Improvidence, and unsteadiness of purpose, seem to mark their character; and diseases, hitherto unknown to the Indians, which perhaps may be produced by the breaking up and tillage of lands whose soil was before undisturbed, are, with an appalling mortality, yearly thinning the numbers of the nation between the mountains and the ocean.

The valley of the Multnomah, the seat of the Methodist mission, and it is to be presumed of most of the colonists from the United States, is the most favored spot west of the mountains.

The Oregon Territory, as a whole, is not calculated to sustain a large population, or to carry on a flourishing commerce. Their principal harbor, the Columbia, has been signalized by many shipwrecks. The fur trade, both west and east of the mountains, must gradually exhaust itself. In the rainy season, the country along the coast is unhealthy; nearer the mountains, the elevated plains are liable to protracted droughts. These plains are less favorable for tillage than for pasture, say those who have examined the country; but this must mean, that deprive the soil of its grassy sward, and the dry and thirsty atmosphere will suck up all humidity, and utterly destroy vegetation. So drying is the air, that the grass of the country is cured on its stem, and affords hay to the horses of the Indians, and keeps them in fine condition through the winter. No grass is lost for want of curing, and being converted into sound hay; but this circumstance of the good case of the horses, is far from implying a fine country for pasturage—the inference is, that there is an almost unlimited range for horses, or herds of cattle. What is the destiny of this *ultima thule* of the American continent, it is at present impossible with certainty to predict.

New-York, July, 1842.

ART. VI.—*The Life of Wilbur Fisk, D. D., First President of the Wesleyan University.* By JOSEPH HOLDICH. 8vo., pp. 455. New-York: Harper & Brothers. 1842.

THE study of biography is one of the most engaging and instructive studies which can be pursued. The reason is obvious. It is the study of man. And what can more deeply interest man than the study of himself? We mean not those common-place biographies of every day's occurrence, in which we find nothing of a peculiar character to instruct us in the knowledge of human nature, containing, as they do, a mere dry detail of facts, which may be told of every human being, varying only in respect to the time and place of his birth, his age, and the circumstances of his death. These pall upon the mental appetite, and disgust us by their perpetual repetition. But when a person gives early indications of intellectual strength, grows up under the fostering care of divine Providence, gradually develops a mind of rare capabilities, exhibiting, on all occasions, an original genius in all his movements—and more especially if he give evidence that his heart has been sanctified by divine grace—and finally succeeds in accomplishing some grand design, we trace his life with increasing delight, are edified with the incidents of his onward course, and are made wiser and better by his instructive example. Hence the more general history abounds in the character and conduct of individuals eminent for their talents, who made an impression upon the age in which they lived, the more eagerly is it read, and the greater benefits does it produce. Nor can such biographies be too minute in their details. While studying the lives of such individuals, we love to enter into all their private and domestic affairs, to discover, as far as possible, their secret springs of action, and to become acquainted with all the means by which they rose to eminence, and accomplished their work.

These means of gratification are afforded, in some measure, at least, in the Life of Dr. Fisk. That he was eminent for the goodness of his heart and for many shining qualities of mind, will be evident to all who read the memoir before us. That he made an impression upon the age in which he lived, and that of the most hallowed and beneficial character, no one will dispute. And if we are not let into the secrets of his heart, on all occasions, it is not the fault of his biographer, but of the subject of the narrative, who left but few private memorials behind him, except such as are found in letters to individuals, and such as have been furnished by

his bereaved and disconsolate widow. These, however, are of the most sacred character, and exhibit the man in the privacy of domestic life, and unfold a character of loveliness and brilliancy of the most engaging and instructive sort. To the industry and fidelity of Professor Holdich are we indebted for collecting and grouping together many incidents in the life and labors of Dr. Fisk, not before known even to many of his friends, which will be read with delightful avidity by those who cherish in their memories a recollection of his many excellences, while the stranger will be struck with admiration at beholding imbodied in a human being those qualities of the understanding and heart which adorned and dignified the character of this man of God.

With these general remarks, we hasten to give the reader a synoptical view of the work before us, and the manner of its execution. It is an octavo volume of four hundred and fifty-five pages, divided into twenty chapters, to which is prefixed a table of contents, denoting the several topics introduced into the memoir. The style is plain and perspicuous, such as all biographical writings should be, and the typographical execution is such as we might expect from the press of Harper and Brothers, fair and elegant.

So much for the general character of the work. As might be expected, it begins with an account of his parentage, his birth, and education, and gives interesting incidents of his juvenile days. Into these particulars it cannot be expected that we should enter in this brief review. It will be sufficient for us to remark, that the parents of Dr. Fisk, in the language of his biographer, "were illustrious only for their virtues," occupying the middle rank of the people in the United States, living by the fruits of their industry, and maintaining an independence in the state of Vermont worthy of the yeomanry of a country where merit is measured, not by the standard of artificial rank, but by worth of character, by virtue, industry, and economy. It was, however, honor enough for them to have given birth to such a son as Wilbur Fisk, and been instrumental in rearing him up for God, for the good of the church, and the world.

He was born in Brattleborough, Vermont, August 31, 1792. At a proper age he was put to school, and gave early indications of an intellectual strength which would, if suitably cultivated and directed, exert a beneficial influence upon community. Happily for young Fisk, his mind was early bent in the right direction by the assiduous care of a pious mother, and the skill of a useful teacher. Under such influences he became early imbued with a love of study, and with the fear of God. He finally succeeded in

attaining the honors of a college in the Brown University, which he received as the reward of merit, and which were not disgraced by any future act of his life. On leaving college, his inquiry was, "What profession shall I take?" After balancing the claims and hazards of several, he finally decided on the law as preferable to all others. Upon this he accordingly entered with much ardor. Having, however, but a feeble constitution, he found the study of the law too laborious, and was compelled to relinquish this pursuit; and he returned to the bosom of his parents in the state of Vermont, where he slowly recovered his wonted health, which, at best, was but poor. It was during this interval that his conscience was awakened by the Spirit of God to a keen sense of his lost condition by nature, and of the necessity of regeneration to fit him for the service of God here, and for happiness hereafter. He sought and found redemption in the blood of Christ. This created a new era in his history. His mind became deeply impressed that it was his duty to preach the gospel of the Son of God. After due preparation he entered upon this work with great ardor, and soon gave evidence that he was sent of God—to "warn every man, to teach every man in all wisdom, that he might present every man perfect in Christ Jesus."

It is not our intention to follow Dr. Fisk through all the walks of life in which he moved. Those who wish for particulars in this respect must consult the volume for themselves, and we think they will rise from its perusal, not only highly gratified with the manner in which the writer has executed his task, but also with a determination to devote themselves more exclusively to the service of that God who so abundantly blessed his servant. The following extract from the preface will show that the biographer did not enter heedlessly upon his work, but that he felt the difficulties of his position, and an examination of the volume will demonstrate that he has succeeded admirably in describing his "subject" in the various aspects in which his "diversified character and pursuits" presented him:—

"Those who are at all skilled in authorship well know that historical and biographical composition is peculiarly perplexing and laborious; and it will be obvious to all, on very slight reflection, that the labor of writing a biography depends very much on the diversity in the character and relations of the subject, for in proportion to these will be the demand on the author's resources, judgment, and skill. Had Dr. Fisk's life been devoted entirely, or even chiefly, to one pursuit, had his character possessed interest in only a single aspect, or were his biography to have been adapted to any selected class of readers, the writer's task would have been comparatively easy. But the life of any

man should be in accordance with his entire character and pursuits. In this lay the difficulty of our present undertaking. To depict correctly the diversified character of our subject; to trace his connection with the many important enterprises in which he was concerned; to give to each of these its relative prominence and just proportion; to adapt the work to the various classes in the community who may be supposed to take an interest in our subject; to present a just account of his share in the controversies in which he was engaged, without giving needless offense to those who differed from him, were some of the duties which rendered the author's task one of more than ordinary delicacy, and required no little thought and labor.

"One topic suggested above deserves, perhaps, to be made a little more prominent. Dr. Fisk was a man of erudition and literature, and, as such, was connected with the republic of letters. On the other hand, he was not less the man of the people. To have written his book exclusively for the former would not have been satisfactory to the latter, and to have written it entirely for the latter would have displeased the former, while in neither case would he have been true to his subject's memory. Whether the writer have succeeded in harmonizing these conflicting claims must be left for the reader to determine; but he wishes that this view of the subject may be kept in mind in deciding on the nature and merits of the work."

Accordingly we find him described as an obedient son; as a diligent and successful student; as a penitent sinner; as a happy believer; as a minister of the sanctuary; as principal of an academy; and then as president of a university; and in the mean time moving in the various circles of society, as a friend, a companion, and fellow-laborer in the field of human improvement; while he is called upon, in the order of divine Providence, to wield his pen in defense of truths and measures which he considered of vital importance to the welfare of the church to which he belonged, as well as to the world at large; to take a prominent part in the various enterprises of the day, such as the Missionary, Bible, Sunday-school, Tract, and Colonization Societies, all of which engaged a share of his attention. Nor must we overlook the more endearing relation of a husband, in which the domestic virtues shone out with a peculiar lustre, more especially in the estimation of her who now mourns her irreparable loss.

Let us look at Dr. Fisk in some of these aspects. And first, let us view him as a minister of the Lord Jesus. He was fully convinced that no man was competent, whatever might be his talents, or literary advantages, for this holy work, unless anointed with the *holy unction*, unless called and set apart for this labor by the Head of the church himself. Under a conviction of this truth, he entered upon his work. And that he gave irrefutable evidence

that he was *thus* called, and that he was fully qualified for the task, all who had the happiness of hearing him preach will undoubtedly acknowledge. Though the field of theological truth had been amply surveyed and highly cultivated before Dr. Fisk "put his hand to the plough," yet it was manifest to all who heard him that he thought, arranged, and digested for himself, and hence delivered his discourses fresh from the heart. He was indeed an original thinker. And he thought deeply and accurately. His sermons were not therefore made up of common-place observations; but were thoroughly digested, and so arranged and delivered as to enlighten the understanding and affect the heart. On some occasions, he entered upon a course of reasoning in support of his positions, which, though perfectly familiar to the man of science, seemed dull and uninteresting to the people at large, and they concluded that he "was not the preacher for them." But he generally made amends for these temporary deviations, by the warmth of his application of truth to the heart and conscience of his hearers, by which their feelings were aroused, and their affections enlisted on the side of truth. It was, however, evident to all, that truth was the object of his pursuit, and that he sought to apply it to the best interests of mankind. In doing this, on some happy occasions, he seemed to be carried beyond himself, and evinced an ardor of mind peculiarly befitting the subject, and every way becoming a devoted minister of the Lord Jesus; for he seemed absorbed in the sole concern for the salvation of those to whom he spake.

His talents as a preacher of righteousness were of a high order. He yielded his understanding to the dictates of the sacred Scriptures, and exemplified their holy precepts in his tempers and conduct. Wherever, therefore, he went, and whenever he preached, he was recognized as a chosen ambassador sent of God to negotiate a peace "'twixt earth and heaven," to beseech sinners to be reconciled to God.

But Dr. Fisk was also a literary character. About seven years after his entrance upon the ministry, he was called by his brethren to preside over an academy which had been recently established in North Wilbraham, Massachusetts. Here he began to display those talents for the instruction and government of youth for which he afterward became so eminently distinguished. Under his judicious management the academy rose in the public estimation, and finally acquired such a character in the community as secured for it a large patronage. It was soon filled with students, and has continued to prosper to the present day. In this office he labored

for five years, during which time the institution continued to rise in its literary and religious character, when he was transferred to the Wesleyan University, in Middletown, Connecticut.

At the first meeting of the joint board of trustees and visitors, which took place on the twenty-fourth of August, 1830, he was elected president of the university. Though he at first felt some hesitation respecting the propriety of accepting this responsible station, he finally concluded that duty called upon him to accept the appointment. He accordingly made the following reply to the official notice of his election:—

"*To the Joint Board of Trustees and Visitors of the Wesleyan University, now in Session in Middletown, Conn.*

"GENTLEMEN,—With a high sense of the confidence reposed in me by a majority of your board, in electing me president of your proposed university, I tender you my sincere and grateful acknowledgments. I have a deep conviction of my own inability to perform the important and responsible duties connected with this appointment. In accordance, however, with the judgment of my friends, and in reliance upon the cordial and united aid of the board, and of the colleagues which have been or may be appointed, and especially in an humble reliance upon Almighty God, without whose assistance the most gifted labor in vain, I will engage to the extent of my ability in the service of the board, in the discharge of the duties assigned me, so soon as I can, in honor and justice, disengage myself from my present relation to another institution. W. FISK."

Here he was called upon to exercise all the ingenuity which he possessed, to succeed in this new undertaking. Funds were to be collected, a faculty organized, scholars procured, and all this devolved chiefly upon the president. He entered upon his arduous work with wisdom and spirit, and finally succeeded in putting the institution into operation. It soon gained the public confidence, enlarged gradually its dimensions, and all seemed satisfied with its management. Every year's experience did but confirm its friends and patrons in the good opinion they had formed of its president.

In becoming the patronizer of institutions of learning, Dr. Fisk was actuated by motives of piety, as well as by a desire to promote sound learning. He knew, from painful experience, that learning without religion only qualified men to become the authors of the greater mischief, and that colleges which were not consecrated to God, by faith and prayer, were the nurseries of vice, and of course the corrupters of youth. Hence he commenced his career of teacher of youth by uniting the lessons of piety with lessons of human science. He uniformly impressed upon the minds of the

young gentlemen intrusted to his care the absolute necessity of an entire devotion to the service of God, in order to secure happiness here and hereafter, and that *sanctified* learning alone would fit them for permanent usefulness in the world.

In the government of the university, which indeed was committed chiefly to him, he manifested a paternal solicitude for the welfare of the students, inspiring their confidence by the wisdom of his administration, and winning their affection by the mildness and firmness of his admonitions and instructions. His influence on all, both professors and students, was of the most hallowed character.

His biographer gives the following graphic sketch of his mode of intercourse with the students:—

"He believed that, in order to secure dignity of conduct and manliness of character, it is necessary to inspire the youth with self-respect. To produce, therefore, in his mind a feeling of inferiority, he thought highly prejudicial. Hence he ever treated the students, not as boys, but as young gentlemen. He addressed them as such. He put on no magisterial airs. Though strict as a disciplinarian, yet, by always treating the students with respect, he taught them, in return, to respect themselves and him. He never demanded any marks of courtesy or formal expressions of reverence. He thought it better to leave this to the promptings of private feeling; believing that, if the sentiments and feelings of the student were properly trained, such expressions of respect as urbanity demands or custom sanctions would be spontaneously given, provided the teacher's own demeanor were such as to call them forth; but, in the absence of these, the enforcement of respect by statute, or the formal demand of it, would only create an empty parade, or perhaps awaken a spirit of resistance, more fatal to the authority of a teacher than negative rudeness. Perhaps on that subject a just medium may be pursued; for if, on the one hand, every thing is to be stiffened into shape by statutes, not only will the teacher know but little of the private feelings of the student, and so, under an outward show of respect, there may be a secret disregard for authority; and, on the other hand, if there be no attention paid to the manners and social observances, the student may be very indifferently qualified to perform his part in that circle of society with which his education qualifies him to mingle. Manners are morals; or, as the French say, '*les petites morales.*' And hence, says the philosophic Paley, 'Bad manners are bad morals.' They take their rise from some defect in the nicer shades of character."

While he thus appeared before the public as a minister of the sanctuary and as a teacher of youth, he was frequently called upon to advocate the claims of the various benevolent enterprises of the day. When the temperance reformation commenced its career of usefulness, Dr. Fisk appeared in its foremost ranks, and urged it on

with all his might, nor did he cease his efforts until he saw it triumph over all opposition, more especially in the church of his choice. Equally zealous was he in the grand missionary work. In this sacred cause he entered with all his strength, and often displayed, in his speeches at the anniversaries of the missionary societies, some of the most striking and brilliant specimens of genuine eloquence. In aiding these enterprises he fully believed that he was promoting the highest interests of man, and therefore threw his whole soul into the subject whenever he was called to plead in their behalf.

To the Bible cause, the Sabbath-school and Tract Societies, he likewise lent the aid of his talents, and exerted a hallowed influence upon their character and operations. It may well be supposed that a man who heartily espoused all these interests must have a continual drain upon his physical and intellectual resources, which must ultimately wear upon his constitution, more especially upon a constitution like his, enfeebled by disease of a chronical character. This his friends saw with no little painful anxiety, and often expressed a wish that he might spare himself from some of those exertions. To these friendly admonitions, if such they may be called, he had but one reply, and that was, "While I have time, I must do good unto all men."

One instance is given by his biographer of the spirit and manner in which he met these expostulations, which we cannot deny ourselves the pleasure of quoting. Speaking of his having attended the New-England Conference in 1838, where some perplexing business was transacted, in which Dr. Fisk took a deep interest, the writer introduces the following anecdote :—

"'On his return home,' says Mrs. Fisk, 'he was more feeble than I had ever seen him, except when confined to bed.' This led to a touching incident in conjugal life, worthy the effort of a painter. Mrs. Fisk expressed her fears that his late exertions would lay the foundation of some fatal malady. His answer was, 'I hope not; after resting, I shall be better. I have, to be sure, been called to make great exertions in behalf of the church. I have done it conscientiously, and from a sense of duty. And,' added he, raising his eyes full in my face, with an expression I had never seen upon his countenance before, 'my dear wife, if my exertions could only be the means of uniting the church, I am willing my life should be the sacrifice. Is it too much to ask of you?' This was a trying appeal. Bursting into tears, she could only reply, 'I cannot feel as you do.'"

Such instances of self-sacrifice are as rare as they are commendable, and prove the depth and strength of that divine love which alone can inspire the heart with courage to make them.

We cannot have a perfect view of the character we are contemplating without looking at him as a friend, a companion in labor and suffering. "He that would have friends must show himself friendly." To maintain that independence of thought and judgment respecting principles and measures which becomes a man conscious of his individual responsibility to God and to the community, in the doing of which we must necessarily come in collision with others of equal strength of intellect and integrity of heart with ourselves, and yet retain for our antagonists the warmth of friendship, evinces a mind and heart deeply imbued with the spirit of Christianity, and a desire for human happiness which can be inspired only by the love of God and man. That Dr. Fisk manifested this spirit who can doubt that was acquainted with him? That he fully believed in the doctrines and discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and that he was warmly attached to her ministry and peculiar usages, is most evident from all his words and actions. He preached and wrote in their defense. And yet his friendship was by no means confined to them, nor yet to those who gave evidence that they belonged to Christ. With these, to be sure, he held delightful communion. He loved them with a peculiar affection. But his heart embraced all mankind, friends and enemies. He therefore labored most assiduously to bring all within the reach of his influence to the possession of that divine love with which his own heart was fired and filled.

With his more immediate brethren, however, he was most cordial, frank, and affectionate in his attachments. And though sometimes compelled to dissent from them on some important points, he never allowed a mere difference of opinion to interrupt the sweet flow of brotherly love, nor yet to degenerate into a dogmatical assertion of his own judgment, as if he thought himself alone infallible. Indeed, no man ever paid a greater deference to the opinions of others, more especially to those whose judgments he had reason to believe were enlightened on the subjects under discussion.

This brotherly love did not descend to a vulgar rudeness in his social intercourse with his fellows, nor yet into a disgusting familiarity. Ever alive to the claims upon the several members of society, arising out of their relative situation, he was prepared to yield to them a suitable attention, and to observe those courtesies of conduct which age, station, or the relations of society have a right to demand. Understanding the nature and extent of these claims, he felt most keenly any violation of them by others, and

beheld, with suitable aversion, those deviations from the proprieties of life, so often manifested by the ignorant, the vain, and the self-conceited. Yet even for these his goodness dictated an apology, while it prevented him from betraying any want of brotherly love.

There can be no real friendship where there is a want of confidence. Hence in the circle of *friends*, where all is cast into a common stock for the benefit of the whole, there is none of that studied, cautious conduct, in words and actions, which indicates a fear of being betrayed by a traitor. All is frank and open. Hence the full flow of soul goes round the circle, by which all are refreshed. And this was the spirit of friendship manifested by Dr. Fisk. He was dignified, yet courteous; he was familiar, without rudeness; open and frank, without lightness; playful, often, without improper levity; and you felt that you were in the company of a brother in whom you could confide without any distrust, and could love without any fear of being betrayed.

That he could sympathize with a friend in affliction, is abundantly manifest from several of his letters found in the volume before us. And here, indeed, is one of the peculiar excellences of the work we are reviewing. The author has interspersed the biography with letters and extracts of letters, in which the writer poured forth from a full heart the purest sentiments of Christian friendship, the tenderest sympathies of a soul ever alive to the interests, the happiness, temporal and spiritual, present and eternal, of his fellow-men. These we consider the most valuable part of the memoir. They make us familiar with their author, because, especially, they appear to have been written without any expectation of being made public, and therefore contain the unstudied, spontaneous effusions of a heart overflowing with feelings of good will to man.

We had the happiness of a tolerably intimate acquaintance with Dr. Fisk. We have been with him in private circles and in public, have heard him preach often, heard him address public assemblies on a variety of occasions, and have been in council with him on some perplexing cases. We must confess that, though he sometimes betrayed the weaknesses which characterize human beings, (how indeed could it be otherwise, since he himself was encompassed with the infirmities of our common nature?) we seldom, if indeed ever, saw him off his guard, never manifesting hatred or ill-will toward any one, never speaking reproachfully of others without adequate cause, always cheerful and happy, even in the midst of difficulties of a most trying character.

We speak of him as a human being. As such he was, of

course, subject to the infirmities of human nature. And yet he triumphed over them. How did he do this? In the same way that St. Paul did. *We are more than conquerors through him who loved us. It is no more I that do it, but Christ that dwelleth in me. When I am weak, then am I strong, for the strength of Christ resteth upon me.* Here was the source of his victory. By the grace of God in Christ Jesus he triumphed over the world, the flesh, and the devil.

Let us view him for a moment as a traveler in foreign lands. In this capacity, however, we need say but little. He has published an ample account of his travels. To this the reader is referred for full information of his objects, the manner in which he pursued them, and of his ability in recording his impressions, and communicating his observations to the world. The rapid and extensive sale of the work speaks loudly in its favor, and goes far to refute the foul aspersions which were attempted to be poured upon it by a partial reviewer.

Dr. Fisk did not travel abroad merely for the purpose of gratifying an idle curiosity, in looking at the works of nature and of art, in the old world. Though no inattentive observer of these things, for he could view them with the eye of a classical scholar, yet his observations were more particularly directed to the literary, moral, and religious state of society, that he might be the better fitted to impart useful instruction to his countrymen. And certainly the observations which he made evince a mind well stored with ancient learning, as well as accurately informed on all subjects connected with the improvements of modern literature, of the arts and sciences.

Whether his travels were of any benefit to him other than as they tended to enlarge the sphere of his knowledge, and enabled him to instruct those who may consult his pages more perfectly in regard to the subjects on which he treats, may be seriously doubted. That they contributed to his health is not believed. On the contrary, the eagerness with which he sought information from every source within his reach, the labor of recording events and observations, coming in contact with men of intelligence, who were solicitous to gain his acquaintance, and to profit by a free intercourse, subjected him to that continual exercise of physical and mental exertion which gradually weakened a frame already sinking under the influence of an incurable and corroding disease.

On his return to his native land he most evidently bore marks of increased weakness, and the continual demand upon his time and attention afforded him but little respite from care, labor, and per-

plexity. In addition to the superintendence of the university, the responsibility of which he felt most sensibly, he was employed in preparing an account of his travels, in answering calls upon his time and talents by a variety of societies, literary and benevolent, all of which were desirous of sharing in the benefits of his exertions. These things, it may be supposed, tended to hasten the catastrophe, which had long been feared by his friends, but which all were anxious should be postponed as long as possible.

In referring to the publication of his travels we are reminded that he often appeared before the public as a writer. The first thing he published was a dedication sermon, which he delivered on opening a house of worship at Danville. It was first published at the request of those who heard it in pamphlet form, and was afterward inserted in the Methodist Magazine. It made a favorable impression upon the minds of those who read it respecting the talents and piety of its author. His next production was an election sermon, which he preached before the legislature of Vermont, to which he had been chosen chaplain. The pointed manner in which he enforced upon the legislators of his native state the necessity of spiritual Christianity, made a powerful impression upon their minds, and produced a most salutary effect.

From this time he appeared as an author before the public, in sermons upon particular occasions, in addresses, and other pieces of a miscellaneous character, all of which evinced that he held "the pen of a ready writer." These pieces were produced from the circumstances in which their author was placed. He did not therefore thrust himself upon the public attention with a view to court its favor or to win its applause, much less to obtain pecuniary reward; for we believe he never received any other compensation for the productions of his pen than what arose from a consciousness of having done his duty, until he published an account of his European travels.

That, however, which gained for Dr. Fisk the greatest celebrity as a writer, before the publication of his travels, was what has been called his "Calvinistic Controversy." This was also imposed upon him without his seeking. And the manner in which he conducted it, demonstrated that he was master of his subject—that truth, and not victory in argument, was the object of his pursuit. That his antagonists felt the weight of his arguments is manifest from the manner of their replies, for more than one entered the lists against him. In this controversy Dr. Fisk evinced the power of nice discrimination, of logical deduction, and

of wielding, with conclusive effect, a Scriptural argument in defense of the truth.

In all his writings, Dr. Fisk gave evidence of strong originality of thought, of deep reflection, of profound and accurate investigation. Though he wrote in a style natural and easy, plain and energetic, yet he seemed more intent upon the subject matter upon which he was writing, than upon the niceties and elegances of his style. Indeed he was sometimes quite careless of his style, and inaccurate in his quotations, owing, no doubt, to the haste with which he prepared his pieces for the press, and the vehemence of his spirit while engaged in composition. These, however, are minor faults, amply atoned for by the solidity of his matter, the prime importance of his subjects, and the plain and lucid manner in which he expressed himself on all occasions. And how much more highly are his writings to be prized for the qualities we have enumerated, than they would be if he had spent his strength in acquiring a pompous diction, in the use of far-fetched metaphors, high-sounding epithets, or had so nicely balanced every sentence, and every word in every sentence, as to deprive them of all their force and energy! This labored, measured, and unnatural style of writing, in which an author evinces greater solicitude for the arrangement and fashion of a sentence, than he does for the clear presentation of truth, in its own loveliness and brilliancy, manifests, in our humble opinion, a great want of correct taste, and much more regard for himself, for his own reputation, than he does for the interests of truth. And yet how disappointed is he in the end! Instead of establishing a reputation for elegant and good writing, he sinks in the estimation of all men of understanding and taste, while truth itself suffers by the meretricious ornaments in which he strives to decorate it.

Of none of these faults was Dr. Fisk guilty. He expressed himself in language plain and elegant, making his words reflect precisely the sentiments of his mind, without ambiguity or circumlocution, with an energy and directness which all must feel and appreciate. You have therefore only to read to understand him. Instead of having to labor, from the obscurity of the sentence, to ascertain the author's meaning, you are carried along with the utmost ease and delight, and are taken up chiefly in admiring the facility with which the author expresses himself, and in drinking in the truths which he utters.

But it is time to bring our remarks to a close. Those who wish for the particulars on which these general observations are founded, must consult the volume before us. They cannot read it with

attention, and with a "single eye," without being both wiser and more holy. We cannot conclude, however, without giving the reader a glimpse of the closing scene of this great and good man.

We have already seen that his health was declining apace, and that his incessant exertions in the cause of God must have contributed to hasten the termination of his mortal existence. He continued, however, to labor on so long as his decreasing strength would allow, and even after his confinement to his room, on the evening of the 5th of February, 1839, with the assistance of Mrs. Fisk, he sealed no less than thirty letters, which had been written for the benefit of the university.

He was at length informed by the consulting physicians that there was no probability he could long survive. This information he received with that calmness which bespoke a soul prepared to meet its Judge, although for a moment nature shrunk from the contest with the "last enemy."

The account given by the biographer of the last sickness and closing hours of this dying man of God, is such a striking evidence of the power of the Christian religion to conquer the fear of death, and to cause the soul to triumph in the near prospect of immortality and eternal life, that we should be glad, had we room, to give it to our readers. It is too long, however, for insertion. We must therefore content ourselves with giving the following extract, which may serve as a sample of that sublime spectacle which those beheld who attended him in his last moments :—

"Sunday, the 10th of February, was a day of uncommon interest and solemnity. There was not the least prospect of his recovery, so that it was not thought necessary to restrain him from conversing; and yet his strength was not so far exhausted as to prevent the free play of his mind and feelings. The scene in his chamber was transcendently elevating. In the morning he asked Mrs. Fisk what day it was. On ascertaining, he observed, 'This would be a good day to die.' 'Perhaps,' said Mrs. Fisk, 'the Lord will take you to his rest this day.' 'Then I can worship,' was his answer, 'with the sabbath-keeping band in heaven; but I cannot here.' On being told that he always loved the sabbath, 'Yes,' he replied; 'and though it was a day of toil to me, yet I loved my work. To me the sabbath has been an emblem of that promised rest. O, that rest is sweet! It is glorious!'

"He then beckoned Martha to him, saying, 'Let us pray together;' and, throwing an arm round each of them as they knelt before him, he offered up a prayer, gasping it out word by word, which seemed the very language of the spiritual world. It was deep, pathetic, powerful, sublime. Then, as they arose from their knees, he said, 'Vain human reasoners often tell us that the soul and the body will go down together to the dust, because the spirit is depressed when the body is; but it is

not true. These clogs of earth have often retarded the operations of my mind, and been as so many barriers to its activity. But I now feel a strength of soul and an energy of mind which this body, though afflicted and pained, cannot impair.

"'The soul has an energy of its own; and so far from my body pressing my soul down to the dust, I feel as if my soul had almost power to raise the body upward and bear it away; and it will at last, by the power of God, effectually draw it to heaven, for its attractions are thitherward.' Then, turning to Mrs. Fisk, he said, 'Think not, when you see this poor feeble body stretched in death, that that is your husband. O no! your husband will have escaped, free and liberated from every clog! He will have new-plumed his glad wings, and soared away through the ethereal regions to that celestial city of light and love! What! talk of burying your husband! No, never. Your husband cannot be buried! he will be in heaven. His body may be; and let it go, and mingle with its mother earth: why should you lament? And yet I love this body, notwithstanding it has so often been a hinderance to the aspirations of my mind; for it has been an old companion of mine. It has cost me much care and pain, its tendency being continually to decay; and though it may lie long in the grave, it shall be raised, and I shall see it again; for I hope to be united with it, but with none of its infirmities, with none of its moral deformities. Yes, every particle of this dust shall be raised and changed, in the twinkling of an eye, on the morning of the resurrection. Then it will be freed from all its infirmities. It will have no lame limbs, no weak lungs. It will be refined from all its gross particles. It will be buoyant and ethereal, glorious and immortal! It will be perfect, for it will be fashioned like unto Christ's most glorious body, and united with the soul for ever!'"

In this happy frame of mind, and with such sentiments, though variously expressed, did Dr. Fisk spend the remnant of his days on earth, and finally took his flight to the regions of the just.

We close our remarks with an aspiration to God that the bright and animating example of Dr. Fisk, both in living and dying, may excite all those who may behold it, as set forth in the memoir before us, to diligence in their respective callings, and induce them to seek after purity of heart and life, that they may finally participate with him in those *joys which are at God's right hand for evermore.*

Wesleyan University, July 16, 1842.

ART. VII.—*The Great Awakening. A History of the Revival of Religion in the Time of Edwards and Whitefield.* By JOSEPH TRACY. One vol., 8vo., pp. 433. Boston, New-York, and Philadelphia. 1842.

MEMORABLE in the annals of America is the period to which our attention is directed by the volume before us. With much propriety is it called the *great* awakening. Its first dawn may be placed in the year 1734, and its meridian splendor in 1740. The materials from which our author has drawn are—Edwards' "Thoughts on the Revival of Religion in New-England," and his "Faithful Narrative;" Whitefield's Life, Journal, and Letters; Chauncy's "Seasonable Thoughts on the State of Religion in New-England;" Trumbull's History of Connecticut: added to these, he has availed himself of many pamphlets published during the time referred to; and gleaned among files of newspapers, preserved in the archives of historical and antiquarian societies. The volume before us is evidence of great industry; and the Christian public are indebted to the author for bringing together a vast amount of facts, which were scattered over a wide surface; and some of which would otherwise have passed into oblivion.

The first inquiry which naturally suggests itself, in contemplating the period under consideration, has reference to the previous state of the religious world. We cannot tell how *great* was the *awakening* unless we have some idea of the profound slumber into which the Christian public had fallen. On this point our author is perhaps not so explicit as he might have been. We gather, however, from his incidental allusions and remarks, that Christianity, at the time referred to, was, in this country, little more than a name. The all-important doctrine of the new birth appears to have been entirely lost sight of, even by the orthodox Congregationalists of New-England. Water baptism was generally esteemed as regeneration, and all who had been thus initiated into the visible church were regarded as true members of the flock of Christ. The Christian creed was adopted as a system, in the gross, and not in detail. All who did not openly and avowedly renounce it, were looked upon as disciples; and, provided they fell not into gross and scandalous wickedness, were considered as in a fair way to the enjoyment of life eternal. Added to this, if we take into consideration the favorite dogma of Calvinism—the perseverance and final safety of the saints—then almost universally prevalent, we shall

have a fearful view of the state of the religious world. Being baptized, they were regenerated; regenerated, they were, of course, Christians. As Christians, they might indeed fall away; yea, fall foully; but the creed came in—an ignis fatuus—to throw light upon their darkness, and all was well. They could not fall finally. How simple the process! How grateful to the unrenewed heart! Baptized, regenerated, in church fellowship, safe. Nor were these isolated cases. This was the general rule; others the exceptions. So early as 1707, the "venerable Stoddard," the grandfather of Edwards, and his immediate predecessor at Northampton, published a sermon, in which he maintained "that the Lord's supper is a converting ordinance;" and a year or two after, sent forth his "Appeal to the Learned; being a Vindication of the Right of Visible Saints to the Lord's Supper, *though they be destitute of a saving work of God's Spirit on their hearts.*" In this work, he adduces what he calls, "Arguments to prove that sanctifying grace is not necessary in order to a lawful partaking of the Lord's supper." According to Trumbull, the opinion was prevalent in Connecticut, half a century before the time of Stoddard, that "parishes in England, consenting to and continuing meetings to worship God, were true churches; and that members of those parishes, coming into New-England, had a right to all church privileges, though they *made no profession* of a work of faith upon their hearts."

One of the unavoidable consequences of this general theory was the induction of unconverted men into the ministry. The simple inquiry on this point soon became, Has the candidate education and suitable talents for the work? This, answered affirmatively, was deemed amply sufficient; and thus, the blind became leaders of the blind.

Frequent are the allusions made by Whitefield in his Journals to the alarming fact, that in his day many of the ministers of Christ were destitute of saving faith. On a certain occasion, he tells us, he was about to preach in the "Old South" at Boston. He had selected his subject, but perceiving a great number of ministers present, he felt constrained to preach from the Saviour's interview with Nicodemus. When he came to the words, "Art thou a master in Israel, and knowest not these things?" he says, "The Lord enabled me to open my mouth boldly against unconverted ministers; to caution tutors to take care of their pupils; and also to advise ministers particularly to examine into the experiences of candidates for ordination. For I am verily persuaded *the generality of preachers talk of an unknown and unfelt Christ;*

and the reason why congregations have been so dead is, *because they have had dead men preaching to them.*"

It must not be supposed, however, that there were no really converted men in the ministry of that day. On the contrary, many were eminent saints of the Most High; and Stoddard was an able minister of the New Testament, although his ecclesiastical practice was in strange contradiction to the doctrines which he preached. In accounting for this inconsistency our author refers to what he is pleased to call "a silent and gradual increase of Arminianism," and betrays great ignorance of those doctrines which Arminius defended and taught. We say great ignorance. Charity prompts us to attribute the remark to no worse motive, although we might with as much propriety speak of Calvinism as synonymous with fatalism, as baptize the errors of Pelagius with the honored name of Arminius.

A sermon preached and published about this time by Gilbert Tennent is remarkable not less for the severity of its tone, than for the necessity which called it forth, and the effects produced by it. It exasperated almost to madness those against whom it was directed, was widely circulated, and formed a subject of discussion for years. Whitefield deemed it an unanswerable production. It served, in a great degree, to open the eyes of the people to the danger of an unconverted ministry; and, in the opinion of our author,—"to no other human agency, probably, so much as to this sermon, is it owing, that Presbyterian ministers at the present day are generally pious men." His subject was, "The danger of an unconverted ministry:" the text, Mark vi, 34, "And Jesus, when he came out, saw much people, and was moved with compassion toward them; because they were as sheep not having a shepherd." We give a few specimens as transcribed by our author:—

"But what was the cause of this great and compassionate commotion in the breast of Christ? It was because he saw much people as sheep not having a shepherd. Why, had the people then no teachers? O, yes! they had troops of Pharisee teachers, that came out, no doubt, after they had been at the feet of Gamaliel the usual time, and according to the acts, canons, and traditions of the Jewish church. But notwithstanding the great crowds of these orthodox, letter-learned, and regular Pharisees, our Lord laments the unhappy case of that great number of people, who, in the days of his flesh, had no better guides; because that those were as good as none in our Saviour's judgment.—Although some of the old Pharisee shepherds had a very fair and strict outside, yet they were ignorant of the new birth. Witness Rabbi Nicodemus, who talked like a fool about it. The old Pharisees, for all their long prayers and other pious pretences, had their eyes, with Judas, fixed upon the bag. Why, they came into the priests' office for

a piece of bread; they took it up as a trade, and therefore endeavored to make the best market of it they could."

His reasons "why such people, who have no better than old Pharisee teachers, are to be pitied," are in the same style. "Men," he continues,

"that do not follow Christ, may fish faithfully for a good name, and for worldly pelf; but not for the conversion of sinners to God. Is it reasonable to suppose, that they will be earnestly concerned for others' salvation, when they slight their own? The apostle Paul thanks God for counting him faithful, and putting him into the ministry; which plainly supposes that God Almighty does not send Pharisees and natural men into the ministry; for how can these men be faithful that have no faith? It is true, men may put them into the ministry, through unfaithfulness or mistake; or credit and money may draw them; and the devil may drive them into it, knowing, by long experience, of what special service they may be to his kingdom in that office; but God sends not such hypocritical varlets."

To the objection that "Judas was sent by Christ," he replied:—

"I fear that the abuse of this instance has brought many Judases into the ministry, whose chief desire, like their great grandfather, is to finger the pence, and carry the bag. But let such hireling, murderous hypocrites take care that they do not feel the force of a halter in this world, and aggravated damnation in the next."

Edwards, in his "Faithful Narrative," thus speaks of the religious state of the people at Northampton at the time of commencing his pastoral care over them:—

"The greater part seemed to be at that time very insensible of the things of religion, and engaged in other cares and pursuits. Just after my grandfather's death, it seemed to be a time of extraordinary dullness in religion: licentiousness for some years greatly prevailed among the youth of the town; they were, many of them, very much addicted to night-walking, and frequenting the tavern, and lewd practices, wherein some by their example exceedingly corrupted others. It was their manner very frequently to get together, in conventions of both sexes, for mirth and jollity, which they called frolicks; and they would often spend a greater part of the night in them, without regard to any order in the families they belonged to: and indeed family government did too much fail in the town."—*Faithful Narrative*, p. 33.

Those of whom this language is used were church members; and we may infer that in places where the people were not favored with the piety and zeal of such men as "grandfather Stoddard" matters were much worse.

Such, then, was the state of the religious world in America at

the time referred to; such the spiritual slumber, the lethargy, the death of the churches from which the celebrated Jonathan Edwards was, under God, the instrument of producing a "great awakening." The immediate occasion of its commencement, according to our author, was a series of sermons, on the doctrine of justification by faith. With reference to these sermons, Edwards himself says in his "Faithful Narrative:"—

"Although great fault was found with meddling with the controversy in the pulpit, by such a person, and at that time, and though it was ridiculed by many elsewhere, yet it proved a word spoken in season here; and was most evidently attended with a very remarkable blessing of Heaven to the souls of the people in this town. They received thence a general satisfaction with respect to the main thing in question, which they had been in trembling doubts and concern about; and their minds were engaged the more earnestly to seek that they might come to be accepted of God, and saved in the way of the gospel, which had been made evident to them to be the true and only way. And then it was, in the latter part of December, (1734,) that the Spirit of God began extraordinarily to set in, and wonderfully to work among us; and there were, very suddenly, one after another, five or six persons who were to all appearance savingly converted, and some of them wrought upon in a very remarkable manner."—*Faithful Narrative*, pp. 36, 37.

From these observations it seems that the doctrine of justification by faith was at that time a novelty; and that it was regarded as dangerous by some, and by others as a fit subject for ridicule. It would be an interesting question—had we the means satisfactorily to answer it—to inquire, how it came to pass that the mind of Edwards was led to this cardinal doctrine? He had been, at this time, several years in the ministry; and it does not appear, that previously, his own attention had been sufficiently turned to this subject to make it a theme of pulpit discussion. It will be remembered that more than five years previous to this, namely, in 1729, the Wesleys, with their associates in England, obtained the name of Methodists; and about the same time, the United Brethren or Moravians attracted attention in the same country, by their fearless advocacy of the doctrine under consideration. It is exceedingly probable, therefore, that Edwards in America had heard of these things; and although it was the common cant of the day, as it is even now, to charge both Methodists and Moravians with holding the obnoxious doctrine of Arminianism, meaning by the phrase Pelagianism, yet Edwards had sufficient acumen, at length to perceive that theirs was the true doctrine, and mighty in effecting that change of heart which the Scriptures enjoin. Indeed, he

tells us as much himself. "About this time," he says—namely, just previous to the delivery of the sermons referred to—"About this time began the great noise that was in this part of the country about Arminianism, which seemed to appear with a very threatening aspect upon the interest of religion."—*Faithful Narrative*, p. 36.

"It appeared with a very threatening aspect upon the interest of religion!" No doubt of it. It always does, when caricatured into a bugbear by those who, in ignorance or willfully, represent it as advocating what it expressly condemns. It so happens, moreover, that the sermons of President Edwards have come down to our times, and we have no hesitation to declare that those among them which produced the greatest effect upon his hearers are, in very truth, Arminian; or, if our brethren hate the phrase more, Methodistic. The simple truth is, that at this time Edwards materially changed his style of preaching; and instead of treating his hearers to the chilling abstractions of predestination, the comforting opiates of election, or the lullaby of final perseverance, began boldly to offer a free salvation, to magnify the atoning merits of Christ, and to insist upon the necessity of a knowledge of sins forgiven. We do not mean that Edwards abandoned the peculiarity of his views, or repudiated his Calvinistic tenets, but simply that he kept them in the back-ground, and, as has been the case from that day to the present among revivalists of that order, he began—in the common language of the people of his own faith—to preach like a Methodist.

It is worthy of note, too, and a fact which has not been prominently brought forward by his biographers, that Edwards had some very correct ideas of the glorious but vilified doctrine of Christian perfection. In his own personal narrative we find the following remarkable passage:—

"Once as I rode out in the woods in 1737, I had a view that, for me, was extraordinary, of the glory of the Son of God, as Mediator between God and man, and his wonderful, great, full, pure, and sweet grace and love, and meek and gentle condescension. This grace, that appeared so calm and sweet, appeared also great above the heavens. The person of Christ appeared ineffably excellent, with an excellency great enough to swallow up all thought and conception; which continued, as near as I can judge, about an hour, and kept me the greater part of the time in a flood of tears, weeping aloud. I felt an ardency of soul to be, what I know not how otherwise to express, emptied and annihilated; to lie in the dust, and to be full of Christ alone; to love him with a holy and pure love; to trust in him; to live upon him; to serve and follow him; *and to be perfectly sanctified, and made pure, with a divine and heavenly purity.*"

There can be no doubt, we think, that at this time he was not far from the enjoyment of this great blessing. This ardency of soul to be full of Christ alone, to be perfectly sanctified and made pure—what was it but that hungering and thirsting after righteousness which, according to the Saviour's declaration, is the only prerequisite to the enjoyment of the fullness of God? And what hindered? Evidently nothing but the writer's own rigid creed, and the metaphysical difficulties thrown in his way by his own philosophy.

The awakening spread with rapidity throughout Northampton. Worldly business was in a great degree neglected, and the inquiry, What must I do to be saved? became general. In about six months from its commencement, Edwards reckoned more than three hundred converts within the bounds of his own parish; and among them were persons of all classes in society, and of all ages, from the infant of four years to the old man of threescore and ten. Some of the cases were very remarkable, and as the report spread, Edwards tells us, the revival was a subject of ridicule for many, while others "seemed not to know what to make of it," and "some compared what we called conversions to certain distempers." Multitudes, however, who visited the scene of these wonders were very differently affected, and were themselves awakened and brought to repentance. These carried with them the hallowed flame into the neighboring regions, and—we quote from our author—

"in March, 1735, the revival began to be general in South Hadley, and about the same time in Suffield. It next appeared in Sunderland, Deerfield, and Hatfield; and afterward at West Springfield, Long Meadow, and Enfield; and then in Hadley, Old Town, and in Northfield. In Connecticut, the work commenced in the first parish, in Windsor, about the same time as at Northampton. It was remarkable at East Windsor, and 'wonderful' at Coventry. Similar scenes were witnessed at Lebanon, Durham, Stratford, Ripton, New-Haven, Guilford, Mansfield, Tolland, Hebron, Bolton, Preston, Groton, and Woodbury."

About this time, under the ministry of Blair, at New-Londonderry, in Pennsylvania; and of Gilbert Tennent, at New-Brunswick, in New-Jersey, similar results were visible. On the arrival of Whitefield from the south, in November, 1739, he found the way of the Lord prepared, and the field indeed white unto the harvest. He preached with great success to listening thousands at nearly all the intermediate places until his arrival at Newport, in Rhode Island, on the 14th of September, 1740. This was his

first visit to New-England, whither he had come upon the urgent solicitation of many of the most eminent ministers of the day. The impression that his coming would be followed by a great revival of religion appears to have been general. "There is even reason to suspect," says our author, "that the manifestation of a revival, which was already secretly at work in men's hearts, was kept back for several months, by the general feeling, that it would take place when Whitefield came, and not before." Nor were they disappointed. Under the labors of this eminent disciple of the Wesleys, the flame spread far and wide throughout New-England. Wherever he went he was surrounded by listening thousands, the churches were insufficient to contain his hearers, and very frequently he had, to use his own language, a hill for his pulpit, and the heavens for a sounding-board.

It is not our intention to follow the career of this zealous herald of the cross; but we recommend the work named at the head of this article to those who are desirous of obtaining a correct knowledge of the different fields of his labors, and of the astonishing success by which they were owned of God. The author has taken great pains to be accurate in his statements of facts; and has corrected many errors into which previous writers had fallen. As a matter of course, he endeavors to inculcate the peculiarities of Calvinism; and is exceedingly keen-scented in discovering every thing that in his opinion savors of Arminianism. Yet is he too honest to conceal the fact that Whitefield "refrained from preaching the doctrine of election," not indeed because he disbelieved it, but because he doubted its expediency. The same is true of the kindred doctrine of reprobation. No man in his senses ever deemed it expedient to dilate much on *that* doctrine where sinners were anxiously inquiring the way of salvation.

In the progress of this great and glorious revival many things occurred which were a source of grief to those engaged in its promotion, and were used as arguments against it by those who would not see in it the hand of God. Strong cries and groans were frequent in the assemblies of the saints. Fainting fits were common. Many were thrown into ecstasies, and shouted aloud for joy. Some were entranced for hours, if not days, and had strange visions of the glories of heaven and of Christ. Others in the same state declared, when their natural strength returned, that they had visited the caverns of the damned. We extract a few instances from our author. The first is from Whitefield's Journal. It is his own account of a sermon preached by him in New-York, on Sunday, November 2, 1740. He says,—

"After I had begun, the Spirit of the Lord gave me freedom, till at length it came down like a mighty rushing wind and carried all before it. Immediately the whole congregation was alarmed. Shrieking, crying, weeping, and wailing were to be heard in every corner, men's hearts failing them for fear, and many falling into the arms of their friends."

Again, at Baskenridge, in New-Jersey, on the following Wednesday,—

"I had not discoursed long, but the Holy Ghost displayed his power; in every part of the congregation, somebody or other began to cry out, and almost all melted into tears.—A little boy, seven or eight years old, began to weep as though his little heart would break. Mr. Cross having compassion on him, took him up into the wagon, which so affected me, that I broke from my discourse, and told the people the little boy should preach to them; and that God, since old professors would not cry after Christ, had displayed his sovereignty, and out of an infant's mouth was perfecting praise. God so blessed this, that a universal concern fell on the congregation again. Fresh persons dropped down here and there, and the cry increased more and more."

The pastors of the first and second churches in Wrentham, in giving a more particular account of the work of God in that place, observe,—

"There have been not a very few among us, within seven or eight months past, that have cried out with great agonies and distress, or with high joy on spiritual accounts, and that in time of religious exercises."

The Rev. Jonathan Parsons, of Lyme, Conn., was one of the most zealous promoters of the revival. At his ordination he renounced the Saybrook platform, and took for his rule "the general platform of the gospel." He had heard of the successful labors of Whitefield and Tennent. Unlike many of his brethren, he inquired into the matter, and became satisfied that the work was of God. His testimony is as follows:—

"While I was preaching from Psalm cxix, 59, 60, I observed many of the assembly in tears, and heard many crying out in very great bitterness of soul, as it seemed then by the sound of voices. When sermon was over, I could better take notice of the cause; and the language was to this purpose, viz.: Alas! I'm undone; I'm undone! O, my sins! How they prey upon my vitals! What will become of me? How shall I escape the damnation of hell? And much more of a like import. It is true, outcries were new and surprising at this time; but knowing the terrors of the Lord, I was satisfied that they were but what might be reasonably accounted for, if sinners were under a true sense of their sins, and the wrath of a sin-hating God."

On another occasion, under a sermon from Matt. xxiv, 37–39, he says,—

"Many had their countenances changed; their thoughts seemed to trouble them, so that the joints of their loins were loosed, and their knees smote one against another. Great numbers cried out aloud in the anguish of their souls. *Several stout men fell as though a cannon had been discharged, and a ball had made its way through their hearts.* Some young women were thrown into hysteric fits. The sight and noise of lamentations seemed a little resemblance of what we may imagine will be when the great Judge pronounces the tremendous sentence of 'Go, ye cursed, into everlasting fire.'"

The same effects were produced by the preaching of Parsons in other places; for, like Whitefield and the Tennents, he itinerated, though not to the same extent, from place to place. He appears to have been not only zealous, but exceedingly prudent, although many of his brethren in the ministry regarded him as a fanatical enthusiast. In a sermon, published by him, entitled a "Needful Caution in a Critical Day," he endeavored to guard his people against those errors, both doctrinal and practical, into which many had fallen during the progress of the revival in other places; to warn them, on the one hand, against despising or ridiculing the work of grace, because some things were new and strange; and, on the other, to caution them against mistaking those disorderly irregularities as an essential part of that work. "While you stand amazed," says he, "at the rings of the wheels as things too high and dreadful for you; while you know not what to make of the effusions of the Holy Spirit, but are blundering at every thing amiss, where God is working a work of his astonishing grace before your eyes, which you will not believe; beware lest that come upon you which is spoken of by the prophet, 'Behold, ye despisers, and wonder, and perish.' Let me warn and caution the children of God," he continues, "that they carefully watch against every thing in principle and practice that has a tendency to bring any blemishes upon the work of divine grace, or to open the mouths of gainsayers, and be a stumbling block in the way of their giving credit to the truth of it."

The Rev. George Griswold, pastor of a church in the neighborhood of Parsons, gives, substantially, the same account of what he calls "unusual circumstances," although he was satisfied that "as to the substance of it, it was the work of God." "Some," says he, "had fits; some fainted; and it was observable that God made use of the concern in some to create a concern in others."

At Northampton, as might be supposed, under the pungent

preaching of Edwards, similar scenes were very frequent. He says,—

"It was not the manner here to hold meetings all night, as in some places, nor was it common to continue them till very late in the night; but it was pretty often so that there were some that were so affected, and their bodies so overcome, that they could not go home, but were obliged to stay all night at the house where they were. It was a very frequent thing to see a house full of outcries, faintings, convulsions, and such like, both with distress, and also with admiration and joy. There were some instances of persons lying in a sort of trance, remaining for perhaps a whole twenty-four hours motionless, and with their senses locked up; but in the mean time under strong imaginations, as though they went to heaven, and had there a vision of glorious and delightful objects."

A remarkable instance is mentioned in the private journal of Rev. Ebenezer Parkman, of Westborough, Mass. We give it in his own words:—

"Mr. James Fay came for me to go and see Isaiah Pratt, who lay in a strange condition at his house, not having spoke nor been sensible since nine o'clock last night. I went to him, and seeing him lie so insensible, and his pulse *exceeding slow*, I advised them to send for Dr. Gott, to bleed him; but sitting by him, and rousing him, by degrees he came to. Many were present, and were astonished. When he regained his senses, he said he had not been asleep, had seen hell, and seen Christ; and said Christ told him his name was in the book of life," &c.

But enough of this. Similar scenes have been witnessed, and the like occurrences have been observed, to a greater or less extent, in almost every genuine revival of religion. It is an exceedingly difficult question to decide how much reliance is to be placed on these external manifestations. On the one hand, there can be no denial of the fact, that as the wind bloweth where it listeth, so the operations of the Holy Spirit are not subject to human laws or to be controlled by the wisdom of man. On the other hand, it is equally clear that human imperfections will insensibly mingle with, and mar the work of grace; and that many, in such seasons, will run into the extremes of fanaticism, and mistake sparks of their own kindling for fire from the altar of God. It is evident, too, that at those times, and in those places where the Spirit is plenteously poured out, the grand adversary will not be idle. The enemy who soweth tares among the wheat is subtile as well as powerful. He can, at will, assume the garb of an angel of light. When he cannot prevent the word of life from taking effect, he can, by his influence upon the human mind, produce effects in

some degree resembling those of the Holy Spirit. The sorcerers and the magicians of Egypt imitated the miracles of God wrought by the hand of Aaron; and it is not too much to suppose, that some of those fainting fits, and contortions, and screamings, were produced by the same agency. The object was to throw discredit upon the work of the Almighty—to bring the revival into disrepute, and to induce the belief that the whole was the work of the devil. Many, who were, to all appearance, most violently wrought upon, gave evidence afterward that they had undergone no saving change. They returned, like the dog, to his vomit; while others, upon whom the grace of God fell like the gentle dew from heaven, evinced, by their subsequent life and conversation, that they had indeed passed from death unto life. Universally applicable, therefore, is the Saviour's rule: "By their fruits ye shall know them;" and of incalculable importance a season of probation previous to the admission into the fold of Christ of any man, whatever may be his experience or his profession.

In the ministry of that day, there were also those whose zeal outran their knowledge: who, puffed up with their success, and living upon the increasing homage of their admirers, ran headlong into all manner of excesses and extravagances. Among these, James Davenport, pastor of the church at Southold, on Long Island, occupies a conspicuous place. He was a great favorite of Whitefield, who, in his Journal, styles him "a dear minister of the blessed Jesus," and declares that he "never knew one keep so close a walk with God as Mr. Davenport." Tennent affirmed him to be one of the most heavenly men he ever was acquainted with, and in the opinion of others, for heavenly communion and fellowship with the Father and with his Son Jesus Christ, he was even ahead of Whitefield himself. In the opinion of a grand jury, before whom he was summoned for his extravagances, he was pronounced *non compos mentis*, and the reader will be inclined to agree with their verdict, notwithstanding the high estimate placed upon him by his admirers. On one occasion, he addressed his people for almost twenty-four hours together; with what effect on them we are not told, but the effect on himself was a dangerous illness, which confined him several days to his chamber. The patience on their part must have been quite as wonderful as his "gift of continuance." He professed to work miracles. The following is an instance of his success in that line, as given by our author:—

"A woman in an adjoining parish had been long insane, and for some time dumb. Davenport fasted and prayed for her recovery, and

gave out that she would recover on a certain day that he named. On that day she died. He claimed the event as an answer to his prayer, as she was relieved from her infirmity by being taken to heaven. This was in the summer of 1740; not far from the time when Whitefield saw him, and was so much pleased with his piety."

And now it became impressed on his mind that he should go forth as an itinerant. As Jonathan and his armor-bearer went to the camp of the Philistines, so he, and one Barber, known ever afterward as Davenport's armor-bearer, started forth to rout the army of the aliens. They took no money, nor change of apparel, nor yet shoes, but were shod with *boots*. Their first visit was to Easthampton, wading thitherward up to their knees in snow, the very counterpart, as they supposed, of Jonathan and his armor-bearer climbing the hill on their hands and knees to meet the Philistines. The result of their labors there, was said to be the conversion of twenty souls. He had a peculiar faculty for sowing dissensions, and creating divisions in the different churches to which he gained access. Those ministers who would not open their pulpits for him, he denounced, in unmeasured terms, as ungodly hirelings; and the state of the public mind was such as favored every thing that had the appearance of superior sanctity. In the progress of his travels, it was his custom to call on every minister, and demand an account of his religious experience. If any refused to give it, or if it was not to him satisfactory; or if any were so hardy as to oppose his movements, straightway he denounced them as unconverted; summoned the people to the fields, which he called going forth without the camp, bearing the reproach of Jesus, and there warned them against wolves in sheep's clothing. The last recorded outbreak of his fanaticism occurred at New-London, whither he had gone by invitation of his partisans, to organize a pure church. In obedience, as he said, to messages from God, he commenced the work of purification by ordering "wigs, cloaks, and breeches, hoods, gowns, rings, jewels, and necklaces to be brought together into his room, and laid in a heap, that they might, by his solemn decree, be committed to the flames. To this heap he added the pair of plush breeches which he wore into the place." He ordered, also, that all books in their possession, written by such authors as he denounced, should be added to the pile. Among these, were the works of Flavel, Beveridge, Mather, and others. With great solemnity a blaze was kindled on the wharf, amid a chorus of hallelujahs and shouts of glory to God.

It is impossible, at this day, to form an adequate estimate of the

evils resulting from the wild vagaries of this fanatic. He stood high, as we have seen, in the good opinion of Whitefield and the Tennents; and to thwart him, therefore, was, in the estimate of many, to oppose *them*, and, by consequence, to be ranked among the enemies of "the great awakening." He had not only numerous followers, but also many imitators, who, without his learning, readily imbibed the bitterness of his denunciatory style. To stay this evil, so far as it was in their power, the ministers of various churches, in their associate capacity, drew up "Declarations," and sent them forth to the public, setting forth his conduct, the evils resulting from it, and the reasons for their own course toward him and his compeers. The "Declaration" of the associated pastors of Boston and Charlestown is written in a truly Christian spirit. They bear testimony to the "great and glorious work of God which he has begun, and is carrying on in many parts," and "beseech him to preserve, defend, maintain, and propagate it in spite of all the devices of Satan against it, of one kind or other." They speak of Davenport with great kindness; and give reasons for refusing to invite him to their pulpits, which, to every unprejudiced mind, must have been satisfactory. This, however, was far from being the case with great multitudes. The Rev. Thomas Prince, one of the signers of this Declaration, says, (we quote from the "Christian History," vol. ii, p. 408,)

"Upon publishing it on Friday, many were offended: and some days after, Mr. Davenport thought himself obliged to begin in his public exercises to declare against us also; naming some as unconverted, representing the rest as Jehoshaphat in Ahab's army, and exhorting the people to separate from us: which so diverted the minds of many from being concerned about their own conversion, to think and dispute about the case of others, as not only seemed to put an awful stop to their awakenings, but on all sides to roil our passions, and *provoke the Holy Spirit, in a gradual and dreadful measure, to withdraw his influence.*"

To heighten the conflict, the admirers of Davenport sent forth *their* manifestoes; and a "Reply to the Declaration" was published by Croswell, a pastor in good standing at Groton, Conn. He says,—

"Let no one dare to do any thing which hath a tendency to render his (Davenport's) ministry contemptible, lest they kick against the pricks, and be found fighting against God. But rather let all who love the prosperity of Zion, wish him God speed, and besiege the throne of grace night and day, that the blessings of more souls, ready to perish, may come upon him."

Thus, at this time, there were three distinct parties in the Christian community. In the first place, there were those, not a few in the ministry and among the laity, who looked upon the whole of the revival as spurious, and attributed it to Satanic agency. They had so regarded it from the first; and the mad freaks of Davenport and his associates could not fail to strengthen them in their opinion. Of these, Chauncey, of Boston, who wrote a book against it, may be considered the leader. At the head of the second party was Edwards, rallying around whom were all, who, themselves converted, and led by the influences of the Holy Spirit, were enabled to discern what was erroneous, and to separate "what was no part of the work from the work itself." Hitherto they had been enabled successfully to contend against the former class, and the revival spread through their instrumentality with great and increasing power. But now that the third party, headed by Davenport and his armor-bearer, were increasing in numbers and influence, they found their worst foes among them who were professedly of their own household. To battle with the avowed enemies of the revival was comparatively easy; but how could they contend against those who professed to be foremost in this good work, and who, in the opinion of great multitudes, were in reality the most honored instruments in carrying it forward? The situation of Edwards, and of those who acted with him, was one of exceeding great perplexity. They did, perhaps, all that ought to have been expected. But the revival came to an end; and this result, according to the concurring testimony of all parties, is mainly to be attributed to the influence of the misguided Davenport. In the opinion of our author, "he led it so deeply into such errors, that it ought to stop, and provoked the opposition which brought it to an end." What share of blame in this matter ought to be attached to Whitefield it is impossible to say. It is evident, from his published Journals, that he attached great importance to impressions from texts of Scripture occurring to the mind;* that he regarded spasmodic affections, involuntary contortions, and fainting fits, when they occurred under his preaching, if not always, yet generally as evidences of a "gracious work." His

* It appears that Edwards purposely took an opportunity to converse with Whitefield, alone, about *impulses*, and told him some reasons he had for thinking that he gave too great heed to such things. Whitefield did not seem to be offended; but yet did not appear inclined to converse much on that subject, or be convinced by any thing that Edwards said to him. "It is also true," he adds, "that I thought Mr. Whitefield liked me not so well for my opposing these things; and though he treated me with great kindness, yet he never made so much of an intimate of me as of some others."—P. 100.

published opinions of the degeneracy of the clergy, and of the lamentable state in which he supposed them to be, have already been adverted to. These were powerful weapons in the hands of such a man as Davenport. Added to this, Whitefield had indorsed the fanatic, throughout the length and breadth of the land, as a most eminent saint. What wonder, then, that he supposed himself to be some great one, and that multitudes, from the least to the greatest, gave heed to him, saying, "This man is the great power of God?"

Trumbull, in his History of Connecticut, relates some curious particulars relative to his peculiar mode of address. He says,

"He had a strange, singing tone, which mightily tended to raise the feelings of weak and undiscerning people, and consequently to heighten the confusion among the passionate of his hearers. This odd, disagreeable tuning of the voice in exercises of devotion, was caught by the zealous exhorters, and became a characteristic of the Separate teachers. The whole sect was distinguished by this sanctimonious tone."—Vol. ii, p. 160.

Several churches exist at the present day in New-England whose origin may be traced to the separation caused by Davenport; and so far as the nasal twang is concerned, the reader may possibly have met with some of his legitimate successors.

Fortunately for the cause of truth in after ages, although too late to prevent or stay the consequences of his erratic course, Davenport was led to see and acknowledge his errors. He published, under his own signature, his "Retractation." It is dated July 28, 1744, and is given at full length by our author. In some respects it is one of the most curious documents that ever issued from the press. We afford room for a few extracts. He says,—

"I am now fully convinced and persuaded that several things, which in the time of the work I was very industrious and instrumental in promoting, by a misguided zeal, were no parts of it, but of a different and contrary nature and tendency, and that I was much influenced in the affair by the false spirit, which, unobserved by me, did (as I have been brought to see since) prompt me to unjust apprehensions and misconduct in several articles; which have been great blemishes to the work of God, very grievous to some of God's children, no less insnaring and corrupting to others of them, a sad means of many persons questioning the work of God, concluding and appearing against it, and of the hardening of multitudes in their sins, and an awful occasion of the enemies blaspheming the right way of the Lord, and, withal, very offensive to that God before whom I would lie in the dust, prostrate in deep humility and repentance on this account, imploring pardon for the Mediator's sake, and thankfully accepting the tokens thereof."

He then goes on to specify his peculiar errors and sins. Among them, he enumerates his violations of the ninth commandment, in speaking evil of ministers, and proclaiming many of them to be unconverted; thus setting up his private judgment as an infallible standard of other men's piety. He asks forgiveness of those ministers whom he has thus injured, by blasting their characters and causing divisions and separations in their flocks. He confesses to have been led astray by the false spirit, in following impulses, or impressions as a rule of conduct, whether they came with, or without a text of Scripture. He believes, further, that he has done much hurt by encouraging private persons to a ministerial kind of exhorting, such men being thereby much puffed up, and falling into the snare of the devil. Of the affair at New-London, to which reference has been made, he says, copying from a letter which he had written to Barber,—

"I was, to my shame be it spoken, the ring-leader in that horrid action; I was, my dear brother, under the powerful influence of the false spirit almost one whole day together, and part of several days. The Lord showed me afterward that the spirit I then acted by, was in its operations void of true inward peace, laying the greatest stress on externals, neglecting the heart, full of impatience, pride, and arrogance; although I thought in the time of it that it was the Spirit of God in a high degree; awful, indeed! My body, especially my leg, much disordered at the same time, (I had the long fever on me and the cankerey humor, raging at once,) which Satan and my evil heart might make some handle of."

We have not thought it necessary to follow our author, in his accounts of the travels of Whitefield, or of the revival in the middle and southern states. He devotes an entire chapter to Whitefield in England on his return from America, his breach with Wesley, and the revival consequent on his labors in Scotland: matters, in themselves, perhaps, sufficiently interesting to those who have no other sources of information, but rather irrelevant to the "great awakening." This, as we have seen, pertains chiefly to New-England, and in the final chapter, entitled, "the Results," our author confines himself, in the main, to that section of country. And what, the reader will ask, what were the results? In the first place, it is evident that great multitudes were converted, and added to the churches. Not, however, by any means so many as would be inferred from Whitefield's Journal. He was not a good judge of numbers, as appears from his exaggerated statements relative to the size of his congregations. Thus he preached, he says, to about six thousand hearers in Dr. Sewall's

meeting-house in Boston. The house is still standing, and although, from the new arrangement of the seats, it will hold more than formerly, yet, from actual measurement, has seats only for twelve hundred and sixteen persons. A number more might have found standing room, but it is scarcely possible that there were one half of Whitefield's estimate. Again, on the following morning, at Mr. Webb's meeting-house, at any rate not larger than Dr. Sewall's, he says, "There were about six thousand hearers in the house, besides great numbers standing about the doors." So also his statements relative to the numbers converted under his ministry must be received with caution. Indeed, he allowed himself no time to ascertain the results. He preached; saw much weeping and fainting in his auditory; gave a rough guess at the number wrought upon; entered it in his Journal with a note of thanksgiving; and passed on to repeat the process. Our author is very candid in his admission of these facts, and gives different authorities by whom the number of converts in New-England is estimated, variously at from twenty-five to fifty thousand.* Taking even the smaller number, which is probably below the truth, and estimating the whole number of inhabitants in New-England, at that time, at about two hundred and fifty thousand, we have one-tenth of the whole, including men, women, and children, as subjects of the revival.

But there were other, and even more important results. One we have already glanced at; we mean the conversion of those who had entered the ministry, and continued in it, without a saving knowledge of the truth. It is impossible to tell how many there were of this class. Philip, in his "Life and Times of Whitefield," says, that on his third visit to America there were not less than twenty ministers who considered him as the means of their conversion, in the vicinity of Boston alone. "And," says our author, "those who owed their conversion to the revival, in the whole country, must have been considerably more numerous." Then again, many ministers who had been themselves converted, were quickened to new life, and began to labor for visible manifestations of God's presence among their people. The doctrine, ruinous and fatal in its tendency, that ministers may be manufactured of unconverted men, received its death blow. It may prevail to some extent, even yet, in some theological seminaries; but it would be

* "It was estimated that in two or three years of the revival, thirty or forty thousand souls were born into the family of heaven, in New-England; besides great numbers in New-York and New-Jersey, and in the more southern provinces."—*Trumbull's Hist. Conn.*, vol. ii, p. 8.

a difficult task to find, in any part of these United States, a society of any evangelical creed that would be satisfied with, or even tolerate, the labors of a minister who does not, at least, profess to have been regenerated. This, as we have seen, was not the case previously to the "great awakening," and the uncharitable and wholesale denunciations of Whitefield, and even the bitter revilings of the demented Davenport, while they served to turn the attention of the people to this subject, were mercifully overruled to effect so important a result.

The history of "the great awakening" teaches several truths on the subject of revivals, to which we turn our attention before closing this article. It shows very clearly, in the first place, that a revival of religion is the work of God; that it is "not by might, nor by power, but by my Spirit, saith the Lord of hosts." Instances are on record of persons being awakened by hearing sermons from their pastor which he had preached to them before without affecting them. How was this? It can only be accounted for by referring it to the sovereignty of Jehovah. Eloquent as was Whitefield, and powerful as were the efforts which he put forth, and successful as he generally was, instances were not few where he labored in vain and spent his strength for naught. In his own language, his congregations, in some places, were so unconcerned that he "began to question whether he had been speaking to rational or brute creatures." At other times, again, "the people," he says, "began to melt soon after I began to pray;" and not unfrequently there were visible manifestations of God's presence and power before the text was announced. So it was also in the history of others who labored for the salvation of souls, and so it has ever been from that day to the present. "My glory will I not give to another," saith the Lord; and the history of every revival teaches, with more or less clearness, that the excellency of the power is of God, and not of man. Let not the minister of Christ infer from this, that it is a matter of indifference how he preaches; or be tempted to rest satisfied without seeing fruit of his labors. It is required of him that he put forth his best efforts in the exercise of his best judgment, and God hath promised the outpouring of his Spirit in answer to the prayers of his people. Nor need there be any difficulty on this subject. For the fruits of the earth, the husbandman is indebted to the fertilizing shower, and the genial rays of the sun. God giveth the increase; but success is proportionate to the industry and the skill of the cultivator. There are times and seasons, too, when the indications are such as to warrant and demand, on the part of him who would cultivate Immanuel's field,

increasing labor and the exhibition of peculiar portions of divine truth. Hence the force of that declaration, "He who winneth souls is *wise;*" and the exceeding preciousness of that promise, "If any man lack *wisdom*, let him ask of God."

We may learn from the history of the great awakening something of the subject matter and of the style of preaching best calculated to promote the salvation of sinners. The revivalists of that day laid aside their philosophy and metaphysics. Disputed doctrines and sectarian dogmas were for a while forgotten. The sinner's depravity and danger; the necessity of regeneration; the atoning blood of Christ, its freeness, and its sufficiency; these were the themes on which they dwelt, and these the efforts which God delighted to bless.

An extract from Whitefield's reflections on leaving New-England, will give the reader an idea of his opinion relative to the *manner* of successfully proclaiming Scriptural truth. He says,—

"I think the ministers preaching almost universally by notes, is a certain mark they have, in a great measure, lost the old spirit of preaching. For though all are not to be condemned that use notes, yet it is a sad symptom of the decay of vital religion, when reading sermons becomes fashionable, where extempore preaching did once almost universally prevail. When the spirit of prayer began to be lost, then forms of prayer were invented; and I believe the same observation will hold good as to preaching."

We make no comment on these remarks; but it is strange that those who profess to be great admirers of Whitefield, and to be desirous of emulating his success, should, in this respect, be so backward in following his example.

A lesson, which cannot be too frequently inculcated, is also taught us by the history under consideration. It is the insidious nature of spiritual pride. No one is so liable to this as the minister of Christ, whose labors, through the divine blessing, have been more than ordinarily successful. Davenport, as we have seen, was so puffed up by it as to fall into the snare of the devil; and Whitefield attributes to his success many of his aberrations from the path of humility. His celebrated letter to his spiritual guide, in which he talks to Wesley in a dictatorial style, and tells him if he "must dispute to stay till he is master of his subject," is apologized for by our author, by saying, "He would not have written it had he not been puffed up by his reception and success at Boston." Whitefield himself, writing to a clerical friend, uses the following language :—"You know, reverend sir, how difficult it is

to meet with success, and not be puffed up with it; and, therefore, if any such thing was discernible in my conduct, O, pity me, and pray to the Lord to heal my pride. All I can say is, that I desire to learn of Jesus Christ to be meek and lowly in heart; but my corruptions are so strong, and my employ so dangerous, that I am sometimes afraid." What need, therefore, of incessant watchfulness on the part of every successful minister, lest the enemy get an advantage over him while engaged in an "employ so dangerous" and with "corruptions so strong!"

Finally, our own impressions of the beneficial tendency of the *itinerant* system, by which a constant interchange of ministerial gifts is attained and perpetuated, have been abundantly strengthened by a perusal of the volume before us. Whitefield, as is well known, traveled incessantly throughout the country; and Bellamy, Parsons, Tennent, Mills, Pomeroy, and Wheelock will be had in everlasting remembrance as the most zealous promoters of the revival; and *they* were *itinerant* preachers: traveling extensively, almost constantly; and preaching in every pulpit to which they could gain admittance. The churches of the Congregational and Presbyterian denominations, as well as the Baptists and Episcopalians of the present day, are beginning to give practical evidence of their belief in the beneficial effects of our system, and *changes* are becoming almost as frequent among them as among the Methodists. There is, however, this difference: while with us, these results are produced by the operation of a wisely-ordered and well-directed *system*, among them, these changes are frequently involuntary on the one side or the other; and are very often compelled by mere caprice on the part of the laity. In the smaller and less wealthy congregations a very few men—a small minority in point of number—have it in their power, by management, and especially by "withholding the supplies," to dismiss, with or without cause, their minister. They say unto him, Go, and he goeth. But where? The world is all before him, but not exactly, "where to choose." To us, there is not on this earth a more pitiful sight than the caucussing and electioneering of a flock on the subject of dismissing an old shepherd, or calling a new one; unless, indeed, it be the discharged shepherd himself traversing the country by stage, and steamboat, and rail-car, to find a flock willing to give him a part of their fleece in return for his labors. Whenever we meet such men, on such an errand, we are involuntarily reminded of those "shepherds" of whom Isaiah says, "They all look to *their own way*, every one *for his gain*, from his quarter;" and of the "wight," whom the poet calls

"Abject, mean, and vile;
Who begs a brother of the earth
To give him leave to toil!"

Such spectacles are very common, and of increasing frequency throughout the country. They are bringing the ministerial office into contempt. There is no apostolic model for a clergyman in this predicament; and we place on this page the prediction, to be referred to by a coming generation, that a system resembling our own, in its essential features, will be adopted and prevail in the various branches of the Christian church long before the meridian of the millennial glory. F.

Danbury, Conn., July, 1842.

ART. VIII.—*Communication from Rev. Dr. Beasley, on Locke's and Cousin's Philosophy.*

[THE following communication, from a highly respectable clergyman of the Protestant Episcopal Church, was received in time to be inserted in our July number, but, upon examination, it was found space was wanting. We now give it to our readers with great pleasure, not doubting but it will be both welcome and instructive to them. Our correspondent has power and discrimination in metaphysical investigations which command high respect. His preferences are clear enough; and though some of his notions are a little questionable, we doubt if he is soon, upon fair principles, convicted of heresy. Locke has defects, but he is destined to immortality. He was an original thinker, and after all that has been written by his successors, no man can claim to be well read in the science of the human mind until he has carefully studied the *Essay on the Human Understanding*.]

REV. AND DEAR SIR,—A clergyman of your church, who is a subscriber to your Review, and an inhabitant of this town, was so kind as to place in my hands the number of your periodical for the present month. I have read it with attention, and some of its articles with more than usual satisfaction. The work of Dr. Elliott, denominated a "Delineation of Roman Catholicism," is well-timed, and if executed with ability, as seems to be implied in your criticism, must be calculated to disclose to Protestants in this country the manifold errors, heresies, and abuses of that pernicious superstition; a kind of information of which the citizens of this

republic are greatly in want. But the two articles which peculiarly attracted my attention were the criticism upon the Oxford controversy, and the review of the philosophical works of Professor Cousin, of Paris. Upon each of these subjects allow me the privilege of a few remarks, as they present topics of reflection which are deeply interesting to the whole Christian world, while the last is intimately connected with the advancement of true science and sound philosophy in our country.

The review of the Oxford controversy appears to me to be written with uncommon ability; but while I willingly bestow this encomium upon the writer, you will allow me, at the same time, to observe, that by the omission of some important facts, his production is calculated to do great injustice to the Episcopal Church, both here and in England. These facts are, that these new doctrines, so strongly tinctured with popery, are confined to a very small and inconsiderable portion of the English and American clergy, if, in their utmost extent, they have been embraced by any besides their immediate revivers; that the whole body of bishops in England, and her ablest presbyters, are arrayed in vehement opposition to them; and that all lawful expedients have been already adopted to sink them into disrepute and contempt, and to cleanse the sacred skirts of our venerable Church from this attempt at a foul pollution of them.* The Church of England is not more liable to just censure for this attempt of a few weak and misguided agitators to corrupt her doctrines, and soil the purity of

* We permit our respected correspondent to make his own representations as to the extent and character of the opposition which has been made to Puseyism in the English Church, but cannot suffer them to pass without an expression of fear that they are much too strong. That most of the "bishops" and the "ablest presbyters" of the English Church have made "vehement opposition" to the errors of the Oxford school, is true; but that these errors "are confined to a very small and inconsiderable portion of the English and American clergy," is not so clear as we could wish.

"All lawful expedients," says our correspondent, "have been adopted to sink them into disrepute and contempt." We should be much better pleased to hear it said that the *primitive discipline* had been called into requisition, not merely to "sink" the "revivers" of "these doctrines," so "strongly tinctured with popery," "into disrepute," but to purge the Church of both the "doctrines" and their "revivers." What is the character of a church which can resort to no "lawful expedients" to rid herself of heresy? The bishop of Oxford *advised* that "the Tracts for the Times should be discontinued," as "*tending to disturb the tranquillity of the church.*" Several bishops have condemned their leading doctrines: but what then? Why, the Puseyites still hold up their heads as high as ever. Mr. Palmer, a fellow in the University of Oxford, says, "I tell you plainly, that for myself I utterly reject and anathematize the principle

her sacraments and formularies of worship, than was the primitive church for the errors, heresies, and schisms, which disturbed her tranquillity and sundered her unity.* And all Protestant denominations, instead of discovering a willingness or propensity to subject her to unmerited reproach on this account, should rather evince a disposition to sympathize with her in her misfortune, and vindicate her reputation from the charge of a papistical tendency, being assured that, if true, it would be a calamity to the Protestant world, and, if false, is a wrong inflicted upon the whole body of Christendom. Every member of the great Protestant family has a common interest, which should not only lead each to cultivate with the rest, the most amicable relations, but to exert himself to the utmost to guard the whole fraternity from hostile attacks, and undeserved censure, and misrepresentation.† Protestants should

of Protestantism, and if the Church of England should ever unhappily confess herself a form of Protestantism, then I would reject and anathematize the Church of England, and would separate myself from her immediately;" and still this gentleman holds his honors. Can nothing more be done? Alas for *primitive order*, if this is what we are to understand by it.

And what is doing in this country for the removal of the evil? We are sorry to mortify our good friend by referring to the published and well-known opinions of his own diocesan, and of several other bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church. "The Churchman," and several kindred periodicals, which out-Pusey Dr. Pusey himself, are under the patronage of American bishops. All these things may be consistent with the insignificance which our correspondent attributes to the party, for aught we know, but we still have some doubts with regard to the matter.—Ed.

* That these "agitators" are "misguided," we have no doubt, and that they are "weak," abundant evidence is not wanting. We wish it were equally clear that they are "few." And when "the Church of England" shall exercise the *primitive discipline*, and separate from her communion these "few, weak, and misguided agitators," who would "corrupt her doctrines, and soil the purity of her sacraments and formularies of worship," then we will admit that she "is not more liable to censure for this attempt than was the primitive church for the errors, heresies, and schisms which disturbed her tranquillity and sundered her unity." We can but have the kindest feelings toward our highly respectable correspondent, and, of course, shall not willingly give him offense. But we must on this occasion speak out plainly. The very facts connected with the existence of a fatal "heresy" in the Church of England, and the Protestant Episcopal Church in this country, even according to the admissions of our correspondent himself, show volumes as to the defective organization, and the almost wholly inert discipline of those churches. What other church among the whole Protestant family would endure *bare-faced popery*, in its very arms, or suffer the monster to eat out its vitals, without using the *spiritual sword*?—Ed.

† We would contribute our part in this good work could we do any thing in this way. "Hostile attacks, and undeserved censure and misrepresentations,"

allow no rivalries or jealousies to interrupt the peace and harmony which subsist among them, or rupture the ties of charity and friendly correspondence. The Church of England has long enjoyed the signal honor of being regarded, with universal consent, as the bulwark of the Reformation or Protestant faith, and we may rest assured, that for no trivial consideration will she be induced to forfeit her title to that high and exalted rank. When her learning, talents, and worth shall be called into full exertion, she will demonstrate to the world that she is not unworthy of this dignity which has been conferred upon her.*

After these preliminary observations, I now approach the principal object of this letter, which is to furnish you a few reflections in regard to the science of metaphysics and the treatises of Locke and Professor Cousin, the last of which you have criticised in this number of your Review. Ever since, as a professor in that department of science in one of our universities, it became my province to enter into a thorough investigation of it, it has been a matter of surprise to me that the Essay of Mr. Locke should be so greatly misunderstood, undervalued, and derided; and still more, that it should be regarded as superseded by systems which have no pretensions to its merits. It was ushered into the world at the dawn of that celebrated period which has been denominated the last great age of science and literature, the age of Anne and Louis, when, perhaps, appeared the brightest constellation of writers that ever adorned the world. As soon as it was read, studied, and understood, it attracted the highest applause from all men of genius, taste, and learning. From that time to the present, the scientific and literary works of England and France have abounded with panegyrics of its author, and his decisions have been deemed oracular upon the several topics he discussed. Nor were the encomiums pronounced upon him confined to writers of inferior pretensions, or made to consist in vague and indiscriminating terms. The most illustrious men, who rose in succession during several generations, not only discovered a sense of his uncommon merits, but accurately discriminated his peculiar qualities and claims, and finely delineated the features of his character as an author. As a matter of literary curiosity, as well as to satisfy the demands of justice, I beg leave to present you a few of the most striking and

we have no fellowship for in any case. But if, when we try to "speak the truth in love," our words should be construed into all this, we cannot help it, though it may occasion us much pain.—Ed.

* So may it be! And may God in his mercy hasten the period!—Ed.

honorable testimonials to the high qualifications of this great father of metaphysics.

"The sage Locke," says Bishop Warburton, in a letter to Bishop Hurd, "supported himself by no system, on the one hand, nor, on the other, did he dishonor himself by any whimsies. The consequence of which was, that neither following the fashion nor striking the imagination, he, at first, had neither followers nor admirers; but being everywhere clear, and everywhere solid, he at length worked his way, and afterward was subject to no reverses. He was not affected by the new fashions in philosophy who leaned upon none of the old; nor did he afford ground for the after attacks of envy and folly, by any fanciful hypotheses, which, when grown stale, are the most nauseous of all things."

Lord Bolingbroke, a rival wit and philosopher to the bishop just mentioned, while upon most subjects they were in diametrical opposition, agrees with him about the merits of a man whom he is not ashamed to acknowledge as his master. In his second essay upon the first philosophy, he says, "When I read the Essay upon Human Understanding, I am led, as it were, through a course of experimental philosophy; I am shown myself; and in every instance there is an appeal to my own perceptions, and to the reflections I make on my own intellectual operations. I know that this method is disagreeable to some, and I am not surprised that it should be so. There are those who think they do not want it; and they are those who want it most. There are those, likewise, who fear it; because they apprehend that analysis of ideas and notions, that comparison of them with the real nature of things, and that steady precision in the use of words, which would reduce many a dogmatic system to pass for nothing better than a fanciful hypothesis, as it really is."

D'Alembert, perhaps, more exquisitely depicts the peculiar characteristics of Locke's work than any other writer, in the following passage:*—"On peut dire qu'il créa la metaphysique á peu près comme Newton avait créé la physique. Pour connâitre notre ame, ses idées et ses affections, il n' etudia point les livres, parce qu'ils l'auraient mal instruit; il se contenta de descendre profondement

* We can say that he created metaphysics nearly as Newton had created philosophy. To know his soul, his ideas, and his affections, he did not study books, because they would have ill instructed him; he was contented to descend profoundly into himself, and after having, so to speak, contemplated himself a long time, he only presented to men, in his treatise of the Human Understanding, the mirror in which he had seen himself. In a word, he reduced metaphysics to what it ought to be, in truth, the experimental philosophy of the soul.—*Translated for* Ed.

en luimême, et après sêtre, pour ainsi dire, contemple longtems, il ne fit, dans son traité de l'entendement humain, que présenter aux hommes le miroir dans lequel il s'etait vu. En un mot, il reduisit la métaphysique a ce q'elle doit êtrc en effet, la physique expérimintalc de l'ame." Exactly accordant with this view is that of Voltaire, who, outlaw as he was in matters of religion and revelation, was a keen and competent judge of the productions of genius. He remarks, that most authors had written romances when they attempted metaphysical speculations; but M. Locke had composed a true history of the human mind, and traced its operations with accuracy, from its earliest perceptions in childhood to its most complex combinations of thought in discourse and reasoning. We are all acquainted with the handsome compliments paid to this philosopher by Addison in his Spectator; by Thomson in his Seasons; and by unnumbered writers, who have recognized him as one of the prodigies of genius, and brightest ornaments of the English nation.

Now, sir, after this brief reference to the opinions entertained concerning Locke by these able men, and the exalted estimate they formed of his great work upon the Understanding, what are we to think of the representations given of his philosophy in the recent Scottish, French, and German schools? Which of these classes of critics has given a just account of this work, and which has failed in a full comprehension of its merits? Bishop Stillingfleet brought several exceptions to the Essay, some of which he made good, while others were refuted by the author with irresistible force of evidence; Bishop Butler detected a slight error in his philosophy, when he maintained, that personal identity consists in consciousness: but neither of these great men considered himself as offering any disparagement or indignity to the eminent reputation of the illustrious metaphysician. Deducting a few errors from his philosophy, which might be readily enumerated, and these great masters in science still left it entire as one of the noblest monuments of human genius, constructed upon the plan of inquiry recommended by Lord Bacon; and composed of materials which are imperishable. As far as I know, Mr. Hume was the first writer who ventured upon a bold and unqualified attack upon Mr. Locke as an author, declaring him, in a note of his history, among that class of writers who, on account of their political principles, had acquired a celebrity and literary distinction to which they were not justly entitled. In this attempt at that false criticism which pervades the History of England, the historian, without impairing the reputation of the great metaphysician, has only brought in

question his own taste, discernment, and philosophical pretensions. Had he carefully read, and thoroughly understood the Essay, he would not simply have better comprehended its claims to superiority, but have imbibed from its pages a clear and resplendent light of sound investigation, greatly preferable to that ignis fatuus of subtilty and refinement by which all his disquisitions are distinguished and vitiated. The next impugner of Locke's system is Dr. Reid, who revived, without acknowledgment, the objections of Bishops Stillingfleet and Butler, to which he added, as his own invention, the ideal theory, of which he accused him and all the philosophers, as an illegitimate attempt to explain the manner of perception, or the *modus operandi* in this process of nature. That Locke is guiltless of this scientific heresy, I think you will be convinced by the slightest perusal of his answers to Malibranche and Norris, and I have endeavored to demonstrate it beyond all contradiction in my Search of Truth. In this last disquisition, I seem not to have hit the prevailing taste, either at home or abroad, in metaphysical speculations, since but a single reviewer of our country, Mr. Flint, in his Western Magazine, thought it worthy of even an incidental notice. I have not been discouraged, however, by this cold and contemptuous neglect, since, with the usual vanity and ingenuity of authors, I have not only invented a solution of the fact, not dishonorable to the writer of the Search, but have also been upheld in perhaps a false confidence by a full conviction of the truth of my assumptions, and by the unsought expressions of approbation of the work privately conveyed to me from some of our countrymen most inclined to philosophical pursuits, as well as by the testimony of a German professor of this branch at Gottingen, who seems not to have been infected with the rage for transcendentalism, so widely diffused through his country, and to whom the volume was conveyed without any effort of mine. I must be indulged the hope, that when our judges of works shall be less captivated and engrossed by sonorous terms of art, artificial theories, and flowery speculations in this department of knowledge, and shall feel themselves equipped for a contest with the gigantic force of truth and nature, they will discover more meaning in that performance than they have hitherto discerned, and perhaps, with the German professor, will regard it as a respectable essay, and, at any rate, a satisfactory vindication of the leading doctrines in Locke's philosophy. That this system should be combated by German transcendentalists and French visionaries, or spinners of artificial theories in metaphysics, was to have been anticipated. The Essay upon the Human Understanding is too simple an inter-

pretation of nature not to have been repudiated by those whose first step in science is a leap out of the dominions of nature into the regions of romance, or, as they denominate them, of the pure reason. These inquirers deem it beneath the dignity of their philosophy to confine their researches to that world which was formed by the Creator, or to those truths which may be deduced from the ideas with which we are furnished by it. This is a degrading task, which they denounce as empiricism, or sensualism, or some such swinish drudgery of the intellect. They must climb at once upon what Lord Bolingbroke elegantly calls Plato's mystical ladder, which translates them to the regions of pure reason, incorporeal essences, abstract ideas, eternal models, and in this exalted clime they can trace the footsteps of abstract and immutable truth. What do you imagine was the process by which Kant was led to the grand discovery of his transcendental theory? He tells us the story himself, as worthy of perpetual memory. He informs us that it was to defeat the skepticism of Hume. That skeptic, he allows, had proved, beyond controversy, that neither from reason nor experience can we trace, in the system of nature, any necessary or established connection between cause and effect; and, of course, had not only broken, by a single stroke, that mighty chain of things, the first link of which has been represented as appended to the hand of Jupiter, but had also subverted the very foundations of experimental science. Kant justly considers this as a mischievous undertaking, and resolves to furnish the means of defeating it. And what do you imagine these means to be, or this remedy of the disease that is to be exhibited as a sovereign medicine, which, as soon as swallowed, is to bring to instant death that monster called skepticism, whose natural progeny are materialism, atheism, and fatalism, the horrid bugs and goblins that molest and haunt the walks of the lyceum and academy? In truth, it is a very empirical and miraculous panacea. Mr. Hume cannot, with all his penetration, discover any power in fire to burn fuel, or connection between the fire as a cause, and the consumption of the fuel as an effect, and can trace nothing but a succession of events in this operation of nature. Kant acknowledges the validity of his reasoning as applied to the course of this vulgar world, with which we become acquainted by experience and observation. But he transports us into the regions of his pure reason, and there, by the power of abstraction and comparison of ideas, he discovers the manner in which a cause must always produce its effect, and finds, *a priori*, an inseparable bond of connection between them. Thus is laid the foundation of transcendental metaphysics, which, in our

researches in science, might be assimilated to the pillar of cloud which went between the armies of the Israelites and Egyptians, were it not for the circumstance, that at no period of its progress does it emit any light, but presents to us the similitude of darkness, visible in the day time, and palpable obscurity in the night. The progress made in Germany by the Kantian doctrines, presents to us one of the most singular pieces of philosophical history that was ever witnessed by mankind, and reveals to us, in the strongest light, the tendency of that great, but fanciful people, to yield their understandings completely to the illusions of imagination, and to confound the mysterious, dark, and incomprehensible, with the profound and sublime. Their feelings and imaginations seem to delight in the obscure, and revel in mysteries, and provided their minds can range at large and drink their fill of this nutriment, they are little solicitous to satisfy their reason with the dry light of truth. In our country, however, I do fervently trust, that as a youthful nation just beginning to erect a scientific and literary reputation for ourselves, we shall commence our career upon the right plan, form just conceptions of the task which is to be executed, and resort to the best expedients to accomplish the object of our toils.

The great question which I next propose to solve is this: by what method shall we cultivate in our country the science of metaphysics? Shall we commence with the system of Locke, and build upon his foundation; or, discarding his Essay as superseded by later investigations, shall we adopt the doctrines of the Scotch, French, or German school? As I am anxious upon this point, being fully convinced that the first is the only mode in which we shall attain to a sound and useful metaphysics, I crave your pardon for what I shall now advance in support of my opinion, and in refutation of those who are the advocates of a different procedure.

In order to recommend the great work of Locke to that respect, attention, and assiduous study which I desire, it must first be vindicated from the objections which have been alledged against it; I mean the general outlines of these objections, for it would require a volume to enter into details. I speak to you now as a lover of science, an inquirer earnestly engaged in the pursuit of truth, and delighted to receive it from whatever quarter it may flow. If I had not thought I perceived in you more than usual intelligence, and a turn for philosophical inquiry, you would not have been put to the trial of perusing this paper. It is presumed, that in the genuine spirit of philosophy, you will rather be gratified than

wounded by any attempts to controvert your own positions, or those of the author whose works you are criticising.

In your review, in one place, you say, "It is on this ground, while we reverence Locke as a man, a philosopher, and a Christian, we cannot but discard the material tendencies of his system. To accuse Locke of being a sensualist, or materialist, because his system led to this, would be doing him injustice; for perhaps he never discovered the tendency of his doctrine of the origin of knowledge." This is to do honor to Locke's moral worth and Christian principle at the expense of his philosophical penetration. We may be assured, that if any one of his doctrines led to materialism, it would not have escaped his discernment, more especially when it is recollected, that by this means it would be brought into direct conflict with another part of his works, in which he asserts the immateriality of God and the human soul. Depend upon it there is nothing in his Essay, which, by just inference, leads to the conclusion that the mind of man is not a substance distinct from the body, or that is composed of the mere operations of corporeal machinery. As to the other term, sensualism, derived from the French school, when we hear Locke denominated a sensualist, we should be led to stare, if we annex to the term that moral combination of ideas which alone it denotes in the English language. We discover, however, upon inquiry, a philosophical signification of this word; and, according to this, you inform us, it implies, "that system which makes sensation the only principle and source of knowledge. Its fundamental maxim is: *Nihil est in intellectu, quod non prius fuit in sensu.*" And is Locke accused of maintaining this doctrine? Can those who think so have ever read his Essay? Does he not trace two sources or inlets of human knowledge, sensation and reflection? And can those operations of the mind which are the objects of reflection, such as hoping, fearing, believing, and the like, have originated in the senses? Even the amended maxim, as proposed by Leibnitz, *Nihil est in intellectu, quod non prius fuerit in sensu, nisi ipse intellectus*, cannot be made to square with the views of Locke, unless under the term *intellectus* we include not only the intellect, but also all our moral feelings, impressions, and emotions, of taste, and modes of pain and pleasure; for by reflection we obtain this whole train of thought and feeling. If, therefore, by sensualism we mean "that system which makes sensation the only principle and source of knowledge," certainly Mr. Locke is not justly ranked among its advocates, whatever may have been the abuses of his doctrines by others, who misinterpreted or misunder-

stood them. In referring the origin of human knowledge to the senses, he and Aristotle assuredly proved themselves true interpreters of nature, and followed the track pointed out by the Creator; for there can scarcely be a doubt in the mind of any intelligent man, that through the operation of our external senses the child derives its earliest notices of light, colors, sounds, and odors. If Locke be a sensualist, then, so is the great Contriver of nature; for he most indubitably communicates a knowledge of the external world solely through the instrumentality of our corporeal organs. When Leibnitz and his German disciples speak of the independence of the mind upon the body in the acquisition of its ideas, one would suppose they would have found an immediate and insuperable objection to their scheme, in the facts that the blind can have no conception of color, nor the deaf of sounds. Is not the system of Locke thus far sound and irrefragable, when he maintains, with Aristotle, that all our simple ideas of the world around us are obtained through the organs of sense? Is there any one, at this late day in science, who prefers to this scheme the fanciful theory of Malebranche, that we perceive all things in God, or the pre-established harmony of Leibnitz? Which is the more probable solution of these primitive phenomena of the human mind; that which supposes that the rays of light entering the eye and forming an image of the object upon the retina, enable us, by some inscrutable process, to perceive it; or that which either supposes the perception to be caused by the action of the divine Mind upon ours, or by the harmonious action of our minds with the operations of external nature? I presume we may be certain of the answer which would be returned to this interrogatory by every man of sense.

We have now proved by incontestible evidence, that Locke was not the broacher of sensualism, as it is lately called, and until philosophers shall discover some method by which mankind can obtain ideas of sound without ears, of light and colors without eyes, and of odors without noses, his system upon this point ought to be admitted as sound and irrefragable. And here allow me, reverend sir, to recommend a new method of reviewing works upon this subject, which I am inclined to think would lead to more important results than the one at present universally pursued in England, France, Scotland, and this country. Let the reviewers commence their criticisms of works upon this science with the inquiry, Has this author refuted the system of Locke, and given us more satisfactory solutions of the phenomena of the human mind? Has he shown that our knowledge does not commence in the operations

of sense? that there are more than two inlets of our simple ideas, sensation, and reflection or consciousness? that, with these alone, we cannot obtain ideas of personal identity, power, cause, and effect, of succession and duration, of space, time, and infinity, all of which have been supposed to furnish contradictory phenomena to this theory? By this method of procedure we may gradually erect a sound and solid system of metaphysics. It is true, that in this way, our reviewers will not be able to supply so many flourishing disquisitions, nor regale their readers with such a perpetual succession of fanciful hypotheses, that pass like meteors through the hemisphere of science, amuse the imagination with their glittering phases and eccentric movements, and then burst and disappear for ever. But in this way only can this department of knowledge be successfully cultured, and those principles established in it which will be practically useful. The present mode of treating this subject has brought it into distrust and disrepute among intelligent men; the one I propose will retrieve its forfeited reputation.

Having shown that Locke's system is free from the charge of sensualism, I need feel no solicitude concerning the consequences which may be deduced from that doctrine. As, nevertheless, my present object is to assist inquiring minds among us in the investigation of science, allow me a few remarks upon this topic also. You proceed, "What are the logical consequents of sensualism; or what is sensualism pushed out to its results? In the first place, all sensation is passive, consequently all its products must be passive. If, then, all the mental phenomena result from sensation, they must be passive, and there can be no such thing as a free and voluntary action. Thus one of the logical results of sensualism is fatalism. A second is materialism." Here you have allowed yourself to be betrayed into fallacies by the French professor. It is not just reasoning to say, that if all sensation is passive, all its products must be passive. The human mind may be passive in receiving its ideas of colors, sounds, tastes, and odors, and yet may be free in the exercise of its other powers, which are set in action by the information thus obtained. There may be an involuntary exercise of our perceptive faculties, but a voluntary exercise of our intellectual and moral. When a man, in a merchant's store, is examining the different colors of the cloths presented to his inspection, he is passive in viewing the colors; and yet free in making choice of the cloth which he purchases. Neither materialism nor fatalism, therefore, is a just deduction from sensualism. Because the servants that minister in the house are in a

state of slavery, it does not follow that all the inhabitants also are in the same condition. The infidels and atheists in France abused the doctrines of Locke, as they would have done any others, to purposes of materialism and fatalism, but if my memory serves me well, Condillac carried them to no such extreme, although he was by no means master of Locke's whole system. With the fine imagination of a Frenchman, he illustrated this theory of perception by supposing an animated statue, which exercised successively the several senses distinctly from each other, and ingeniously traced the train of ideas which might be obtained by each; but he was too good a Christian to have broached or advocated any principles injurious to morals or religion. This task was left by him to subsequent laborers in the field of skepticism and infidelity.

Having said thus much of the philosophy of Locke, let us now proceed to that of Professor Cousin. I entirely agree with you that his purposes are pure and upright, and that he is in heart opposed to the pantheism of Germany, as well as to all the materialism, atheism, and fatalism of the French school. My objections to him do not touch his moral or religious character, but affect solely his philosophical pretensions. He is a writer who discovers elegance of mind, a fertile imagination, considerable reading upon subjects of philosophy, sometimes more than usual penetration; but he is evidently not endowed with a metaphysical turn, and is by no means master of this recondite and profound science. Hence, he has no clear, distinct, and consistent scheme of doctrines and principles. His technical phraseology is not unfrequently without aptitude or authority, and his general modes of expression, although sonorous and imposing, are without distinct meaning, and approach nearly to an absolute jargon. Let me illustrate my views, and make good my exceptions, by a direct appeal to his works. He has filled volumes with his numerous disquisitions, but it would put any man to his wit's end to extract from them a clear and tenable system. In the golden days of this department of learning, when the minds of readers were in pursuit of truth, not fanciful speculations; of instruction, not mere amusement; his artificial style and splendid paradoxes would have been rated at a low price. When reading his pages, I seem to be perusing either a romance or a florid declamation, not a philosophical treatise. Let us see if we can lay hold of some stable doctrines amid the shadowy forms that flit through the mind, when following his train of thought.

First. How does the professor suppose human knowledge to commence? You tell me, "Not by overlooking the fact, that a

large portion of human knowledge is developed through the senses, (for so far sensualism is founded in truth,) but also by not forgetting the other sources of knowledge, that the soul opens within itself fountains of thought of equal, if not greater validity and importance. Sensualism overlooked some of the most important elements of knowledge, but true eclecticism overlooks no source, no element of human thought. All the phenomena of consciousness are brought within its compass and subjected to its scrutiny. In a word, it introduces spiritualism upon the basis of experience; and thus opens the widest possible field for the most rigid analysis and induction." I presume you are aware, that as far as we have yet advanced, eclecticism enjoys no advantages over the Essay of Locke. Whatever spiritualism, or field of analysis and induction, may be recognized in the one theory, are also found in the other, since Locke introduces reflection or consciousness as the medium by which we attain a knowledge of the soul and all its properties and operations. But after Cousin, with his eclecticism, has traced consciousness as the inlet of our knowledge of the mind, instead of following Locke through the course of his experience about it, he, with the usual agility of a French fancy, describes its operations in terms rather dark, fantastical, and unintelligible. You thus quote him: "Its [eclecticism's] fundamental maxim is, that after having gained a secure footing in the world of consciousness, we must make a profound and wide-reaching review of all the phenomena which it comprises. We must be sure that we have omitted no element, that we can take no facts for granted, that we do not receive the phantoms of the imagination as the phenomena of consciousness; we must be sure not only that we have omitted no real element, that we have introduced no foreign element, but also, that we have seen all the real elements under their true aspect, and under all the aspects which they can present." This is very rhetorical writing, and better suited to a Paris audience than the cool chair of a lecturer; but we must presume that he here means to enjoin upon inquirers an adherence to the rule, that they should be careful in tracing the operations of consciousness, and not ascribe to its action any phenomena which are to be referred to our other powers. This is wholesome discipline, but how are we to understand the sentences which immediately follow? "And while so far as relates to ontology [being] the dim lights of sensualism lead us from activity to nothingness, from phenomena to no substantial cause, eclecticism claims that in the phenomena of activity are developed personality, the world, and their cause; or, in other words, humanity, nature, and God." "Now

in point of fact," says Cousin, "human knowledge embraces both the external world, and the soul, and God." Never did I pass through a darker entry into the light of clearer and more indubitable truths. Surely all sound philosophers, from Thales to Locke, have, without the assistance of any eclecticism, reached the conclusions, that there are a God, a world, and a soul in man. But can any one inform us how sensualism, by its dim lights, leads us from activity to nothingness, or from phenomena to no substantial cause? We should suppose that a mere contemplation of external nature by the senses would lead us to a conception of a God, its cause, and certainly save us from plunging into the gulf of nothingness. But Professor Cousin has a more expeditious course, by which he can reach the being of a God. He can dig up this rich treasure, with many other precious metals, out of the teeming field of consciousness, in which he imagines reason to be the laborer. Instead of uniting himself to the ranks of infidels, atheists, pantheists, and fatalists in France, you exclaim, in reference to his works, "I look beyond all these questions, and think that I discover some glimmering rays betokening the dawn of a brighter day, to those that have long sat in darkness, when I hear the champion of this new philosophy, on all occasions, distinctly and without reserve, acknowledging and proclaiming, 'the reality of our instinctive faith in God, in virtue, in the human soul, in the beauty of holiness, and the immortality of man.'" It is worthy of all praise in this French writer, to controvert and refute the principles of infidels and skeptics, but in accomplishing this end, he must be careful to establish his hostile system upon correct maxims and a stable foundation. He will not make proselytes of the French skeptics, nor lead them to the belief of a God, of our souls, and a future state, by maintaining that we have instinctive perceptions of these great objects of faith and knowledge. This is to interpolate new laws into the code of nature. Our moral sense, indeed, gives us instinctive ideas of right and wrong, of virtue and vice, but where are the instincts that give us immediate information that we have souls, or thinking substances distinct from our bodies, that there is a God, and, above all, that we shall continue to exist in a future state? We might as rationally speak of our instinctive knowledge of the planetary system, or of the theory of gravitation. And as these great truths in natural philosophy would gain no additional evidence by supposing them the suggestions of instincts; so is it with these great and fundamental dogmas. It is sufficient to give them entire validity, that they are attained and established by the legitimate exercise of

reason. Religion desires no unsound theories in science to support her pretensions and secure her triumphs.

Excuse me for expressing my surprise that so sensible a writer as this reviewer could commend or justify the ridiculous affectation of introducing into this science the use of the terms, "me" and "not-me," as expressive of what is personal to us, and what is foreign from ourselves, or the soul, and that which is not the soul. If the terms me and not-me be equivalent to spirit and matter, I am sure we might leave it to prattling children to decide which are preferable. But the fact is, they are not significant of the same combinations of ideas, for the word I or me includes my body as well as soul, which constitutes a part of my person, or personal identity. And what sort of figure does not-me cut, as expressive of matter, or an external world? The souls of other men—nay, the principle of life, even in monkeys and baboons—are the not-me, as well as the material universe, and there is a disgusting pedantry and affectation in this far-fetched and inapt use of those terms.

But we will now examine this consciousness, which is so fertile a field from which knowledge is to be drawn by our professor. German spectacles had discovered two layers in this soil, like those traced in the earth by geologists, the one superficial, and exposed to the inspection of vulgar eyes, the other hidden deeply, and to be discerned only by the telescopic vision of metaphysicians, or of those writers who, like Coleridge, had borrowed the German spectacles. Here they greatly outstrip Locke and Aristotle, who had thought that reflection or consciousness is a very simple operation of the mind, and, for the most part, involuntary, and scarcely apparent to the agent himself. The professor, however, discovers many mysteries in the subject. I must hasten forward with these criticisms, for I should regard it an intolerable task to make a clear and definite system of doctrines out of these numerous productions. "Can there be a single act of consciousness," says Cousin, "without a certain degree of attention? Attention, therefore, is the condition of all consciousness." All other writers I ever read consider consciousness an involuntary act of the mind, and attention a voluntary act. The first is indulged without effort, the second implies effort. Can the less intense exercise of thought imply the greater, or does not the greater rather include the less? Stretched under a cool shade in summer, we enjoy the consciousness of being, and allow the mind to float loosely upon the prospects presented to the eye, or any indifferent subjects of contemplation. Presently some one is seen approaching with whom we are deeply interested. Would not our

attention be now awakened, and directed to a single object? He would make strange confusion among the powers and acts of the mind! The child finds it very difficult to acquire the habit of fixing its attention upon its studies, but surely the most ignorant persons would not suppose it difficult to indulge its consciousness, which it must do while alive and awake. The reverse, therefore, of the professor's doctrine is true; where there is attention, there must be consciousness, but surely consciousness does not always imply attention. And the very argument by which he endeavors to support his fallacy is a proof of the opposite doctrine, since that phenomenon of the human mind, denominated a revery, is produced, not by "weakening or destroying attention," as he avers, or "confusing and dissipating our thoughts;" but by allowing a few interesting thoughts to engross and absorb the mind, and thus withdraw the attention from all other objects. Hence, men actuated by strong passions, at the time, are most prone to revery, the reverse of which would be true upon the principles of our professor. But this is a trifling error when compared to his whole doctrine about consciousness. The following propositions are said to form the immutable basis, given, drawn out, and demonstrated in the most rigid formulas of science, of the instinctive faith of the human race: "Every fact of consciousness is psychology and ontology at once, and contains already the three great ideas which science afterward divides or brings together, but which it cannot go beyond, namely, man, nature, and God. But man, nature, and God, as revealed by consciousness, are not vain formulas, but facts and realities." According to this doctrine, every act of consciousness reveals to us man, nature, or an external world, and a God. Is not this a strange jumble of ideas, and a most clumsy attempt at an interpretation of nature? That power of the mind by which we have simply a perception of all its operations, communicates to us a knowledge of man, nature, and God! If literary men would read Aristotle, Malebranche, and Locke until they understood them, such works as these might be heard and applauded by mixed assemblies in Paris or any other country, but printers would never venture upon their publication. But let us attend to his mode of reasoning in reaching this singular conclusion. It runs thus:—"If any fact of consciousness contains all the human faculties, sensibility, free activity, and reason, the me, and not-me, and their absolute identity; and if every fact of consciousness be equal to itself, it follows that every man who has the consciousness of himself, possesses, and cannot but possess, all the ideas that are necessarily contained in con-

sciousness. Thus every man, if he knows himself, knows all the rest, nature and God, and, at the same time, himself. Every man believes in his own existence, every man, therefore, believes in the existence of the world and of God. Every man thinks, therefore every man thinks God, if we may so express it. Every human proposition reflecting the consciousness, reflects the idea of unity and of being that is essential to consciousness. Every human proposition, therefore, contains God; every man who speaks, speaks of God; and every word is an act of faith, and a hymn. Atheism is a barren formula, a negation without a reality, an abstraction of the mind which cannot assert itself without self-destruction; for every assertion, even though negative, is a judgment which contains the idea of being, and consequently God in his fullness. Atheism is the illusion of a few sophists, who place their liberty in opposition to their reason, and are unable even to give an account to themselves of what they think. But the human race, which is never false to its consciousness, and never places itself in contradiction to its laws, possesses the knowledge of God, believes in him, and never ceases to proclaim him."

Was ever such a rhapsody as this obtruded upon the learned world as the sage maxims of science? Is it not the effusion of a wild and raving enthusiasm? I doubt not it excited enthusiastic applauses among a Parisian audience, who must still be smarting under the strokes of that scourge of infidelity, which so long afflicted their country, and dishonored the noble cause of liberty; but I must be allowed to express my deep regret that such works as these should gain popularity, and become widely circulated through our country. Is it not strange that our printers dare not venture upon the publication of the greatest works of England and France, which would form the minds of our community to elegance, greatness, and virtue, and yet they find a ready sale for productions of this whimsical character, as well as for the numberless crudities which have poured from the press upon the subjects of phrenology, of mesmerism, trivial romance, and all the forms of a light and illegitimate literature? Active and energetic as are our people in enterprises of pith and moment in the affairs of life, it would seem as if they were more than usually liable to be captivated with the whimsies of a false science and the glare of counterfeit beauties. Our youth, and too many of the more mature among us, instead of forming their minds into manly vigor and solid erudition, by the hardy discipline of a study and comprehension of the great lights of science, and ornaments of elegant literature, spend their days and nights in the perusal of papers, magazines, novels,

light effusions in poetry and prose, and all the various forms of trivial composition, and by this method contract a depraved taste, and an utter disrelish for the more finished and invaluable productions of genius. Hence the incorrectness of the prevalent taste, and the excessive fondness for tinsel ornaments of style and puerile arts of composition. If we wish to obtain a great reputation in foreign countries for science and literature, we must change our habits of study, and contract a familiar acquaintance with the finest models of writing. Nor in order to be initiated into the mysteries of any great branch of science, is it sufficient to give a cursory perusal to the works of its principal masters. We must pore over their pages until we have appropriated to ourselves their leading doctrines, penetrated their deepest thoughts, and mastered their entire scheme, and traced every maxim to its lowest foundations in truth. When I commenced the study of metaphysics with full purpose of gaining a thorough knowledge of it, I had an enthusiastic admiration of the Scottish writers, and especially of Dugald Stewart, whom I deemed the greatest metaphysician that ever lived. This impression remained upon my mind as long as I sought only elegant amusement in this species of reading, and my sole purpose was to supply my memory with rich images of fancy or bright and valuable ideas, a great profusion of which, in allusions, illustrations, and direct quotations, are interspersed through his disquisitions. He, and the other Scottish writers, have been said to be entitled to the credit of having rendered metaphysics popular, and introduced it into company as a subject of general reading and conversation. I am not sure that this observation will justly apply to any nation but our own, since Locke and Malebranche seem to have attracted considerable notice in England and France, and if we are to believe Mr. Pope, to have numbered learned ladies among their readers and admirers. But the misfortune in the case of the Scottish writers is, that if they have excited in the community a relish for such disquisitions, the science itself, in passing through their works, has become so diluted and vitiated as to have lost its vital spirit and invigorating power, as I am afraid must always be the case, before any abstruse science can be rendered popular, except in its results and elementary maxims. Of this I soon became convinced when I entered upon the serious task of its full investigation, and determined to sift thoroughly the principles and theories which had been propounded in it. Scarcely had I finished one volume of the Essay of Locke, when I became convinced that this author had been injuriously charged by Dr. Reid with maintaining the ideal theory, and every

step in my future inquiry has not simply confirmed me in that opinion, but in the wider conclusion, that, with a few exceptions, in all his leading doctrines, he is sound and irrefragable, and that any system of metaphysics which is solid and durable, must be built upon the foundation he has laid. In this sublime work he has rightly interpreted nature, and if sometimes he has wandered from the truth, he has kindled lights in the path that will guide future discoverers in the right way.

If readers will yield to my recommendation, and carefully study the Essay of Locke, we shall no longer find able men indulging such language as the following:—"It is one of the essential features of the eclectic philosophy, that it places our faith in the soul, and an external world upon the firm basis of the simple perceptions of the human mind." If the reviewer will closely consult Locke's Essay, and his answers to Malebranche and Norris, he will no longer assign the credit of this discovery to the French professor, or allow that it is due to Dr. Reid. Berkeley founded his skepticism not upon the principles of Locke or Des Cartes, but upon that *petitio principii*, or begging of the question, which superficial readers only would suppose to be justified by Locke's doctrine. Berkeley's treatise furnishes a singular example of the vast advantage sophistry may gain by the dexterous employment of a single word. Locke says all our *knowledge*, meaning the materials or ingredients of our knowledge, consists of the ideas we obtain from the senses and reflection, and the combinations of these by the faculties of the mind. Berkeley has only to say, it is evident, that all the *objects* of knowledge consist of these ideas, and his task is accomplished, an external world, among the objects of knowledge, is resolved into ideas of the mind, and disappears from the scene. The bishop forgot, as you somewhere remark, that by the same process an internal substance, or mind, would perish, since as an object of knowledge it would be transformed into a series of ideas; but he discovers no solicitude upon this point, and leaves the soul or mind to shift for itself. He who is merely endeavoring to gain the admiration of mankind by a display of sophistry, will always be allowed, without reproach by an indulgent public, to stop short at any point he pleases in exhibiting his feats of skill and dexterity. I never could feel much patience in perusing this work of Berkeley, for besides that it is egregious trifling with a grave subject of science, it seemed to me impossible that he should not have detected the fallacy in his first proposition, which, if it were true, would supersede his treatise, and exclude mind as well as matter from the universe. Mr. Stewart

informs us, that Berkeley has been heard to complain that Dr. Clarke had done him an indignity, inasmuch as when they had an interview, during the conversation which ensued, he did not even allude to this treatise. What had a man of such a sound and clear understanding as Clarke to do with such intellectual fooleries?

After what I have just said, of course I deny the truth of the following declarations:—"Des Cartes and Locke took the road that leads to skepticism, without knowing the end of it." There is no more advantage given to skepticism in Locke's work than in Reid's, and Berkeley and Hume could as well construct their nonsensical skepticism upon Reid's principles as upon those of Locke. They have nothing to do but, with Pyrrho, to deny the evidence of the senses, and they may rave at their pleasure. It is surprising how sensible readers, and even writers, take ideas upon trust and without examination, and then circulate them as striking apothegms, however fallacious they may be. As a remarkable instance of this, I would barely refer to the following saying of Mr. Mackintosh, mentioned in your note, who also has dabbled in metaphysics, and only soiled himself in its puddles—"Universal skepticism involves a contradiction in terms. It is a belief that there can be no belief." This is about as shining a paradox as that before quoted from Cousin; every negation of a God implies a God. The utterers of such blazing speeches as these ought surely to be decorated with a hat and feathers, and placed in the highest seats in the temple of wit and polite learning, as objects of merriment. A belief that there can be no belief, quotha! But who told you, Mr. Philosopher, that the skeptic, in denying all certainty of knowledge, denies all belief in others who are fools enough to let belief take hold of them, or implies any belief in himself? A believer in a no-God, or negative, would be a rather nondescript kind of animal. By the time a man has brought himself to deny all truth and certainty, he is rendered too great an outlaw in science to be bound by any statute which would subject him to an indictment for contradictions. An action for belief would hardly lie against him who disbelieved all things. Belief is a positive act of the mind, disbelief a negative; the negative can never imply the positive. The absence of heat gives the sensation of cold, but the sensation of cold can never imply the presence of heat. The absence of sound occasions silence, but silence can never include sound or noise.

It is surprising into what confusion the science of metaphysics has been thrown by late writers, and I will venture to predict that a clear, distinct, and satisfactory scheme of doctrines will never be

established in it, unless its cultivators build upon the foundations laid by Locke and Aristotle. Its principles are so abstruse, and to test their accuracy requires so close an application of mind, and perhaps so great an aptitude for such speculations, that very few persons are able to distinguish the truth from falsehood in regard to them, and hence that which is shining and fanciful is much more captivating to the vulgar than the solid and immutable. Perhaps I should find it difficult to carry the ordinary reader with me, should I attempt to expose the fallacy of any one solution of the phenomena offered by Cousin, because I should be compelled to dig down to the very foundations of this science. But to avoid this difficulty I will propose a simple case, intelligible to all, and see if I cannot exhibit in so strong a light the deficiency of the professor in such inquiries, as to lead you and my readers to contract an utter distrust of his opinions, and to stand upon your guard in receiving from his authority any propositions relative to this subject. The case I shall produce is a mere interpretation of one of the subordinate tenets of Locke's system, the solution of the problem, which traces to its origin and ascertains our idea of space. I shall first state the doctrine ascribed to Locke by the professor, and then, in immediate and bold contrast with it, the very words of the philosopher.

In his examination of Locke's Essay the professor says, "The systematic result of Locke is the confusion of the idea of space and body." Again: "Space coming from the sight and touch, could be nothing else but the idea of body." And finally: "Locke's fault is, in having confounded that which fills and measures space (body or solidity) with the proper idea of space itself." Now hear Locke in reply to this accusation, in a passage in which, as is very remarkable, he is contending for a clear distinction between our ideas of body and space: "But my question is, whether one cannot have the idea of one body moved while others are at rest? And I think this no one will deny. If so, then the place it deserted gives us the idea of pure space without solidity, whereunto any other body may enter, without either resistance or protusion of any thing. When the sucker in a pump is drawn, the space it filled in the tube is certainly the same, whether any body follows the motion of the sucker or not; nor does it imply a contradiction, that upon the motion of one body, another that is only contiguous should not follow it. The necessity of such a motion is built on the supposition that the world is full, but not on the distinct ideas of space and solidity. That men have distinct ideas of space without body, their very disputes about a vacuum plainly demonstrate.—By this

idea of solidity is the extension of body distinguished from the extension of space.—Of pure space, then, and solidity, there are several, of whom I confess myself one, who persuade themselves they have clear and distinct ideas; and that they can think on space, without any thing in it that resists or is protruded by body. This is the idea of pure space, which they think they have as clear as any idea they can have of the extension of body." In this strain he proceeds in several places of his works, and discusses the metaphysics of this question with consummate skill. Now what shall we say of a writer who ascribes to Locke a doctrine against which he was vehemently contending with Des Cartes, if, indeed, Des Cartes' principles come in collision with his, which need not be, since it is a very different thing to maintain a real plenum, and to assert that we can have no idea of pure space or a vacuum. A plenum implies that all *space* is filled with matter, and surely Des Cartes would have perceived that we could not be reasoning about a thing of which we had no idea. I have not his work at present by me, but I very much doubt whether he differs from Locke upon this point. But the French professor who undertakes to deal in these deep mysteries is utterly inexcusable for so egregious a mistake in a plain case. By such a blunder he forfeits all claim to our confidence in his authority.*

Thus, my dear sir, I have frankly communicated to you, and, I trust, with due respect and courtesy, the reflections which occurred to my mind upon the perusal of your review. I have taken this step solely with the view of promoting the progress of sound science in this young and beautiful republic. I cannot but hope that this communication will be received in the same spirit in which it is composed. I have formed the opinions now expressed after many years' close application of the mind to the investigation of this subject, and they have been ripened by time into settled and confirmed convictions. If I am wrong, however, I am willing to be set right, and stand ready to listen to any arguments which can be urged against the conclusions I have drawn. Your kindness, I am assured, will dispose you to pardon this liberty taken by a stranger, from a consideration of its motive.

FREDERICK BEASLEY.

Elizabethtown, N. J., April 10, 1842.

* We here leave out one paragraph. It contains an additional illustration of the writer's views of the character of Cousin's philosophy, but nothing new; and as the communication, as it is, considerably exceeds in length the calculations of our printer, we find this slight retrenchment a necessary measure.—ED.

Art. IX.—CRITICAL NOTICES.

1. *Illustrations of Biblical Literature, exhibiting the History and Fate of the Sacred Writings, from the Earliest Period to the Present Century, including Biographical Notices of Translators, and other Eminent Biblical Scholars.* By Rev. James Townley, D. D. In two vols, 8vo., pp. 602, 608. New-York: G. Lane & P. P. Sandford. 1842.

This work is, in our judgment, decidedly the most important among the many republications of the present day. The author was for many years a Wesleyan Methodist preacher, and received from the British conference the strongest testimony of the high estimation in which he was held by that body, in being appointed secretary to the Wesleyan Missionary Society and president of the conference. Among several Biblical works that entitle him to the gratitude of posterity, and which have procured for him imperishable honors, the leading one is his "Illustrations of Biblical Literature."

The nature and character of this work are sufficiently indicated by the title-page, as above given. The history of the book, which, as Mr. Locke says, "has God for its author; truth, without any mixture of error, for its matter; and salvation for its end," must, of necessity, be the most important, and, to the Christian reader, the most interesting of all histories. The work not only constitutes an introduction to the study of the Bible, but also to the study of ecclesiastical history. Every minister ought, if possible, to have it in his library for constant reference.

The present is the first complete edition of the work which has been published in this country. It is beautifully executed, and the three volumes being compressed into two, it is much cheaper than the English editions. We hope the interest of the public in the work, and especially of ministers, not only of our own church, but also of other communions, will be manifested by adequate efforts to give it a wide circulation.

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2. *Elements of Chimistry, including the most recent Discoveries and Applications of the Science to Medicine and Pharmacy, and to the Arts.* By Robert Kane, M. D., M. R. I. A., Professor of Natural Philosophy to the Royal Dublin Society, Professor of Chimistry to the Apothecaries' Hall of Ireland, Member of the Society of Pharmacy of Paris, and of the Germans' Pharmacentical Society, &c., &c. An American edition, with Additions and Corrections, and arranged for the Use of the Universities, Colleges, Academies, and Medical Schools of the United States. By John M. Draper, M. D., Professor of Chimistry in the University of New-York, former Professor of Physical Science and Physiology in Hampden-Sidney College; Member of the Lyceum of Natural History of New-York, &c., &c., &c. Pp. 704. Harper & Brothers.

The important and rapid improvement constantly making in the science of chimistry renders the text books relating to it, of a few years' standing only, comparatively worthless. It is a subject so continually changing its aspect, from the results of new investigations and discoveries, that the student, to see it in its present state, must consult its latest teachers and masters, and among these no one enjoys a higher distinction than the very able author of this treatise. The reputation which this work has acquired in Europe appears to us to be richly merited—it is more full, clear, correct, and thoroughly reasoned and illustrated than any similar work; and now that it is offered to the American public in a cheap and handsome form, it will here, as abroad, no doubt, be highly valued, and extensively adopted as a class book for giving instruction in this interesting science. If Dr. Draper, from being its editor, might be considered as speaking with some partiality when he pronounces it, "as a text book, undoubtedly the best extant in the English language," the testimony of Dr. Brande, so well known by his scientific labors, is liable to no exception; and he places it foremost among the elementary works to be studied. It would require far more space than we can now spare to *review* such a work as this; and therefore we shall not attempt it; but there is one feature we will briefly notice, and that is, its adaptation to practical purposes. It is well known, that of all the physical

sciences chimistry has ministered most largely to the improvement of the arts, and, consequently, to the increase of human happiness and comfort. Even agriculture, so long regarded as the mere drudgery of manual labor, is immensely indebted to it; and if it has been raised in dignity, and immeasurably advanced in productiveness, it is owing to the chimical labors of Davy, Chaptal, Leibig, and others. Now Dr. Kane has made an eminently useful book, by pointing out, as he goes along, how chimical analysis, combination, &c., may be, and are employed, for the production of valuable results; and for this reason the work is one of general interest—it is rendered so by its practical applications. Thus the farmer, the manufacturer, the artist, and, in short, almost every one may derive from it some important information. The illustrative drawings are numerous, and for the accuracy of the work we have highly satisfactory security in the fidelity and scientific reputation of the learned editor, who has also made some few additions of his own.

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3. *An Essay on Apostolical Succession; being a Defense of a Genuine Protestant Ministry, against the exclusive and intolerant Schemes of Papists and High Churchmen; and supplying a general Antidote to Popery.* By Thomas Powell, Wesleyan Minister. 12mo., pp. 354. New-York: G. Lane & P. P. Sandford. 1842.

This work is a triumphant refutation of high Church claims. The author begins with stating the grounds assumed by the advocates of *apostolical succession* from acknowledged authorities. He then proceeds to remove the foundations upon which they rest, by referring to Scripture and the usages of the primitive church. He gives us the history of the controversy, and has furnished many rare authorities from the reformers against the doctrine of episcopacy *jure divino*.

The work is executed in a perspicuous and manly style, and for conclusiveness of reasoning upon the subject exceeds any thing we have yet seen. Our high Church friends will probably try to frown it into contempt and oblivion, but we predict that they will not venture a fair grapple with the argument. We hope this work may be generally circulated among our preachers and people. At this time especially it is important that the subject should be studied by all—laymen as well as ministers. It is not now a difficult task for common minds to penetrate the veil of sophistry, by which our successionists have covered their unauthorized claims. It is easy to convict them of error from the mouths of their own witnesses. And while they are so industriously sowing *tares*, should we *sleep?* Read Mr. Powell thoroughly, and we doubt if your mind is not at rest upon the question.

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4. *Punishment by Death: its Authority and Expediency.* By Rev. George B. Cheever. 12mo., pp. 156. New-York: M. W. Dodd. 1842.

The subject of this volume is one of deep interest to the country and to the world. As the efforts of last winter, with the legislature of this state, to procure the abolishment of capital punishment, will probably be renewed at the next session, it is important that all who feel an interest in our common country's weal should acquaint themselves with the argument. Mr. Cheever's book presents the whole subject in a clear and strong light. He conclusively shows the divine origin, the right, and the necessity of inflicting capital punishment in certain cases. No unprejudiced person can read this book without feeling the potency of the argument. Among the mischievous causes from which our country is in danger, that false philanthropy which would bring down the majesty of the laws, by softening the penal code, is by no means the least. Crime, in all its forms, is already sufficiently rife in the country. With any less security of life than we now have, it might well be questioned whether we have much to boast of—whether indeed our doctrines of liberty and equal rights are not a mere speculation. We cordially recommend this book to the attention of our readers, and would gladly have given it an extended review had space permitted.

5. *The Works of the Right Reverend Father in God, Joseph Butler, D. C. L., late Lord Bishop of Durham. To which is prefixed an Account of the Character and Writings of the Author.* By SAMUEL HALIFAX, D. D., late Lord Bishop of Gloucester. 8vo., pp. 597. New-York: Robert Carter. 1842.

A REVIEW of this work may be expected in our next number.

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6. *The History of the Reformation of the Church of England.* By GILBERT BURNET, D. D., late Lord Bishop of Salisbury. With the Collection of Records, and a copious Index. Revised and corrected, with additional Notes, and a Preface calculated to remove certain Difficulties attending the perusal of this important History, by the Rev. E. NARES, D. D. With a Frontispiece, and twenty-two Portraits. In four vols., 8vo. New-York: D. Appleton & Co. 1842.

THIS elaborate and useful History deserves an extended review, a work which we purpose to execute on a future occasion.

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7. *The Bible and the Closet.* By Rev. THOMAS WATSON. And Secret Prayer successfully managed. By Rev. SAMUEL LEE, Ministers ejected in 1662. Edited by JOHN OVERTON CHOULES. 32mo., pp. 140. Boston: Gould, Kendall, & Lincoln. 1842.

THIS is a choice specimen from the old writers. If the editor shall be as happy in his selections in future we doubt not but his labor in giving to the public in a new dress the thoughts of the great minds of the seventeenth century will be both acceptable and useful to the churches.

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8. *The Claims of "Episcopal Bishops," examined in a Series of Letters.* By GEORGE DUFFIELD, Pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of Detroit. 12mo., pp. 316. New-York: Dayton & Newman. 1842.

9. *Life and Writings of Ebenezer Porter Mason; interspersed with Hints to Parents and Instructors on the Training and Education of a Child of Genius.* By DENISON OLMSTED, Professor of Natural Philosophy and Astronomy in Yale College. 12mo., pp. 252. New-York: Dayton & Newman. 1842.

10. *"Principalities and Powers in Heavenly Places."* By CHARLOTTE ELIZABETH. With an Introduction by the Rev. EDWARD BICKERSTETH. 12mo., pp. 298. New-York: John S. Taylor & Co. 1842.

11. *Heroines of Sacred History.* By Mrs. STEELE. 18mo., pp. 238. New-York: John S. Taylor & Co. 1842.

12. *Sacred Songs for Family and Social Worship: comprising the most approved Spritual Hymns, with chaste and popular Tunes.* 12mo., pp. 343. Published by the American Tract Society.

13. *The Mineral Springs of Western Virginia: with Remarks on their Use, and the Diseases to which they are applicable.* By WILLIAM BURKE. 18mo., pp. 291. New-York: Wiley & Putnam. 1842.

WANT of space is our apology for leaving several of the above works with no other notice than the simple announcement of their title-page. We hope this reason will be satisfactory. We find it impossible to devote as much room to this department in every number as we desire.

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